Western Civilization

A Political, Social, and Cultural History

VOLUME I — TO 1660

JOHN J. VAN NOSTRAND

Professor of Ancient History
University of California

AND

PAUL SCHAEFFER

Associate Professor of European History
University of California

This book is based on an earlier work entitled *European Civiliza-
tion, A Political, Social, and Cultural History*, by J. W. Thompson,
F. C. Palm, and J. J. Van Nostrand, copyright 1939 by D. Van
Nostrand Company, Inc.

Preface

THIS volume covers the growth of Western civilization from its beginnings to the end of the Wars of Religion in the seventeenth century. It traces the efforts of European man to realize his ideals of comfort, of peace, and of happiness. The authors owe a great debt to their predecessors, the scholars and interpreters of European history. This we have attempted to repay in concise and accurate statement of their contributions. Our aim has been to present this important section of the development of societies in the fewest possible words. Within this limit, we have endeavored to include all phases of human activity. The permanent factors and the lasting achievements have been stressed. We feel that Western civilization is still young, and that its past is worth studying. Civilization may be only a veneer, but the passing of time gives to the coating an ever-increasing depth and firmness. Recorded history presents a series of experiments in the art of living well together. Its value to the present lies in an understanding of the measure of success and failure in these experiments. A true evaluation of the past, we hope, appears in these pages.

Acknowledgment of assistance and wise counsel is given herewith to Professor T. D. McCoun and to Professor Richard Hostetter.

Berkeley, California   JOHN J. VAN NOSTRAND
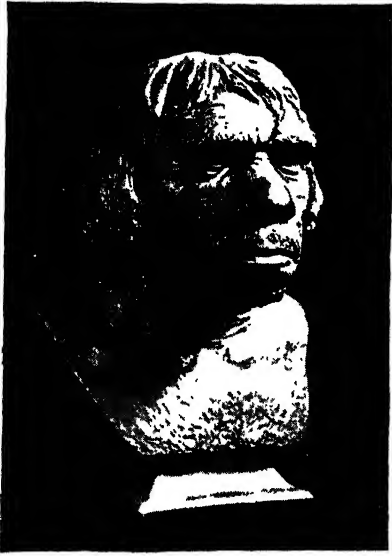   PAUL SCHAEFFER

Contents

List of Maps

The Bettmann Archive

NEANDERTHAL MAN

Introduction

HISTORY has been defined as the record of answers to the questions, Who did What, When, Where and Why? Each part of the series of questions is important. It is desirable, for example, to locate each human action in space, that is, to answer the question, Where? This is especially true of an action which produced a change, since a clue to the reason for the action may be derived from the place at which it occurred. One may disregard the place factor for actions which are regular, or habitual, as the seasonal migration of the shepherd from valley to mountain and back again, the use of the bow and arrow, or the custom of burying the dead. But if actions become erratic, or unusual, the historian, like the investigator of a crime or an accident, seeks to locate the exact place of change in the subject of investigation.

In like manner the time factor is important to the student of history. Location in time helps to determine the causes of action, which must have occurred before the action, as well as the results of the action, which must have followed it. The answer to the question When? is significant for actions which indicate change. There was no meaning in a certain famous diary for the days when the entry read, "Got up, washed, went to bed." But when the entry noted some variation from this hygienic routine, the date was worth remembering.

1

The first part of the definition needs little explanation. It is true that the varieties of actions now included in human history are economic, social, intellectual, and religious, as well as military and political. It is also true that the human actors are no longer limited to the saints, kings, generals, and statesmen who used to grace the pages of the older histories. Captains of industry, inventors, scholars, and artists, together with races, classes, and other groups, have been assigned roles in the drama of history. But Who they were and What they did still remains the heart of history.

Finally, it should be noted that the record of human action is now considered to include everything made by human hands, every trace of human life. The beginning has been pushed far beyond the day when writing was invented, and in those dim and distant regions of the past the historian seeks the origins of European civilization.

The course of human events will never be completely known, since only a part of it has been recorded, but the volume grows daily as scholars add facts to the written record from a study of buildings, tools, ornaments, and other items of the unwritten record. In the light of the new facts history is rewritten. Even without additional facts, new books on history are being written and published each year. One reason is that historians are trying to explain how men have come to be what they are today. Each new development leads to a search for the antecedents which may explain it. Another reason for the new books is the ever-increasing number of interpretations, of answers to the question, Why?

For many centuries historians believed that men did what they did because of some power outside of and greater than themselves—Fate, Necessity, Providence. In the eighteenth century there was a gradual shift of opinion, and the question, Why?, was answered in terms of human responsibility. It was thought then that men acted as they did because they wanted to. The revolutionary advances in the earth sciences (geology, geography) and in the life sciences (botany, zoology) within the nineteenth century greatly affected the writing of history. Men became so aware of their surroundings that the immediate and remote causes of all human activity were traced by some authorities to environment. Men acted as they did, so they believed, because of natural resources, topography, climate, vegetation and animal life around them. Their occupations, their institutions, their thoughts, all were attributed to environment. This interpretation has been challenged in recent years by those who would add other causes for human action. The economist, psychologist, and sociologist have given new bases for interpretation, with the

result that the reader of history has a wide selection of answers to the question, Why?

Scholars, who once declared that environment determines and has determined all that men have done, are willing now to grant that it offers only possibilities which men may accept or reject wholly or in part. Still, even the most ardent disciples of the theory of possibility agree that at no other period has the influence of environment been more pronounced than at the beginning. The student of primitive man finds the subject of his study the plaything, if not the victim, of natural forces. He fled before the flood or drought. Barriers of mountains, forest, swamps, or sea blocked his advance or retreat. He was compelled to follow the vegetation or the animals upon which he depended for food. In fact, the earlier part of that process which is called civilization is simply a series of steps towards emancipation from this slavery to environment. *The prelude to human history*

The beginnings of this servitude still remain eras of scanty facts and numerous guesses. They include the uncounted millennia of geographic change. Within that time the surface of the earth was slowly acquiring the land and water masses, the highland and lowland areas with which we are familiar. Man may have existed in an earlier period, but no undisputed proof of human life has been found before the Pleistocene, or most recent geological epoch. The meager finds in Java, Rhodesia, and Britain are now assigned by a majority of scholars to the Ice Age.

That period of violent climatic changes which alternated tropical and arctic conditions over a large part of the north temperate zone has been divided into four stages of advance and retreat of ice. These movements were accompanied by corresponding shifts in a belt of storms immediately south of the arctic front, and a belt of calms still further south. As the belts moved from north to south and back again, the characteristic vegetation moved with them. In these vast processions and recessions man took part, following the animals he hunted, as the latter kept pace with the vegetation upon which they lived. *The Ice Age*

The origin and development of European civilization are limited to the northwestern quarter of the eastern hemisphere. The area as a whole may be described as a part of the Asiatic land mass, with two farflung projections, Europe and Africa north of the Tropic of Cancer. The chief divisions are a northern lowland extending from central Siberia to the Arctic, the Baltic, and the North seas. South of that lies a central highland, definite and continuous in the east but increasingly irregular in its westward extension. Clear breaks in this continental backbone occur in the Rhone valley, the eastern *The stage setting*

Alps, the Sea of Marmora, and in the plateau lying east of the Caspian. These breaks give access to the third division, a southern lowland, which includes the Arabian peninsula, east and central North Africa, and the Sahara.

Temperature and rainfall were the factors which determined the vegetation of these three divisions. Moisture without warmth produced the great ice sheets of the northern flatland and of the high mountain ranges. Warmth without moisture brought desert conditions. Moisture and warmth covered flatland and highland with forest growth except in the scattered deposits of loess, or sandy clay. It was in these loess plains or grasslands in Europe that men of the inter-glacial periods lived and worked.

Many of the groups of men of the Ice Age do not come within the field of this study. The red man of the western hemisphere, the yellow man of Asia, and the black man of Africa have contributed little or nothing to the growth of European civilization. Negroid and Mongoloid elements, indeed, must be included in a history of Europe, but the area to be studied (Europe, western Asia, and northern Africa) has been dominated from the beginning by the white race.

The problem of classification of the white race has not yet been solved. One of the most widely used divisions is based on language. Modern Europeans, with but few exceptions, speak languages which are derivatives of a long-lost tongue. The name itself is unknown. *Indo-European* is not the name of a language but a term which indicates the area in which the daughter languages are found, an area extending from northern India to the Atlantic shores of Europe. The word *Aryan,* sometimes used as a synonym for Indo-European, is limited by philologists to the southeastern quarter of the Indo-European area, to the men of Iran and of continental India. The second language division, called *Semitic,* had its home in the Fertile Crescent. The third division, *Hamitic,* was used by the natives of North Africa. It still persists in the dialects of some of the nomads of the Sahara.

The division of peoples into those speaking Hamitic, Semitic, or Indo-European languages has both values and dangers. It is sometimes possible, for example, to trace the wanderings of a group and to determine their original home through the evidence of language. But evidence of this kind cannot be used in every case, since many tongues have been completely lost. Others, as ancient Etruscan and modern Basque, have remained unclassifiable. The greatest danger, perhaps, lies in the habit of considering language and race as having the same limits.

The disappearance of some languages and the ability of men to exchange one language for another have led scholars to propose another basis of classification. Physical characteristics are more stable and may be examined in the skeletons, statues, and paintings of men whose speech has not survived. Three general types of the white race have been identified: (1) Mediterranean man, a small, slender brunet with long head; (2) Alpine man, a somewhat stockier but still short brunet with round head together with his taller cousin, Armenoid man; and (3) Nordic man, a tall blond with long head. The names given to the three types do not imply origin within an area or limitation of the type to an area. Migrations have produced a confusion of varieties with innumerable gradations of size, coloring, and skull measurements. The three types themselves are doubtless outgrowths of combinations in prehistoric days, for migration has been a constant factor in human history. No group absolutely uniform in type is known. Thus any cultures or any contributions to a common civilization should be described as the gifts of a people, not wholly but predominantly Mediterranean, Alpine, or Nordic.

Man of the Ice Age had no calendar. One of the most difficult tasks of scholars, therefore, has been the arrangement in time sequence of prehistoric finds.[1] In the absence of a written record, historians are dependent upon the methods used in other fields of research. The geologist, for example, divides the progressive changes in the earth's surface into a framework of eras—Primary, Secondary, Tertiary, and Quaternary. The first skeletal remains and artifacts which have been found are placed in the Quaternary era. Many efforts have been made to translate this rough calendar of the geologist into centuries or millennia. They are based on studies of varves, the silts left by the melting ice of glaciers, of the former strand lines of lakes and seas, and of the rate of rivers in building up their deltas, in carving gorges, and in cutting through rock ledges. The paleontologist also helps, as does the paleobotanist, for they, too, are seeking a time sequence for their material. Their researches have supplemented and corrected the results of the geologist. Hence, since men, animals, and plants were so closely associated, the time schedules of the three scientists have been applied to the early parts of the human story. *Time sequences*

As the student approaches historic times, the records of human life are greater in variety and number. A time sequence has been developed on the basis of improvement in the technique of making flint implements, of increase in the variety of ornaments, and, best of all, in the development of pottery. Clay vessels, once broken, are

[1] See chart at end of chapter.

more easily replaced than repaired. Fragments of pottery resist the destructive forces of nature and are most likely to be discarded in one spot. Ceramic material thus forms the largest single product of excavation, and its arrangement, in order of improvement, furnishes the most widely used foundation for the relative chronology of man of the neolithic (new stone) age.

These sequences are much more useful when any two of them can be connected. Thus a Cretan vase of Middle Minoan II period found in the ruins of the sixth city of Troy establishes a time connection between these two culture centers. The picture of a Cretan merchant with his wares in the tomb of an Egyptian pharaoh proves that the Cretans were exporters when that pharaoh lived. Since the date of the Egyptian monarch is known, it is possible to get an approximate date in both the Cretan and the Trojan sequences. From studies of all these types of evidence come parts of the answer to the question, When did primitive man live?

Primitive man was a hunter, the chief in a world of hunters and hunted. Missile and striking weapons, made from a flint core or flakes chipped therefrom (paleoliths), gave him superiority over his rivals. The hides of his victims offered protection against cold and storm. Implements of bone improved his handiwork, and the barbed hook made fishing easier for him. His ability to produce and to maintain fire gave him immediate security from animal attack and partial control of an extremely useful natural force. Additional information concerning primitive man comes from a variety of sources. The accounts by civilized observers of tribes still in a primitive stage, and the survivals of savage customs which have persisted in the literature of groups emerging from barbarism, are also used. The story is not a simple one, since there are great differences in the rate and character of development of human groups. Still, it is agreed that these Ice Age hunters, whether they lived in western Europe, Bulgaria, South Russia, Syria, or the Nile valley, made some use of their leisure time to improve themselves culturally and socially.

Paleolithic man reproduced on the walls of his cave home and on the smooth surface of bone the vivid memories of incidents in his life work—the pursuit of game. The skill developed in design and in the use of color was remarkable. The product was not so much art for art's sake as art for magic's sake. It was thought that a picture of success in the hunt might bring real success. The same practice, called imitative magic, employed by primitive groups today, supports this explanation of the cave man's inspiration.

After thousands of years of comparative security it is difficult to

think of a human being as completely dependent upon what missiles he could find to protect himself from animals equally interested in self-preservation. His home was a cave, and his clothing, skins torn from his prey. Small wonder that his reason was first applied to the designing of more efficient weapons, to the construction of a home more conveniently located than his cave, and to the fashioning of implements which would improve his clothing. Each new weapon and implement, and each improvement in shelter gave him more time for thought. No one can measure the wasted time or the number of failures in human efforts from the Ice Age to the Age of Bronze; but the gain in time for thought was enormous. The stimulus of a new problem or the increasing pressure of an old one was necessary to stir the mind to activity, but, without the time, stimuli were of little consequence. Leisure was the essential.

The most obvious organization of primitive hunters would be *Social and* that of a hunting pack. The chief aim of the pack would be to se- *economic ad-* cure an adequate supply of food; the chief hope would be that food *vance* supply would continue to equal food demand. All the activities of the pack would be concentrated on the search for food. The best extant illustration of this effort by primitive hunters to maintain an equilibrium between food supply and food demand is found in the totemic groups of Australia. These groups have preserved in unchanging surroundings a stage of development shared by all primitive hunters. From the living examples in Australia and from the evidence found in other parts of the world, it is possible to reconstruct the slow advance of the primitive hunting pack. Paleolithic men needed and accepted a leader. They separated women's work from men's. They recognized the rights of some individuals to ownership of weapons and clothing. In short, they had acquired some rights of private property and had made the first steps in political and economic organization. Specialization of tasks was the most useful of these advances since it gave the women opportunity to gather the fruits, nuts, roots, and grasses around the permanent camp. It fixed the women, children, and aged in a sort of home where the products of the hunt and other additions to the food supply could be secured and preserved. Still another result was the manufacture of vessels (of hides, gourds, or woven grasses) in which food could be stored. The control by nature over man was giving way slowly to a control by man over his environment.

The final retreat of the ice brought great changes to the north- *Late Old* western quarter of the eastern hemisphere. As the belt of storms *Stone Age in* moved northward, the southern grasslands of North Africa and the *Europe* Near East became arid, forcing the hunters to the water sources,

the oases, and the great river valleys. In the northern section, forests gradually filled the plains which had supported the hunters' prey. The struggle for existence was so acute that many groups disappeared. Some refugees from the encroaching forests settled on the shores of seas or lakes where they maintained life on fish and other sea food. Others traveled far to the east. The changes in environment were too violent and too drastic to be overcome by the hunters. On the whole, the period was one of disaster and decline for the hunters of Europe. The area long remained a cultural backwater. In order to find traces of advance, one must turn to lands where the climatic change was more gradual.

It is in North Africa and the Near East that the evidence of development is most rich. There is found clear proof that Man of the New Stone Age, of the polished instead of the chipped flint, increased his control over nature. His tools were more efficient. He applied fire to the hardening of clay into pottery and, later, to the reduction of metallic ores. Boats and carts reduced the terrors and difficulties of his journeys. This improvement in means of communications meant the sharing of inventions and discoveries by many human groups. The domestication of animals was another line of development. Man and dog had hunted together in paleolithic days. But neolithic man domesticated other animals for their milk or meat, for their muscle power, and for their ability to carry him easily and rapidly. Plants were domesticated for the food and clothing materials which they supplied.

The advance was decidedly irregular. There are even exceptions to the rule which makes the polishing of flints the first step, and there are many instances in which the domestication of animals was a practical impossibility. The presence of the plant or animal to be domesticated, and the ease with which the process of domestication could be accomplished, had a great deal to do with the advance from the hunting stage to the pastoral or the agricultural stage. Thus, men of the grasslands became pastoral nomads with domesticated animals but with few or no domesticated plants. Men of the open woodland domesticated plants, but still looked to game as the chief source of food supply. On the other hand, tillable soil, the presence of the more useful grasses (wheat, millet, barley) and animals which could be domesticated transformed hunters into farmers and animal users. This ideal combination was found in the valleys of the Nile, the Tigris-Euphrates, and the Indus rivers.

At first glance, these areas appear much more promising than the forests of Europe for students of man's development. One expects a continuous record in lands not reached by glaciers. It is true that

diggings at Anau in Turkestan, at Susa and Ur near the head of the Persian Gulf, at Badari and Deir Tasa on the Nile, and at Knossus in Crete have established the existence of neolithic culture from one to two millennia before the use of polished flints in Europe. But the eastern sites have revealed scant trace of paleolithic man. The Aegean area is similarly barren, and even in Egypt, where both old stones and new stone implements have been found, the transition period is not fully documented. Until the time when additional evidence has been uncovered, the student of history must fill with guesses the gap between the Paleolithic and the Neolithic Age.

Although the transition itself cannot be described, there is ample proof of the great social difference between paleolithic hunter and neolithic herder and farmer. The pastoral nomad owned animals which he had to defend and control. He had relatively little work to perform, and no great need for specialization. The tendency to remain in small groups was marked, although a temporary union of larger numbers might be formed for raids or for defense against a common enemy. Experience and skill were superior to strength; hence the oldest member of the group ruled the others. His power was recognized in every sphere of life, making him the economic, judicial, political, and religious leader. Domestication and cultivation of plants were much more difficult tasks. They required co-operation, provision for the future, and division of labor. They held men in one locality and forced them to build homes and barns. Larger groups were desirable and practicable. Political organization varied, although centralization and the rule of one man seem to have been the ideals of the neolithic farmer. *Effects of animal and plant domestication*

The added leisure of herder or of farmer brought further advance along at least three lines, each one the result of individual thought. The successful leader used his leisure to find ways and means of procuring more food and better methods of storing food. He sought to increase trade with other groups, to regulate trade within the group, and to improve its organization. Either the leader or some other individual concerned himself with the relationship between the group and the unknown. In other words he took the first steps in religious thought. An old and often quoted definition of religion is, "The effective desire to be in right relationship with the power manifesting itself in the universe." [1] *The use of leisure*

As W. W. Fowler points out, the desire had to be effective. It had to produce an effect. Some action had to be taken. The first step was an explanation of the forces of nature given in the form

[1] W. W. Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People.*

of myths which peopled the world with powers to be placated or controlled. The individual whose myths were accepted and whose advice as to methods of placating or controlling the powers obtained the best results was highly honored. The advice was generally given in the form of prohibitions, words which must not be said, objects which must not be touched, and actions which must not be performed. The positive acts were usually reserved for the adviser, the man who knew. A third type of individual also aided the group. This type was represented by the man who first polished the chipped flint, who first fixed a handle to his stone weapon, who formed the first bone needle, and who made the first potter's wheel and the first loom. These three types, leader, priest, and inventor, are responsible for all that we have in our lives above and beyond that of the primitive hunter. Habit and custom were strong; new ideas were looked upon with distrust. But the opportunity was there, and some dared to accept it. The results were an increasing respect for others and their rights, the growth of a sense of security, and the development of a feeling of moral responsibility. The list of differences between the hunter and the herder-farmer could be extended indefinitely. It would include for the latter the ability to generalize, the power of abstraction, and concepts of time, space, and of value, in short, the bundle of characteristics which are attributed to civilized man.

Two great inventions have given to the history of man a reality much more vivid than that of the history of rocks or of flora and fauna. The first was language, the means of transmitting the experiences of one generation to the next. The second was writing, which makes possible the study of these experiences of mankind as they have been preserved on clay, stone, metal, parchment, or papyrus.

Actual writing was preceded by the active desire of man to record his actions, hopes, and thoughts. Paleolithic man pictured on cave walls the animals which he had killed or those which he hoped to kill with the aid of magic. His successor in the Neolithic Age had the problem of adapting this picture writing to his more complicated life. He might simplify the picture so that the representation of animal or man would not be a portrait but a mere word-sign for any animal or man. The word-sign was then made more definite by indications of the actions or occupations of the subject. A plowman would be designated by the word-sign for man and the word-sign for plow. The eye or the ear would be emphasized to indicate seeing or hearing. This process, after a length of time, would, and did, produce a number of word-signs so numerous that they could

STONEHENGE IN ANCIENT BRITTANY

The Bettmann Archive

not be remembered. The number was reduced in two ways. Words which sounded alike would be represented by the same sign. Thus the picture of a shoemaker's tool might mean awl or all. Again, the sign for man might be used in combination to mean something not a human being, as, for example, the first syllable of "man-hole," or of mandate. This advance from word-sign to syllable-sign was made in Egypt before 3000 B.C., perhaps even earlier in the land of Sumer.

The use of syllabic writing made it possible to express all parts of speech and to reproduce thoughts on papyrus or clay. Syllable-signs were gradually reduced, for convenience in writing, to simple conventional forms. The next step, that is, from a syllable-sign to a consonant-sign, was actually made in Egypt, but the Egyptian alphabet replaced only in part the syllable-signs. So cumbersome was the writing which visiting Greeks found in Egypt in the sixth century B.C. that they could explain it only as a purveyor of magic. They called it sacred carving, *hieroglyphic.*

It was in Syria that true alphabetic writing was first developed. A language of syllable-signs, having its origin in Sumeria, had been adopted as a means of communication by the traders of the Near East. Its name, *cuneiform,* was derived from the marks made by a wedge-shaped reed on clay tablets resembling a half-used cake of chocolate-brown soap. This form of script, although less artistic than the Egyptian hieroglyphs, was much more easily written. For many centuries it satisfied traders and diplomats, but in the sixteenth or fifteenth century B.C., the merchants of North Syria began experimenting with the Egyptian alphabetic signs and produced a true alphabet. Recent finds at Ras Shamra indicate cuneiform influence on the experimenters. The undeciphered script of Crete also may have exerted some influence. The alphabet which finally triumphed, however, the Phoenician, had many Egyptian features. Like its predecessor, the Phoenician alphabet lacked vowel sounds, a contribution which was made by the Greeks.

The first known division of time based on human reasoning was made in the Nile valley. Some observer noted that the star of Sothis and the sun rose together at the time of the annual flood. The phenomenon was observed again after an interval of three hundred sixty-five days. This intervening period was then divided into twelve months of thirty days each and a holiday season of five days. Unfortunately for the Egyptians, the true solar year is approximately three hundred sixty-five and a quarter days, and the sun and Sothis rise at exactly the same time only once in fourteen hundred sixty years. The result was that the months to which the Egyptians ad-

hered with religious zeal gradually fell out of step with the seasons after which they were named. The generally accepted year in which this observation was made is 4236 B.C. It would be unwise to call this the first recorded date in human history, since no record was made at the time, nor was the Sothic year, or cycle, ever used to date an event.

The common practice of the Egyptians was to locate an event in the proper year of a king's reign. This was also the practice in Sumer. There the adoption of a lunar year (a year of twelve moons plus) made the calculation of each New Year's Day an extremely difficult problem. Many centuries later, the Assyrians named their years after annually elected officials. The preservation of many Assyrian lists of these officials gives a fairly solid foundation for the dating of Assyrian history as well as for the history of those who came in contact with the Assyrians. It should be remembered that every date before 893 B.C., the oldest Assyrian record, is the result of calculation based on incomplete and inaccurate data.

Social and political organization was also advanced in certain localities at the dawn of history. It is probable that we shall never be able to trace human advance to a single center of diffusion. On the basis of existing evidence the only sound statement which may now be made is that favorable environment and the will to work have produced cultures which apparently have enjoyed independent development and which have made separate and distinct contributions to European civilization. *Original home of civilization*

The desert which stretches from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean and along its northern border to the Indus valley lay in the path of the cyclonic storm belt during the periods when Europe was covered with ice. But with the final retreat of the ice, the storm belt moved northward. The slow process of desiccation reduced the habitable districts of what was once forest land to a number of oases, the largest of which is the Nile valley. Cutting its path from the highlands of equatorial Africa through the rocky heights of the southern Sahara, the Nile flows slowly through the desert to the Mediterranean. The last part of its course, known from ancient times as Egypt, is only a narrow strip of fertile land never more than ten miles in width and about three hundred miles in length. Great cliffs on either side give way to sandy terraces which descend gradually to the rich soil of the lands bordering the river. Well filtered through rapids and cataracts, the Nile bears, even at the flood, only the most enriching of sediment which its waters spread in a thin film over the lowlands. At the mouth of the river the tideless Mediterranean has made possible the formation of a vast *Prehistoric Egypt*
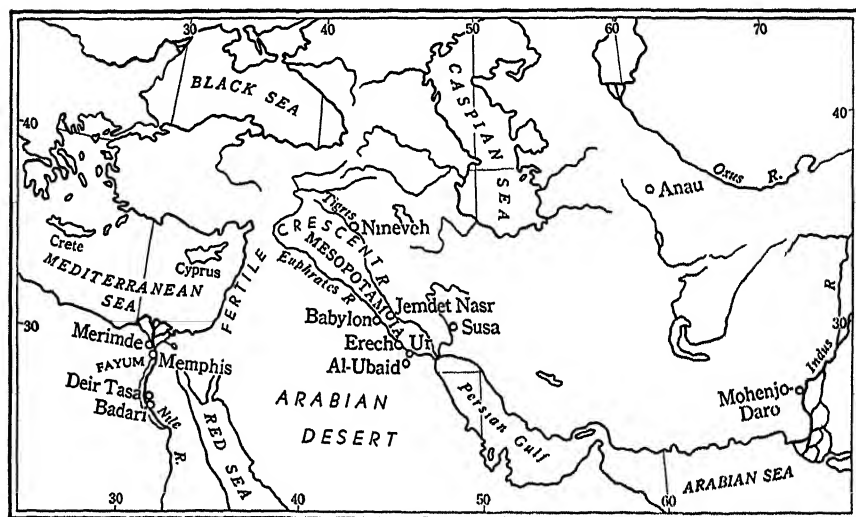
THE BEGINNINGS OF CIVILIZATION, 5000 TO 3000 B. C.

delta, a triangle with a base of about one hundred fifty miles and an altitude of about one hundred miles. To the travelers of classical antiquity the river was at once a mystery and a blessing. Herodotus, the Greek historian, puzzled in vain over the lateness (July) of its annual flood but was convinced that the very existence of Egypt depended on it. It was he who described Egypt as the gift of the Nile. The gift was not a perfect one, however, for, although the even climate freed the farmer from many of the hazards of agriculture, absence of rain made irrigation a necessity.

At first glance, Egypt appears to be completely isolated. Above *Man in Egy* and along the cataracts lies a district not attractive to human settlers. To the east and west are desert areas, while to the north lies the Mediterranean. Egypt has nevertheless been invaded from each of these directions in the long course of her history. The astonishing feature of Egyptian history is not the lack of visitors but the ability of its people to Egyptianize them. Paleolithic hunters came to the edge of the valley, where they preyed upon ostrich and gazelle. They did not penetrate the valley floor with its heavy growth of timber and its sluggish waters infested with crocodiles. Later comers, probably also from the desert, brought with them the improvements of neolithic culture to aid them in their conquest of the valley. Their homes in village-like settlements were placed on low spurs of the hills at Deir Tasa, the Fayum, and Merimde. They were sowers of grain and hewers of timber. A third set of migrants, this time from the south, supplemented stone implements with copper. These men, known from the excavations at Badari, joined the desert intruders in the occupation of the valley floor. It was thus a composite group which laid the foundations of pre-dynastic Upper Egypt. They plied the river with oar-propelled boats, controlled the waters with canals, and developed the rudiments of a written language. The problems of the delta region were solved by a different set of wanderers, coming apparently from Asia. There is reason to believe that the delta men extended their sway up the river, but the authentic facts which bring the pre-dynastic period to a close were the union of Upper and Middle Egypt, and the conquest of Lower Egypt by this combined force.

The political and social development which ended in unification of the entire valley was closely connected with the contest between man and nature. Drainage of swamps and irrigation of arid lands called for a decided amount of co-operation and for leadership which soon became political as well as economic in character. The leaders were recognized as the owners of the life-giving water, as the givers of life itself. It is not surprising that the man who controlled

all Egypt received divine honors. God-kingship was an established institution in Egypt for 3500 years, and from Egypt it passed, through Alexander the Great and his successors, to Rome.

The increasing aridity of the Saharan flatland drove many refugees to the Nile valley. Others wandered to the south and disappeared from the European scene. Still others crossed to Spain and, continuing their wanderings, were engulfed in the culturally stagnant parklands of central Europe. Only on the Nile was a successful effort made in Africa to establish an organized society. In order to discover traces of an organization similar to that of Egypt, one must leave Africa and travel far to the north and east. The desert of the Arabian flatland was like that of the Sahara. Along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean the country was more attractive, with arable coastal plains, heavily timbered hills in the Lebanon range, and relatively fertile land in the valleys of the Jordan and the Orontes. But here, too, man was slow in his advance. Further travel through the grazing country of North Syria and down the Euphrates will finally bring one, in the land between the rivers, Mesopotamia, to the monuments of peoples who were contemporaries and rivals of the dwellers in the Nile valley.

The rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, are not alike. The former has many tributaries throughout its length, receiving them from the northern hills near by. The latter is much longer and receives all its tributaries before swinging far out into the desert to follow its long course to the Persian Gulf. Both rivers flow more swiftly than the Nile and bring much coarse sediment to the valley. With this weapon they have pushed back the shores of the gulf from an original position north of ancient Babylon. The delta which the two rivers have formed has almost doubled in historic times. Ur, which was once a gulf port, is now one hundred sixty miles from salt water. Thus, the land between the two rivers has two clearly marked divisions. The first, Mesopotamia proper, is a country of decided contrasts. Timbered hills in the north are succeeded by pasture lands, which are, in turn, replaced by desert. The climate and soil do not invite a large population and have made the area a sort of Bad Land, to which refugees have fled and from which warrior bands have raided the more favored districts. The second part of the river valley was once called the valley of Shinar, or Sumer. Later, when it was governed by the kings of Babylon, it was known as Babylonia. It is a tropical delta which could and did become a veritable agricultural paradise.

The traditions of the men of Sumer included the mythical days of a golden age before a great flood. That disaster was followed by

the rule of kings whose hold on life was greater than that of Methuselah. Archaeology confirms the probability of flood and gives partial support to the lists of kings, but it substitutes for the extravagant chronology a more conservative reckoning of human occupation and development of the delta. Excavators at Al Ubaid and Erech have unearthed the remains of men who first reclaimed the delta marshes. It is not known whether they came from the western desert, from the up-river district, or from the eastern hills. They may have come by sea. There is evidence of conquest by a second group at Erech. In any event, before the close of the fourth millennium, men of the chalcolithic (copper and stone) stage had established urban communities in the land of Sumer. A third site, Jemdet Nasr, presents the oldest example of a second feature of this culture. Not only did these men live in cities, but each city was dominated by its temple. The men who built these temples were not desert nomads. Their language differed from that of the Arabian wanderers; they brought wheeled carts with them into the valley, and their implements and utensils connected them with other groups to the east. Tradition and monuments lead historians to believe that the men who gave to the land its name, Sumer, its language, its religion, and its political organization were Iranian conquerors of the first valley-dwellers.

Agriculture, trade, and the absence of frontiers are the key words to a study of life in the Tigris-Euphrates valley. Agriculture, based on irrigation, was the principal occupation of the Egyptian and Sumerian. The men of Sumer, however, had the more difficult task, since the floods of the two rivers were often bearers of disaster, to which wind and rain contributed. Living was more precarious, and control over nature less easy. The farmers had too much water and too much silt to struggle against without co-operation. It was this co-operative effort which led to the organization of little city-states surrounding the huge mud-brick mounds built as homes for their mountain gods. The leader of the group, the patesi, was but a "tenant farmer of the god." He was also a leader in trade, which was aided by the network of canals traversing the country between the rivers, encouraged by the diversity in climate and of products in various parts of the long valley, and stimulated by the presence of roads out of the valley to markets east, south, and north. This absence of frontiers made it easy for the Mesopotamian trader to carry his wares to foreign markets. But it was also a standing invitation to men less pleasantly situated on northern hills or southern desert. The patesi, then, had to be a leader in war as well as in agriculture and trade. When the Sumerians become historical figures,

at about 3000 B.C., the social institutions they had framed to meet their local problems had become completely matured.

In the search for Sumerian origins, the eastward movement of archaeology has reached the Indus valley. A remarkable development has been uncovered in the first two excavations to prehistoric levels. In Mohenjo Daro political and economic institutions have been found which repeat, on a much larger scale, the experiences of the Sumerians. The men who lived in the Indus valley, at some time between 3000 and 2500 B.C., were cultivating wheat and cotton, had domesticated cattle, sheep, and elephants, used boats and wheeled carts, and were familiar with bronze. No one group or race is credited with this culture, since remains of Mediterranean and Alpine men have been found together with individuals of other types. The striking resemblances between Sumerian and Indus cultures have been interpreted as connoting a common origin rather than imitation of one by the other. The resemblances between them and the differences between either of them and Egyptian culture point to an independent origin of what may be called the Asiatic ancestor of European culture. In one respect the Indus valley civilization is unique. Excavation has disclosed no proof of that centralization of power exemplified in pharaoh or patesi—no palace, no temple. The largest building uncovered is a public bath.

Cultures of the river-valley type were not restricted to the Nile and the Euphrates. Along the banks of the Indus and the Ganges in northern India, and of the Yellow and the Yangtse in northern and central China, human societies advanced toward civilization. The developments in India and China were independent each of the other and in the earlier stages had little or no effect upon Western civilization. Less than a century ago, Rudyard Kipling predicted that East and West would never meet, but the interaction of one upon the other is daily becoming more forceful and more significant. For that reason, the civilizations of the Far East merit consideration. The problem, which can only be suggested here, concerns the basis of Kipling's prediction. What are the great differences between East and West?

The barriers of mountain and sea which separate India from the rest of the world have not secured the land from invasion. Even the earliest known culture, which the excavations of Mohenjo-Daro have disclosed, was one closely related to the beginnings of civilization in the plateau of Iran. Later the conquest of Dravidian natives and the occupation of the Indus valley by Indo-Europeans about 1600 B.C. gave a definite organization to the men of northern India.

For the next thousand years, there is no record of close contact with the West. Persians (see p. 63) and Greeks (see p. 99) established a thin line of communication, but the exchange of goods and ideas between India and the West was intermittent after the third century B.C., and India remained a sort of never-never land to men of the Mediterranean world.

Throughout this long period of separation, a culture pattern grew, a pattern which western Europeans would not, or could not, understand. Not until the eighteenth century did the current of Oriental thought become strong enough to affect Occidental civilization. The philosophers were the men most interested, and it was they who began the study and explanation of the Oriental mind.

For many centuries the Far East had been known only as a land where luxury items could be found—spices, drugs, ivory, and gems. Then students learned that in India, as in Egypt, the economic basis of life was agriculture and the fertile soil, again as in Egypt, supported a large population. But India had a more enervating climate, discouraging the activities which accounted for the rapid advance in the Nile valley. The energy which invaders brought with them gradually disappeared. Under these conditions a caste system had developed, unparalleled in human history. Every child was born into a group, bound by rigid rules of conduct from which there was no escape but death, or the pitiable life of the outcast.

The religion of India was one of many gods. On the whole it offered little promise of happiness and simply added another burden of duties. However, the individual, in the Orient as in the Occident, wanted happiness, and an answer to that want was given, in the fifth century B.C., by Gautama Buddha. Starting with the premise that life is full of sorrow, Gautama asserted that sorrow came from selfish desires, and, consequently, complete happiness —the cure for sorrow—could be achieved by the man who freed himself from all these desires. The state of complete freedom, or Nirvana, meant an almost complete suppression of personality, an ideal that could be reached only by a very small number. For the majority of those who wished to move in that direction, Gautama suggested rules of conduct, all of them unselfish. Even in its milder form, Buddhism had a tendency to turn its followers away from life. It was not permanently successful in India, but its initial popularity is significant because it reflects a point of view rarely found in the western world. Its climax is an indifference to heat, cold, food, drink, pain, pleasure, sorrow, and joy. The result is freedom from an ever-present fear, that of being born again into a lower

caste or into the form of an animal. From Nirvana there is no re-
turn to this world of sorrow. Plague, famine, and flood were ac-
cepted as the work of forces against which one should not fight.
If one did not accept the rigid discipline of Buddha, there was at
least temporary release in imagination. The art and literature of
India demonstrate the hold of imagination on the Hindu spirit.
It is responsible for works of great beauty and for historical records
in which factual truth is completely overlooked.

China   China, like India, had a long period of isolation. The valley of
the Whang Ho, or Yellow river, where Chinese civilization first
took shape, is more remote than the Indus. In that valley and in
the Yangtse valley, to which Chinese culture spread, huge popula-
tions have been developed under conditions of climate resembling
those of the New England states. Cold winters and hot summers
are the rule. The most noticeable local difference occurs between
the loess plains of the upper reaches and the heavily silted lowlands
of the coastal areas. Again, as in India, agriculture ruled supreme.
To the Western world China meant rice, tea, silk, paper, gun-
powder, and the mariner's compass, but this information came to
the West long after the beginning of the Christian era.

The first authentic date of Chinese history is 1322 B.C. Tradition
places the beginnings of organized life in the fifth millenium. Ar-
chaeologists have uncovered evidence of paleolithic and neolithic
life. The age and independence of Chinese civilization have been
accepted, and attempts to unite China and the West in origin have
not been convincing.

Chinese development has taken directions, as in India, which
are as strange to the western mind. The family has been the basic
unit, and to its success and preservation all human energy has been
directed. The results were ancestor worship, the family memory,
and the hope of many sons in order that family memory might not
die. A conservatism grew out of this, which barbarian invaders,
kings, and statesmen could not move. Kings came and went, and
anarchy or despotism might prevail for a time, but the family, or
heads of families in village communities, preserved the old institu-
tions and regulations throughout the centuries.

Other factors have only strengthened this conservatism and raised
it to the dignity of a cult. There was pride in the long past un-
touched by outside influences, a pride which discouraged innova-
tion from any source. The only successful importation was Bud-
dhism, which came to China from India as a religion. Buddha had
become a god with temples, priesthood, and ritual. It was possibly
the suppression of the individual in Buddhist teaching which made

it acceptable to the Chinese. At any rate, it did not interfere with the old devotion to the family, a devotion that was emphasized by the greatest mind of China, Confucius. Confucius was not a reformer. He taught, in the fifth century B.C., a revival of old ideals, and stressed the value of filial piety. He supported the dignity of the family with rules of conduct, protecting it against change.

The origin European civilization

For many decades efforts have been made to establish Egypt or Mesopotamia as the original center from which civilization spread. Recently, however, the attention of scholars has shifted to sites outside the river valleys. Nineveh, Susa, and Anau are but a few of the communities which have been entered as contestants. The title *Home of Civilization* may be awarded tomorrow, or next year, or never. It cannot be awarded today.

Summary

Modern authorities differ in their estimates, but, if the more conservative figures be accepted, the northward movement of ice and storm belts was drawing to a close in the seventh millennium B.C. The readjustment of men to the new climatic conditions produced three important developments. Nordic, Alpine, and Mediterranean men appeared as definite types. Hamitic, Semitic, and Indo-European languages were differentiated. Many groups had shifted from food search (hunting) to food production (domestication of plants and animals). Not later than 5000 B.C., man's increasing control over nature was marked by the invention of pottery and of weaving, and the use of copper and bronze. The resultant community life was not confined to one area. In fact, by 3000 B.C., organized states with differentiated modes of life had been established in the Nile, the Tigris-Euphrates, and the Indus valleys. The first "modern" age had begun.

The Bettmann Archive

CAVE MEN DECORATING THEIR CAVES WITH THE IMAGES OF WILD BEASTS
(After a painting by Charles Knight)

GEOLOGICAL DIVISIONS	HUMAN CULTURES
Pliocene (before the Ice Age)	Eolithic evidence
Pleistocene	Paleolithic
Ice Age I	Chellean
Ice Age II	Acheulian
Ice Age III	
Ice Age IV	Mousterian
(gradual retreat of ice	Aurignacian
to about 7000 B.C.)	
	Solutrean
10 000 B.C.	Magdelenian

BEGINNINGS OF CIVILIZATION

	Tigris-Euphrates	Nile	Indus	Aegean	Europe
10 000 B.C.					
	Neolithic	Neolithic		Neolithic	Late Paleolithic
	Susa I, Anau I	Deir Tasa		Knossus	
5 000 B.C.		Badari			Kitchen Middens
	Chalcolithic				
4 000 B.C.	Anau III,				
	Sumerians				Lake Dwellers
3 500 B.C.	Ubaid			Bronze	
	Erech I	Dynasty I			Megalithic
	Jemdet Nasr	Dynasty III			Danubian I
3 000 B.C.					
	Ur, Dynasty I				
			Mohenjo Daro		

COLLATERAL READING

V. G. Childe, *What Happened in History*, 1946, Chaps. 1–5.

H. R. H. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, 1936, Chap. 1.

J. O. Hertzler, *The Social Thought of the Ancient Civilizations*, 1936, Chap. 1.

A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, 1933.

E. Mackay, *The Indus Civilization*, 1935.

G. Renard, *Life and Work in Prehistoric Times*, 1929.

A. L. Rowse, *The Use of History*, 1948.

Rise and Fall of the

First Modern Age

MYCERINUS, EGYPTIAN PHARAOH

H UMAN societies have had their periods of great achievement that were followed, sooner or later, by periods of inactivity. The achievement may occur in the youth, in the maturity, or even in the old age of a society, but ancient history has no illustration of achievement without decline. The term *Modern* is given to these eras of intense striving and accomplishment, because they were no less modern in their day than is Europe of the last four centuries. For the periods of rest, or inactivity, the term *Middle Age* will be used. There was probably a period of greatness in paleolithic times and another in the neolithic age, but the first modern age of which we have adequate record came with the discovery and use of metals.

The centuries from 3000 to 1200 B.C. deserve the title *modern* for many reasons. The old struggle against environment by small groups had been replaced by a contest between and among men for the right to live and the right to prosper. Great states had been developed with a multitude of regulations of citizens and subjects. In foreign affairs, the states acted as units with definite foreign policies, state armies, and state treaties. The chief difference between the twentieth centuries before Christ and after Christ is that the number of states then was smaller and the institutions simpler then than now.

Three great first-rate powers played the leading roles in the human comedy of these eighteen centuries. The political fortunes of this state or that, and of one king or another, are unimportant today. Their successes, however, in the business of making a living, in the art of getting along with neighbors, at home and abroad,

and in obtaining real value from use of leisure time—these are important. They are contributions to European civilization—legacies which still are active in this Third Modern Age.

The first large group to reach the goal of a single state was the Egyptian. The settlements of pre-dynastic times had developed into districts called *nomes,* which, in turn, had been united in substantial kingdoms of the delta, Upper, and Lower regions of the Nile. The final step of complete unity was accomplished (about 3300 B.C.) by three southern rulers. When, in the days of decline, the Egyptian priest, Manetho, composed (about 290 B.C.) the annals of his country, he attributed the work of the three unifiers to one king, Menes. Manetho also divided the Egyptian story into thirty dynasties, a framework which has been adopted by all later historians. Dynasties I and II ruled their subjects from Thinis. Under them, royal officials maintained peace, administered justice, and collected taxes on the basis of a census of population and of wealth. All this wealth was held to be the property of the god-king, whose victory over the others had deprived them of their title to ownership and even of their pretensions to divinity. Some of the income was used to equip an army for the conquest of Sinai, attractive because of its mineral resources. The royal budget had few large items of expenditure. There were no cities to be maintained. The capital was merely the village home of the king. His own residence, Pharaoh, "the great house," was not a place of luxury. The most imposing building was the structure erected to shelter the mortal remains of the ruler.

These royal tombs became magnificent monuments, culminating in the three Pyramids of the Fourth-Dynasty pharaohs. They are located near Memphis, to which the Third Dynasty had removed. It was under them that Horus became a national god, and it was they who were first to be called sons of Horus. The Pyramid pharaohs were active expansionists. Expeditions by sea to the Lebanon country, intimate relations with Byblos, and military operations against the Nubians are proofs of their economic imperialism.

Internal dissension ended the period of greatness and brought a century of weakness. The state entered this depression under the rulers of the Fifth Dynasty, who were worshippers of the god Ra, so worshipful, indeed, that they built temples to their god rather than massive tombs for themselves. Expansion was resumed, especially by the pharaohs of the Sixth Dynasty, who pushed beyond the first cataract by land and dispatched fleets down the Red Sea to Somaliland. Divisive forces, however, proved stronger than the unifying factor of expansion. The power of the pharaohs was gradually replaced by that of the nomarchs (rulers of nomes), who as-
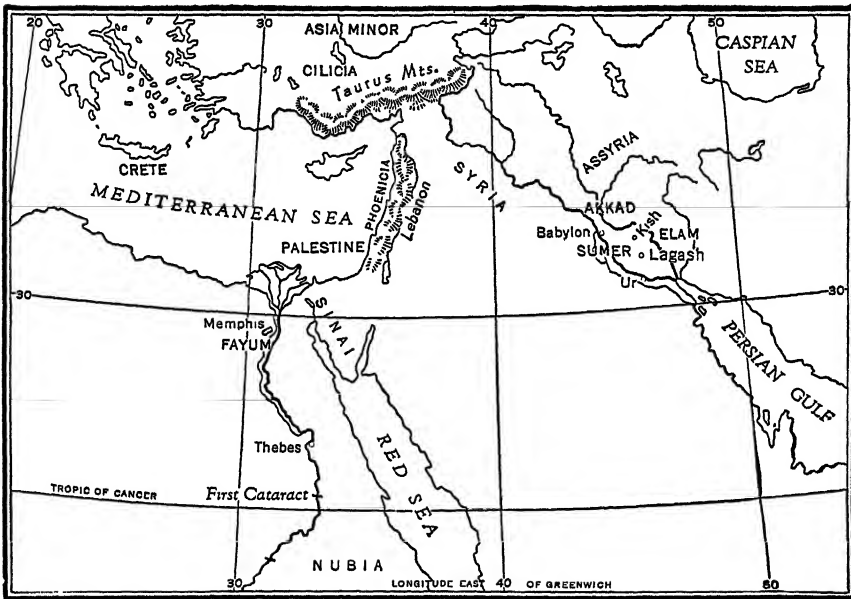
EGYPT, MESOPOTAMIA AND THE AEGEAN, 3000 TO 2000 B. C.

sumed the dignity, the titles, the right to immortality, and the exercise of authority once held solely by the sons of Horus or Ra. For five hundred years the division continued. Restoration of unity did not come until about the year 2000 B.C.

Life and thought

Political unity was achieved in the Nile valley after the pattern of Egyptian life had been firmly established. During the thousand years of the Old Kingdom there were minor improvements in the business of making a living, in the use of leisure, and in the extension of Egyptian authority and influence. But Egypt's contributions to European civilization in that millennium were those of the instructor, not the discoverer. That which she taught was profound but simple and may be simply told.

Social classes

The peasant farmer was the foundation of the Egyptian state. He and his family worked almost incessantly in order to get from the soil a return sufficient to support themselves and to satisfy the demands of the tax gatherers. Almost all his dealings were with his village neighbors. A few of the bolder spirits, as traders, crossed and recrossed the Nile, or followed its course north and south, and brought to the farmer new ideas and novel wares. Royal judges and tax collectors were his most frequent visitors, officials whose regulations and demands kept him steadily at work on the land which he cultivated. Craftsmen and traders were equally diligent. They, too, had taxes to pay, and although their social position was superior to that of the farmer they had no great amount of leisure.

The leisure class, those who did not work with their hands, included royal officials, nobles, and priests. The first group earned and held their privileged positions through ability. They formed an organization rather than a social class, since men of any class might be chosen for the tasks of managing the kingdom and collecting the king's revenues.

The nobles were great landlords, probably descendants of those who had led the hunting packs and who had become masters of the first agricultural communities. Under a weak king they were all-powerful in their respective districts. Under a strong king they furnished troops, revenue, and personal service to the monarch.

The priesthoods also controlled great estates. It was from them that the craftsmen obtained the larger part of their custom. It was from them that the peasant sought guidance. Their power and influence were sometimes greater than those of the kings. In fact the Fifth Dynasty appears to have been a line of priest-kings who made their god Ra the chief deity of the kingdom.

The king, too, was a landlord. In theory all the land was his. In actual fact, a great deal of it was retained by nobility and priest-

hood. Title to the land was vested in the king as the heir of the god who had ruled in person, Horus. Not only the land but the people were his. He was all-knowing, all-powerful, a god incarnate. Egypt was the one estate owned by an omnipotent ruler and managed for him and by him.

Throughout the long centuries before the union of North and South, the Egyptians had been improving their exploitation of the valley and its environs. Although wheat, barley, and flax remained the staple crops, other crops and other occupations than agriculture were added to increase the wealth of the royal treasuries. Cattle, asses, fowls, and fish made their contributions; papyrus and clay furnished material for the scribe and the potter; tanners, and weavers produced the finished products of their crafts. The quarries of the desert and the upper valley and the mineral deposits of Sinai were exploited; with the cedars of Lebanon, ships were constructed which brought to Egypt the wares of southern Arabia and Somaliland (the land of Punt). *Economic lif*

Works of art as well as of utility were produced. Vases of porphyry and syenite and glazed ware on a quartz or sandstone base mark a shift in interest from clay to stone, brought about, possibly, by the introduction of copper tools. But with the invention of the potter's wheel (Dynasty III), the ceramic art was restored to favor. Copper and gold ornaments, as well as portrait sculpture in wood and ivory, combine with other products to demonstrate a high artistic taste and a sense of beauty. The development in architecture is best illustrated in the evolution of royal tombs from the primitive mastaba, or mound, to the terraced pyramid, thence to the smooth-sided pyramid, an evolution in size, in material, and in engineering skill. A line of masonry 9069 inches in length shows an error in direction of but six-tenths of an inch: joints six feet in length have one one-hundredth of an inch of error: a sixteen-ton rock rests on mortar one-fiftieth of an inch in thickness.

Scientific knowledge did not keep pace with this remarkable technical skill. The greatest advance came in measurement, a normal development in a country where ordinary landmarks were obliterated by the annual flood. The adoption of a month of thirty days and a year of twelve months with an intercalation of five days each year reduced the error between man-made and solar year to less than six hours annually. Invention and discovery, on the whole, were directed towards strictly utilitarian ends. The practice of medicine was a profession with recognized specialists, but the scientific content was combined with magic and with false theories. In surgery, especially in bone surgery, the Egyptians were far advanced. One *Science*

great aid to the knowledge of human anatomy was the process of mummification. In Egyptian thought, the soul was liberated from the body at death but desired a familiar place to which it could return. This accounts for the skillful embalming, the elaborate wrapping of the body, and the careful burial. All was combined in an actual mummy cult. The practical nature of the Egyptian is demonstrated in the general acceptance of the mummy of the borrower's father as a security for a loan.

Religion

A similar practical mode of thought was applied to problems of man and nature. The Egyptian defined nature in terms of a host of powers, friendly and unfriendly, which at first he identified with natural objects—the river, trees, and especially with animals. The images of these animals he revered, usually considering as sacred the animal in whose image he had made his chief local deity. This apparently Upper Egyptian (Nubian?) point of view was modified by an anthropomorphic concept (one in which gods are given the form, thoughts, and emotions of men) of the Delta inhabitants, and resulted in a peculiar compromise, which represented the natural power as a half-human, half-animal deity. The concept of a deity in high heaven appears also to have been a contribution of Lower Egypt. Many of the deities ascended to the stars, and a solar faith spread over Egypt. It was a line of sun-worshipping kings that built the pyramids, royal tombs, but also symbols of the sun. The multiplicity of deities, even of sun gods, led to an attempt at classification in which the gods were grouped in threes and in nines. Then came the syncretism, the equating of the chief deity of one district with the chief deity of other districts. The kings might be sons of Horus, of Ra, or of Amen, but they were all sons of the sun.

More important than this mechanical and systematic side of Egyptian religion was the development of a moral sense. This development is the one exception to the statement that "the Egyptians had attained all the essentials of civilization as fully developed as our own as early as 3000 B.C." Belief in a future life was old in predynastic Egypt, but it was a life circumscribed by the limits of a tomb. Happiness or sorrow of the soul in its permanent abode depended upon the piety of one's descendants. In the older texts, honesty is recommended as the best policy solely because of its immediate returns, and the god-kings, who alone return to a boundless after-life, secure success and happiness there by the use of magic formulae. The revolt and depression which followed the Old Kingdom produced many changes in religious thought. They extended the hope of limitless immortality first to the rebellious nomarchs and finally to all Egyptians. They also witnessed the growth of a

sense of righteousness, illustrated by the story of the Judgment of Ra. This was a judgment of each man's soul. The best preparation for the trial was a life of filial piety, charity, justice, and upright living. Superstition still played an important role, since many perils in the next world could be overcome by the use of magic, but there was no escape through magic from the final judgment. As a result, the ethical principles of the Egyptians and their ideas concerning sin, repentance, and good works were not surpassed in antiquity. This development, so briefly sketched, was not completed until a full thousand years had seen the pyramids of the Fourth Dynasty kings. But it should be placed with the political, administrative, and artistic achievements of the Egyptians as one of the contributions of the Nile valley to the civilization of western Europe.

Four dynasties (VII–X) struggled without success against the forces of division. A fifth family of kings, whose home was Thebes, was more fortunate, but real unity was not restored until a second Theban line made good their claims to dominion over Upper and Lower Egypt. The rulers of the Twelfth Dynasty brought peace and prosperity to a war-torn and desolated country. They were not innovators; their work was restorative, their methods conservative, and their policies inherited from the Old Kingdom. *The Middle Kingdom*

But there were new factors which the new rulers could not destroy. The power of the local nobles was curbed but not abolished, the economic independence of strong individuals of the middle class was recognized, and the right of all to look forward to immortality was freely granted. Despotism was tempered with benevolence. A program of public works included the construction of a canal from the Delta to the Red Sea, another around the first cataract, and the reclamation of the deserted Fayum district. Trade with Crete and with Cilicia brought new wealth to the country. The humiliation of invasions from which Egypt had suffered in the Middle Age was removed by an expedition into Palestine and by the occupation of the valley down to the second cataract. Tales of romantic adventure reflected the interest of the Egyptians in the world around them. But the bulk of literary activity was directed toward religious thought. A higher moral standard and a deeper religious feeling leavened the mass of magical instruction, which has come to be known as The Book of the Dead.

The Middle Kingdom was a busy and happy period of Egyptian history. It proved, however, to be a brief revival rather than a permanent one. With the passing of the Twelfth Dynasty, divisive forces appeared which rendered Egypt helpless when confronted with armed invaders. The first warning of this peril was the arrival *Egyptian imperialism*

of Semitic refugees driven from their homes by a great wave of migration from the distant north. The refugees at first entered peacefully, as did Abraham coming from Ur. But later arrivals were more unruly and, under the leadership of the Hyksos (Hittites or Mitanni?), they came as conquerors. With the aid of horse-drawn war chariots they quickly overran the Delta and gradually extended their control southward. For more than a century they were lords of Egypt, pillagers, desecrators of the temples, and oppressors of the Egyptians. The Theban princes, who drove the Hyksos out of the valley, were thus champions of law and order, patriots, and defenders of the faith. Designated as the Eighteenth Dynasty, they reorganized the machinery of administration, rebuilt the temples of their gods, and solaced the outraged priesthoods. Then began a period of expansion based on military ardor and religious zeal. Soon after 1540 B.C. the Euphrates was reached and again in 1515 B.C. Systematic conquest and occupation of empire followed a decisive Egyptian victory at Megiddo (c. 1480 B.C.). The authority of the great conqueror and organizer, Thothmes III, was recognized in Cyprus, on the Cicilian coast, and throughout Syria up to the Amanus range and the Euphrates. The new neighbors respected these boundaries, adopting a policy of nonintervention which enabled the Egyptians to concentrate on imperial organization. Peace and tribute were the demands of the conquerors. They obtained them by a number of garrisons located at strategic points, by an efficient system of tribute collection, and by the education in Egypt of the sons of subject princes. Local institutions were not changed. Kings, tribal chiefs, and local oligarchies continued to govern under the supervision of Egyptian officials and the successors of Thothmes III extended their influence to the north. For a period of two centuries Egypt was the acknowledged leader of all.

The position of eminence in "world" politics brought many changes in the domestic life and institutions of Egypt. The wealth of loot and tribute was not monopolized by kings and nobles. Soldiers and merchants also profited, increasing their leisure and their enjoyment of life. Still the lion's share went to the pharaohs, to their administrative officials, and to the great priesthoods. The pride and energy of success in war found expression in a great number of architectural and sculptural products. Modern impressions of Egyptian art are based largely on the temples, statues, and tombs of the imperial dynasties. Imported objects of art, for the first time, form an appreciable part of the archaeological record. Cretan wares and Cretan designs in metal and pottery are the most striking of a host of importations. Before the mass attack of foreign goods and

foreign ideas, Egyptian conservatism gradually retreated. Naturalism and realism in art became the fashion. Efforts were made to reproduce accurately the strange animals brought in from Nubia, as well as the costumes and physical characteristics of war captives, foreign merchants, and visiting ambassadors.

The revolt against convention affected government as well as art. Pharaoh was still a god, but he ruled by right of conquest and of might rather than by his divinity. His interests were clearly centered on things of this life. The development of trade and the maintenance of a just and efficient administration were the personal concerns of these benevolent rulers.

It was an attack upon religion which aroused the conservatives to a final and successful defense of that which was old. The conquering kings had limited their changes to matters temporal, attributing their successes to the gods and honoring especially the great god Amen. But when, in 1375 B.C., a youthful and unwarlike idealist became pharaoh, an attempt was made to revolutionize the religion of the Egyptians. The new king substituted for the many gods of the people a single deity, Aton, in whose honor he changed his own name to that of Ikhnaton. The history of his seventeen-year rule is wrapped in a darkness which the lamps of controversy have failed to penetrate. It is known that his opponents failed to dislodge him, but that his religious revolt died with him. It is also known from the royal archive found at his capital, modern Tell-el-Amarna, that he sacrificed the Egyptian Empire in his religious revolt.

The kings who followed Ikhnaton were the famous Ramesids. With the aid of the restored Amen, they fought in vain to retain Egypt's position of dominance. A great Hittite invasion was checked in 1284 B.C. at Kadesh, but the extant treaty of 1276 B.C. recognized the equal strength of Hittite and Egyptian power. By the end of the century Egypt had lost all of her Asiatic empire and was able only by heroic efforts to avert a second invasion of the Nile valley.

What, then, did Egypt contribute to the advance of Western civilization? A form of government in which all authority was centered in one man is an important contribution. Monarchy was not limited to Egypt, but divine kingship was, and the Egyptian precedent is clear in the theory of government which produced the caesars, kaisers, and czars of later days. The efficient administration of Egypt was another gift. The skill and sense of beauty produced artistic work of great merit in spite of the growing conventions which tended to strangle creative talent. Most valuable of all legacies was the development of a moral sense and of ethical standards. Accurate measurement of a gift of this character is impossible,

The Egyptian legacy

yet it is evident that the moralists of Israel and Greece were quickened through contact with Egyptian ethical thought.

The second cultural center lay between the Tigris and the Euphrates. The Mesopotamian written record begins, as does that of the Nile, at a time when inventive genius and artistic ability had reached heights never to be surpassed. The succeeding centuries in both areas were devoted to an elaboration and an extension of the ideas and techniques of prehistoric days, but just as the two backgrounds differed, so did the two histories. About two centuries after the Nile villagers had been united in a single kingdom, that is, about 3100 B.C., the Sumerians were established in a number of independent city-states located in the lower delta country of the Tigris-Euphrates. They had also trained their Semitic neighbors of Akkad to inhabit urban communities. Life was highly competitive both within these city-states and between rival cities. Two noteworthy results of these intra-civic and inter-civic struggles were the development of a disciplined military force of infantry in phalanx formation, and the appearance of a number of truly great patesis, men who took and deserved the title *lugal,* or king. Best known, but by no means the first, were Lugal Zaggisi the Sumerian of Erech, who exercised a brief hegemony over both Sumer and Akkad, and his immediate successor, Sargon, who continued the unity under Akkadian (Semitic) leadership.

The rise to power of a Semitic ruler is indicative of the strength and the weakness of the Sumerians. Strong enough to conquer and to teach their barbarian neighbors, they were unable to maintain control over their conquered pupils. Sargon, a native of the Akkadian city Kish, led a revolt against Lugal Zaggisi, captured Erech, and quickly subdued the land of Sumer. His armies made him master of Elam in the east, while in the west they extended his rule to the Lebanon and Taurus ranges. Revolts of subjects and attacks from without failed. The Sargonid kingdom ruled for two hundred years over the first authenticated empire of history.

The Semites were too strongly attracted by Sumerian life and culture to introduce many changes. Some Semitic gods were added to the Sumerian pantheon, and art, especially sculpture, was definitely stimulated by the new rulers. But the greatest innovation was in the sphere of government. A new class of officials ruled the empire, carrying on the tasks formerly allotted to priesthoods and patesis. Alternations of peace and war, of Sumerian and Semitic rule, culminated in a new capital Babylon, a new king Hammurabi, and the peak of Mesopotamian culture. It was not a long rule, for Babylon was captured and sacked about 1800 B.C. by bar-

barians from Asia Minor. But the fact that in it Sumerian and Semitic elements were intimately joined gives to it a great cultural importance.

The lands and peoples of Mesopotamia were desirable spoils of *Economic* war. The date palm, a food world in itself, grows there without cultivation. Wheat seed returned abundant crops to the sower, while the swamps furnished materials for houses and boats and fodder for cattle. Natural resources were steadily and more effectively exploited without recourse to the extreme centralization and absolute control so characteristic of Egyptian life. Land was, in large part, privately owned and cultivated by the owner, although tenant farmers were not unknown. The regulations, in extant leases, concerning improvements by the tenant in the form of buildings which he must erect and concerning the assessment of loss by flood indicate a long period of tenant farming.

Temple lands, as in the Nile valley, were large. They were worked sometimes by slaves, but most of the cultivators seem to have been free men. Temple stores of produce were also large, and the building and trading operations of the priesthoods supported a large craftsman class. An old saying, "Seven years of famine, and still the craftsman has bread," gives proof of the foresight and ability of the temple authorities. They led the way in the exchange of surplus manufactures. Distributing groups were formed whose operations covered a large area, and the rudiments of a banking system were established.

The natural diversities in products led to a lively trade, most of which followed the rivers or the numerous canals. As river traffic became complex, a great number of regulations were found necessary. Boats were guaranteed by the builders to last at least twelve months. The pilot of a moving boat was held responsible for the collision of his craft with one at anchor. Fishing rights were assigned to those who lived on the river banks. These rules, together with contracts, bills of sale, land leases, etc., formed a vast literature of business documents out of which developed laws, which were ultimately codified under the great Babylonian king Hammurabi.

The code of Hammurabi is a summary of Mesopotamian culture. *Social organi-* Supplemented by the official correspondence of the great law-giving *zation* king, it emphasizes the fundamental contribution to civilization of the Mesopotamian people. No document of the period before 600 B.C. declares more clearly the rights of the individual. There is no equality of right, but slaves, women, farmers, boatmen, husbands, wives, sons, and daughters are recognized as possessors of rights and are guaranteed the exercise of such rights. Social classes existed, and

there are instances of oppression of the weak by the strong (the organized priesthoods, and royal officials) , but protection and equity, within the city-states, were normal.

Cultural   The cultural development of Mesopotamia was affected by the practical nature of the people. The system of writing, for example, was much simpler than that of the Egyptians. The materials were easily acquired—clay in the form of tablets and a piece of reed which made wedged-shaped (cuneiform) marks on the clay. The ability to

The Bettmann Archive

THE PYRAMIDS

write was not limited to the very few, and the adoption of cuneiform by the men of Syria, eastern Asia Minor, and northern India proves its superiority to its near-by competitors. The system of notation was also relatively simple, with alternating multiples of six and ten. Survivals still persist in our measurement of time and of angles.

In a business world, measurement of time, space, and quantity was obligatory. The great difficulty of the farmer in finding a landmark which storm or flood could not destroy was solved by employing stars and planets as starting points for the measurement of space. The points of the compass were indicated in terms of prevailing winds. This indefinite nomenclature had its inconveniences, but none so great as that caused by the adoption of a lunar year.

Observation and notation of the movements of heavenly bodies produced a collection of data as accurate as could be made without instruments. But the speculation about the reasons for stellar and planetary movements and about their effects upon man resulted in the pseudo-science of astrology. Scientific or not, the study continued to be guided by practical needs. If stars and planets were inhabited by divine powers (and this was the belief), the Mesopotamian wished only to know when those powers would most affect him, what the nature of the power was, how kindly powers might be induced to help him, how evil powers might be persuaded to let him alone or injure his enemies. Most of the stellar and planetary deities, fortunately, were kindly disposed towards men. The evil powers threatening peace and prosperity were the storm and the river.

Aside from the innumerable business documents, the laws, and the grandiose accounts by kings of their conquests, there was produced a great deal of religious literature. Included in the last are the accounts of the heroic deeds of Gilgamesh, the Mesopotamian Hercules, the story of the great flood sent by the gods, the struggle of the Babylonian god Marduk with the forces of evil, and bits of religious philosophy similar to that of Job. The style and content of myths and hymns colored the writings of the Hebrews and were not unknown to the Greeks.

An appreciable Semitic contribution to this combined culture cannot be denied. The principle of an eye for an eye and, in general, the greater severity of legal punishment are Semitic. Elevation of ethical standards and improvement in the concepts of deity are also Semitic. But it is generally agreed that Mesopotamian civilization was dominantly Sumerian. City-state organization, the art of war, the duodecimal system, and cuneiform script were all Sumerian. The cylinder seal was probably Semitic, but the Sumerians brought with them the arch, the vault, and the dome to the valley.

Continuous cultivation of river valleys gave a surplus of goods and of population to those who controlled the fertile districts. With either or both of these gifts, it was possible to carry on the exchange of materials on a larger scale and over a wider area than had their paleolithic ancestors. Traders, soldiers, and colonists were instrumental in spreading to less favored areas the inventions and discoveries of Egyptian and Sumerian cultures. Elam, Assyria, northern Syria, and eastern Asia Minor were visited and educated by Mesopotamian armies and traders. In like manner, Egyptian travelers enlightened Nubia, Somaliland, Palestine, Phoenicia, and Cilicia. More adventurous merchants from the Nile were in touch with the island of Crete to the northwest, where they found pupils so eager and so

Extension of civilization

precocious that Cretan culture ultimately rivaled that of Egypt and formed the third great center of the First Modern Age.

The Mediter-
ranean era

The development of civilization in Crete marked the beginning of a new era—the gradual substitution of maritime for river-valley surroundings. Today we read of the passing of a Mediterranean era long centuries ago, of an Atlantic era now declining, and of a Pacific era now developing. But Mediterranean lands are still important; on the shores of that landlocked sea were mingled and fused the elements of many institutions which guide the lives of men in distant continents, and to them we must go for the early growth of modern ideas (even of the words used in discussing them) concerning art, truth, government, law, and religion.

Physical

The area has three large divisions. The western is bounded by the highland areas of the Spanish plateau, the Alps, the Apennines, and the Atlas range. Entrances or exits are found in the Straits of Gibraltar, the Rhone valley, and the sea lanes north and south of Sicily. The northern division, the Black Sea, is also secluded, blocked off by the huge outthrust of Asia Minor. The remaining section, the eastern Mediterranean, from Sicily to Phoenicia, from Thrace to Cyrene, may be subdivided almost indefinitely, but culturally and geographically it may be treated as a unit.

There are, indeed, many features common to the whole area. Temperature lines follow the shore lines rather closely, with the result that vegetation, climate, and physical circumstance are many times duplicated. This environmental monotone has produced and perpetuated the physical type of man called Mediterranean. Environment has also been influential in determining the rate of cultural development in the three great divisions. The cultural and political history of the area has been the cultural and political history of its invaders. The districts where intrusion is most easy have therefore been the centers of historical development. The invaders have generally disappeared as physical types, although their contributions to civilization remain.

Aegean lands

Crete forms the southern boundary of one of the greatest melting pots of ancient culture. In Aegean lands, Mediterranean, Alpine, and Nordic men have met in peace and in war. Europe, Asia, and Africa have struggled for control of the waterways and have exchanged goods and ideas in the harbor cities. But the leaders in the first great cultural advance were natives of Crete.

Crete

Even in neolithic days the men of Crete had ventured from their island home to Melos, whence they returned with the obsidian of that island. It is not known whether they or the Nile dwellers carried bits of that obsidian to pre-dynastic Egypt. But the presence in Crete of so many Egyptian articles of the First-Dynasty period seems to point

to an emigration from the Delta to the island. Skeletal remains of Alpine men indicate a similarly early contact with Asia Minor. The knowledge gained from these two contacts resulted in a rapid advance from Stone to Bronze Age, and from assimilation of others' culture to active transmission and independent contribution.

The Cretans were adequately supplied with cultivable land, and from it they obtained their food supply. When the dawn of history came to the eastern Mediterranean, they had cereals, the olive, the vine, goats, and cattle, together with the spoils of the sea. But it was by trade and industry that they most profited. The first manufactured articles were probably the output of leisure time, but with markets established it became easier to devote working hours to the making of pottery and metal articles, the gathering of sponges and shell fish, and to selling these articles to customers near and far. *Agriculture and trade*

The trader had to keep some record of his purchases and sales. As his wares increased in variety and quantity, he needed a numerical system. A written language and a system of numerals answering these needs were developed. It is our misfortune that the documents which have been preserved remain undeciphered. But the written record, even though unread, demonstrates the existence of a society actively engaged in laying the foundations of a sea power. From the unwritten record comes proof of the necessity of sea power to defend the traders from northern invaders. *Language*

The disputed area between Cretan and northern migrant was the Balkan peninsula. The "war" weapons of the Cretans were, in part, trade goods. Archaeological evidence has disclosed three stages of the cultural struggle on the Greek mainland. The first is the replacement of a low native culture with that of a more definitely northern origin. This replacement did not affect the southern portion of the peninsula. The second stage is a rapid conquest by Cretan wares of the southern and central sections of Greece. The third stage is one of complete conquest by an Iron Age culture from the north. The attempt to translate this cultural struggle into political terms, however, is still hypothetical. *Readjustment in Crete 2000–1400 B.C.*

The most satisfactory evidence is in Crete. There a group of independent commercial communities, ruled by local dynasts, flourished at about 2000 B.C. A catastrophe of unknown origin checked the steady advance of the first two centuries of that millennium, but the recovery was so rapid that by 1700 B.C. Crete had become the cultural center of the eastern Mediterranean. The chief building of the island was the Broad Palace of Minos, at Knossus, a structure five stories in height and covering four acres. The skill of the architects and builders who planned and erected the palace was equaled

by that of the artists whose frescoes and mosaics brought beauty to
its many rooms. Within its walls were amusement halls, a throne
room, a chapel, living quarters, and store rooms. It was a home of
luxury and display.

The palace of Minos, by its very size, proclaims a strong central-
ized monarchy for the entire island. Palaces have been found on
other sites, but none so large. The absence of city walls indicates
a sense of security from attacks by subjects or strangers. Paved roads,
well-built ports, and comfortable homes are additional proofs of a
well-organized state.

Three elements of Cretan life arouse the admiration of those who
seek to restore the record of this long forgotten civilization. One is
the trust placed in sea power for protection and profit. The mariners
of Crete took over the carrying trade to the Nile, dominated the
Aegean, and extended their commercial activity to Sicily and south-
ern Italy. Colonies, friendly ports of call, and subject towns prove
the existence of a naval empire which brought fame and wealth to
the rulers of Crete.

The rewards of sea power were the bases of a second admired
element of Cretan life, namely, a highly developed social organiza-
tion. The amount of leisure was perhaps greater, and certainly more
widely diffused, in Crete than in the river-valley centers. It was de-
voted to entertainment, music, dancing, theatricals, athletic contests,
and social gatherings, in which men and women took part on equal
terms. Both sexes were manifestly aware of beauty in figure and in
costume. Nor was the search for pleasure confined to the royal house-
hold. Middle-class dwellings also were comfortable, and they, too,
were beautifully decorated and furnished.

The third admired element is the creative artistry of the people.
It appeared in the work of potter, metal worker, sculptor, architect,
and costumer. Commercial enterprise and "mass production" did
not for many centuries dull the artistic quality of Cretan products.
Religious conservatism did not check originality. The Cretans evi-
dently thought that anything worth doing should be done as well as
possible.

The chief deity of the Cretans was a goddess of fertility, strongly
reminiscent of her counterpart in Asia Minor. With her was associ-
ated a male subordinate, son, or consort. Legend attributed divine
descent to King Minos, and this has been used to support a theory
that king and god-consort were one. But whether or not there was
god-kingship in Crete, it is clear that no powerful priesthood arose.
The gods were worshipped in holy places, caves or hilltops, or do-
mestic shrines, but there were no temples.

The political story must wait for the decipherment of the written record. The monuments alone give little information. Island unity was secured and imperial expansion began about 1700 B.C. Three hundred years later, an attack by an unknown foe set the Broad Palace in flames. This was a blow from which the Cretans never recovered. Although two centuries more (1400–1200 B.C.) of independent life were granted the people of Crete, the spirit which had made that life abundant disappeared.

Throughout the centuries of Cretan, Babylonian and Egyptian splendor, continental Europe was entering the second of two periods of great climatic change. In the first period, moisture and warmth induced a forest growth which kept the land almost as inhospitable as had the ice fields. Human life was represented only by survivors of the paleolithic groups and a few neolithic wanderers, who ventured into the forest area from Spain and from the eastern flatland. A gradual decrease in rainfall, with subsequent lessening of the forested areas, opened the continent to additional migration. The newcomers brought with them the determination to live well and the instruments of success, including a greater variety of domesticated animals, the seeds and implements for agricultural exploitation of the loess plains, and at least an interest in metals. Probably the greatest incentives to advance were derived from the contacts with the more highly developed centers of Asia Minor and the Aegean area. *The dawn in Europe*

The western portals of continental Europe were entered by neolithic men from the Spanish peninsula. The extent of their penetration can be followed in the great stone (megalithic) monuments of the northwest. The Ligurians of the Italian Alps are considered by some authorities to have had a Spanish origin, and the introduction of copper is attributed to the metallurgists of Spain. More important than these contacts with the western Mediterranean were those which developed at the head of the Adriatic. Cretan wares were exchanged at that point for the highly prized amber of the Baltic. The main highway, however, was the Danubian corridor. *The avenues of approach*

The importance of the Danubian area in the history of European civilization is based on four characteristics. Its close connections with the Eurasian flatland, with Asia Minor, and the Aegean, make it an ideal objective for the men, the goods, and the ideas of the East. The wealth and breadth of its plains were admirably suited to the transition from pastoral to agricultural life. The gold, copper, and antimony of the adjacent mountains attracted prospector and trader. Finally, easy passes to Italy, central, and northern Europe,

justify a description of the Danubian basin as the foyer of a continent.

Life in a foyer has its disadvantages. There are periods of confusion and congestion, frequent interruptions, and never-ending change. Life moved rapidly and sometimes furiously in the Danube country. About 2000 B.C., the men of the Danube began to play an independent and important role in the history of civilization.

Migrations: Nomads

The emphasis placed upon river-valley civilization sometimes gives to the reader the impression that human history began on the banks of a great stream. The evidence of flora and fauna, however, shows that river valleys were not at first habitable. Whence the Sumerians came or why are not known, but it is evident that they brought with them to Sumer more than the rudiments of civilization. The less advanced groups coming to the Nile were driven there by the desiccation of their hunting grounds. In either case, there was little more than a constant water supply to attract them in the heavily wooded or swampy bottom lands. They settled, it is true, on the valley fringe, but it was only after prolonged efforts to control the environment that the wilderness was cleared and true river-valley life commenced.

The ancestors of the river-valley dwellers were nomads. Not only in the beginning but also at later times, the intermittent intrusions of nomadic peoples into more fertile districts have greatly affected the course of history. Three areas suitable to the life of nomadism lie within the field of this study. The Sahara has been the least important, with its chief contribution the Hamitic element of predynastic Egypt. The Arabian plateau, however, with its continuation north to the Euphrates, has sent forth groups of men sufficient in number and in power to remake the history of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Palestine. By far the largest human reservoir is the Eurasian steppe land stretching from the Elbe to the Yenisei, and bisected by the Ural Mountains. Somewhere in that great area scholars continue their search for the original home of the Indo-European people, the most prolific of all the wanderers of European history.

Indo-European migration

The exact place of Indo-European origin is still a subject of controversy. Scandinavia, eastern Germany, southern Russia, Transcaucasia, and Turkestan have been suggested. The current opinion of conservative scholars is that no evidence has as yet been produced to prove the existence of "a single Indo-Germanic mother language," or of "a single Indo-Germanic mother tribe." Only slightly less controversial is the discussion of the cause of migration. Increase in population, decrease in food supply, or the readjustment caused by the introduction of copper are but a few of the hypotheses. It is
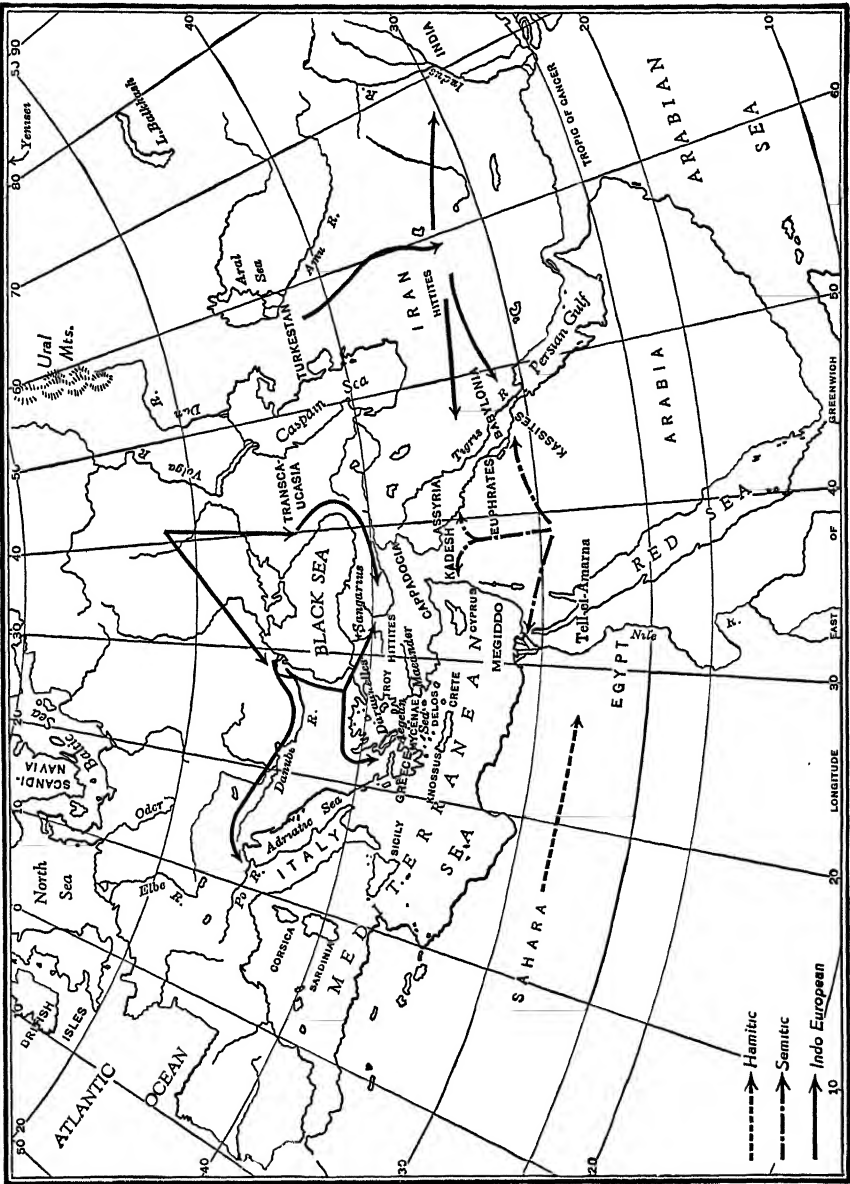
THE INDO-EUROPEAN MIGRATIONS, 2000 TO 1000 B.C.

generally agreed, however, that in the third millennium certain elements of culture, linguistic and religious, were shared by the inhabitants of the entire flatland. Some speak, without warrant, of an Indo-European empire. All subscribe to a vast movement, or series of movements, from the steppes, beginning about 2000 B.C. This movement persisted almost without interruption for eight centuries and was repeated at intervals for more than two thousand years.

Extent   The area affected by nomadic unrest in the second millennium B.C. was proportionately great. Political disturbances were general from the Indus to the Po. Among the first intrusions were those which reached the plateau of Iran and the valley of the lower Danube. From Iran the Indo-Europeans, the branch correctly called Aryan, reached the Indus valley, where their lives were quite definitely affected by the decadent Mohenjo-Daro culture. The Kassite invaders of Babylonia, first recorded by a son of Hammurabi, were either members of this eastern Indo-European group or refugees fleeing before them. Their permanent settlement in the Tigris-Euphrates valley was postponed until about 1760 B.C. The extent of the disturbance caused by these invaders is most strikingly illustrated in the entrance into the Nile valley of the Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings (about 1680 B.C.). They, too, were probably not Indo-Europeans, although they entered Egypt on horses obtained from the northern nomads. The horses and perhaps the leadership came, not from the Kassites, but from the Hittites (or Hatti), Indo-Europeans who had established themselves in western Asia Minor. To the third on the list of Hittite kings is attributed a raid which resulted in the capture and sack of Babylon (about 1800 B.C.).

The western wing of this nomadic movement, continuing beyond the limits of earlier migrations, reached Boeotia in central Greece. Others followed the course of the Danube to the west and finally settled in the valley of the Po.

Results of northern invasions   The immediate effect of this great nomadic migration was confusion. Aryan occupation of Iran broke the lines of communication between India and Babylonia and eliminated men of the Indus valley as factors in the development of Occidental civilization. The unity of the Tigris-Euphrates country was destroyed. On the other hand, Egypt, inspired by a century-long struggle for liberation, emerged with a strong national spirit and an aggressively imperialistic ambition. The men of Crete, increasing their naval strength, formed a sea power which carried the war into the territory of the invaders. Asia Minor was indebted to the invaders for the gradual development of a powerful imperial state.

Asia Minor, more correctly named Anatolia, is a topographic unit *Anatolia and* separated from its neighbors by the waters of the Black, the Aegean, *upper Svria* and the Mediterranean seas, with a less definite eastern boundary of the Taurus mountains and the Armenian highlands. The peninsula is, in fact, an extension of the great plateau through which the Euphrates cuts its way, and men have sought in vain a strategic frontier between continent and peninsula. Neither this nor the other frontiers have discouraged human entrance or departure. The valleys of the Maeander, Sangarius, and Halys rivers link fertile coastal plains with interior plateaus, which are, at best, excellent pasture land, at worst, arid "sinks" and salt marshes. The ranges which parallel the northern and southern shores catch the rains, leaving the center generally bleak and forbidding. Although by no means poor in natural resources, the peninsula usually has been considered more as a highway than as a place for permanent settlement.

The army of Sargon and the Akkadian traders who ventured west *The people* of the Euphrates found the country on either side of the Taurus range inhabited by men of Alpine characteristics, speaking a language which we now call Asianic. Had these travelers of old been philologically inclined, they would have noted some names of men and of deities which were distinctly Indo-European. These contacts with Mesopotamian culture were not great enough to change the course of Anatolian life. But with the beginning of Babylonian rule, a second wave of Indo-European migrants entered the peninsula. Using the cuneiform and the Semitic dialect of the traders for business and diplomatic documents, but retaining the native Asianic tongue in hieroglyphs for domestic purposes, the newcomers have left a record which discloses an appreciable service to the country which they made their home. The record has not been completely deciphered, but enough is known to give credence to the following account.

Within fifty years of their arrival a federation of native groups *Hittite empire* under Indo-European leadership had been formed with its center in Cappadocia. The second king boasts of a realm which reached the Black Sea and Mediterranean shores. About 1800 B.C. this federated group, known as the Hatti, or Hittites, captured and sacked Babylon in a sudden raid. Eastward expansion was checked for some centuries by the Mitanni, another Indo-European-Asianic combination, which controlled Upper Syria. Greatness came with the accession of Shubiluliuma, 1388–1347 B.C., who mastered the greater portion of Anatolia, absorbed the kingdom of the Mitanni, and challenged Egyptian control of North Syria. Hittite archives of the fourteenth century contain correspondence with an Achaean king-

dom in northwest Anatolia, while those of the next century include
a copy of a famous treaty, 1278 B.C., between the Hittites and the
Egyptians. This document bound the two powers in defensive al-
liance against a third, unnamed state. It is generally agreed that
the state was Assyria, for Assyrian attacks, together with a powerful
Indo-European occupation of western Anatolia, ruined the Hittite
empire soon after.

The contribution of the Hittites to civilization was not great. They
preserved the elements of the native culture and protected while they
encouraged them for five centuries. To them they joined Indo-
European and Babylonian elements, forming a combination some-
what difficult to analyze. An empire of states united by treaties with
the central power was carefully organized. The Hittite monarchs,
priest-kings who became gods when they departed this life, were all
powerful in this federated empire but they ruled under laws of their
own promulgation. The Hittite code is clearly based on Babylonian
precedent. The practice of granting estates, even territories, to mili-
tary and civilian subordinates established a feudal system unknown to
the river-valley states. Woman was considered in some respects the
political as well as the social equal of man.

Trade and industry flourished in the Hittite Empire. Even in their
weakest periods the Hittite kings protected the great East-and-West
trade route. Their wars of expansion were definitely economic. To
the volume of goods manufactured by others they added local prod-
ucts, particularly iron. The exploitation of the iron deposits in the
northern mountains greatly accelerated the replacement of iron for
bronze in Anatolia, Babylonia, and Egypt.

Culturally, the Hittites were not innovators. They preserved in
their religious literature the myths, ceremonies, and formulae of their
composite pantheon. Prominent among the deities was the Asianic
goddess of fertility. Diplomatic and administrative documents in
great numbers attest their skill in foreign and imperial affairs. Archi-
tecture resembling that of Crete was probably a development of
Asianic beginnings; the sculpture followed Sumerian models. The
artistic products are not wholly imitative, rather the vigorous ex-
pressions of a people whose point of view was essentially practical.
Probably their best claim to fame lies in their demonstration of
economic imperialism. Far more influential than the Hittites in the
development of European civilization were the men of the Aegean
area, the forerunners of the Greeks.

*The Aegean
area*

To the Greeks of classical antiquity Delos was the center of their
homeland. On the eastern side, migration from the shore across fertile
coastal plains to the plateau of Anatolia was checked by forbidding

hills and still more forbidding human settlers. The plains, however, which could be held by brave men against the raids of highlanders, were intimately related to the island world and through the islands to the Greek peninsula across the sea. To the north the fertile coast of Thrace, with its background of metal-bearing hills, was not so clearly separated from the hinterland. Thrace not only provided an avenue of approach to the sea from the north, but also formed a link between Europe and Asia. Greece and Crete were the natural western and southern boundaries of the Aegean quadrilateral, which has been aptly described as a waterlogged mountain area. The sea floor, which reaches a depth of six thousand feet just north of the island of Crete, gradually rises until it is but six hundred feet below the sea level at the Dardanelles. The inactivity of a tideless sea left the land mass without tidal rivers, estuaries, or large stretches of beach. Powerful and constant currents, though, gave to the water surface a movement which rendered navigation and exploration dangerous occupations. A prevailing wind from the northeast added to the problems of the mariner. An irregular coast line, with many landlocked harbors and a wealth of island havens, counterbalanced these unfriendly elements. Men of the mainland preferred the seaway to the rock-strewn and steep land-routes. It was easier to go around than to go over the ridges which divided the country into countless small valleys. Both mainland and island valleys had a thin but fertile soil, which could not be dragooned into extraordinary crop yields. The northern and eastern shores were more attractive agriculturally, but troublesome neighbors retarded development.

The climate, similar to that of the Pacific coast states, had two well-defined seasons. A mild winter with moisture and growth was followed by the heat, drought, and harvesting of the summer. Nature was kindly, offering a year-round outdoor life. But she was also niggardly, for mineral resources were restricted in distribution and limited in amount. There was scarcity of fuel, the streams could not be harnessed for water power, nor could they be used for transportation. The winds were fickle and sometimes violent. Lack of adequate fodder supply made possible only a minimum use of draught animals. Human power alone was available, and it was human power which cultivated the small agricultural oases near the lower courses of the streams, which sought to wrest a living from the arid hillsides with the help of sheep and goats, and which exploited the few watered highlands with herds of swine. The forests, with their swineherds, retreated slowly to the north before the attacks of sheep and goats, while the farmers defended their cultivated fields from the onslaughts of the grazers.

Among other general characteristics, attention is usually called to the nearness of the sea, the difficulty of communication by land, and the relatively large number of clear days. Any and all of these characteristics should be used with caution in seeking the causes for the economic, political, or cultural development of man in this area. Environment certainly discouraged some lines of activity and encouraged others. But it is probable that local differences were more influential in shaping the course of Greek history than were the physical surroundings common to all.

The intrusion of northern tribes from the Danubian basin into the Aegean area from 2000 to 1200 B.C. produced a movement of people extremely irregular in direction, in tempo, and in the composition of the wandering groups. There were many variations from the general north-to-south trend of migration. Some migrants crossed from Europe to Anatolia. Others traveled from east to west, from Anatolia to the Balkan peninsula. Tradition has preserved accounts of men who moved from south to north against the main current of migration. Thus, Greek legends include in this period (1500–1300 B.C.) the coming to Greece of Cecrops and Danaus from Egypt, of Cadmus from Phoenicia, of Carus, Lelex, Tantalus, and Pelops from Anatolia.

An arrangement in time of these wanderings is impossible, since no written document of the invaders has been found which can be dated prior to 1200 B.C. Some help comes from Hittite archives (c. 1350 B.C.), which mention an Achaean king, Atrea (Atreus?), of western Anatolia. Egyptians include Achaeans among their enemies in 1225 B.C. and again in 1193 B.C. A reconstruction of the movement depends, perforce, upon the interpretation of archaeological material. Pottery with geometric decoration, a quadrilateral house-plan, and cyclopean masonry (huge blocks of stone without mortar) are the chief guides. The resulting story is one of an infiltration, which began about 2000 B.C. Education at the hands of Cretans transformed these nomads into city dwellers and seafarers. The instruction was fatal to Cretan sea power, since, as traders, pirates, colonists, or soldiers of fortune, the newcomers explored the Aegean and ventured as far west as Sicily and as far east as Cyprus. The most important center was the plain of Argos, where Mycenae, the city of gold, came to be the chief settlement. From 1400 to 1200 B.C., Mycenae was supreme. As leaders in wealth, in culture (a combination of northern simplicity and Cretan sophistication), and in political authority, the Achaean kings of Mycenae gave their tribal name to the numerous groups of invaders. It was they who organized the western and southern portions of the Aegean area in a contest with the eastern and northern

sections, a contest which ended about 1200 B.C. in the capture and sack of the city of Troy.

Achaean is thus the term used to describe all of the northern intruders of the period from 2000 to 1200 B.C. It differentiates them from the Cretans, or Minoans, whom they displaced, and from the native Pelasgians whom they conquered. It serves likewise to distinguish them from later invaders who destroyed Mycenaean civilization and forced the Achaeans into another life of migration.

Disaster and flight could not destroy the memories of triumph and of pleasant living. Preserved in oral tradition for three centuries, they reappeared in the splendor and permanence of the Homeric poems. These tales, regarded not so long ago as delightful fiction, have been confirmed by the excavations of the enthusiast, Schliemann, and by his more skilled successors, the archaeologists of ancient Greece. Homer sings of tall, blond heroes; the archaeologist adds that some of them were round headed (brachycephalic). Their language and their simple patriarchal type of government were imposed upon the natives. Those who wished might adopt their gods, their habit of cremating the dead, and their coarser and warmer clothing. But fighting, in true feudal fashion, was a pleasure which they retained for themselves. There were no marked social classes among the newcomers. Their kings claimed divine ancestry, but they could and did work with their hands. There were nobles inferior only in authority to the kings, and a few ne'er-do-wells, who amused and served their more fortunate masters. Even slaves, if of northern blood, were treated with greater respect than were the conquered inhabitants. But above all, the invaders brought a remarkable measure of adaptability. They accepted Cretan luxuries and the Cretan habit of living in cities. From the Cretans, too, they learned the pleasures of sea power, and rewarded their teachers by sacking the palace of Minos and establishing Achaean settlements in Crete.

But the period of Achaean greatness, the Mycenaean Age of which Homer sang, came to an abrupt end. A second wave of northern migrants, less docile than the Achaeans, brought terror and destruction to Greece and the islands. The Achaeans fled before these invaders, called the Dorians, and became once more only one of the numerous refugee groups. In similar manner, the Hittite empire disintegrated before northern attack. The twelfth century B.C. was a period of violence and unrest. "The islands of the sea are restless," wrote Ramses III, listing as some of the hordes which vainly sought refuge in the Nile valley Achaeans, Cretans, and western Anatolians.

The third millennium was above all the period of river-valley

Summary

civilizations. In Egypt, Mesopotamia, northern India, China, and, to a lesser extent, the Danube basin, men had passed beyond the struggle for existence to a life. of relative comfort, peace, and leisure. They gave credit for these benefits to their rulers and offered in return complete obedience. In Egypt, the ruler was believed to be a living god. He controlled human life even more rigidly than had environment in paleolithic times. The only important individual right of the Egyptian was that of immortality. In Mesopotamia, a land of many kings, the individual was granted some rights during his life on earth and was assured of the maintenance of those rights by law. These are the great political legacies of the river-valley civilizations to their successors—the rights of the ruler and the rights of the ruled. We are indebted to them for contributions to the arts and letters, to science and religion. But no enthusiasm for any or all of these gifts should blind us to the significance of their political institutions.

A second step in the development of civilization was the extension of its benefits. Before 2000 B.C. the entire length of the Fertile Crescent had been explored and exploited. Education and encouragement had reached the plateau of Iran, eastern Asia Minor, and Crete. It was in these outposts that a new human factor appeared, the Indo-European invader.

Nomad, horse, and iron were the three new actors introduced in this part of the drama of history. Their entrance brought disunion and decline to the land of the two rivers. On the other hand, the reaction of the Egyptians raised them from the depths to empire and leadership. The Cretans, too, were incited to imperial greatness, and the Anatolians found, for the first time, unity and power under Hittite rulers. The period, however, closed with loss and confusion. The peace of the Aegean and of Anatolia disappeared. Egypt barely retained her independence. The reason for the political chaos of the twelfth century is generally attributed to a second and larger wave of migration from the north, although a few scholars interpret the confusion as a prolonged effort of Mediterranean and Alpine peoples to obtain cultural and political independence from the first Nordic invaders.

In either case, the benefits and comforts of civilized life were gradually accepted by the newcomers. This acceptance illustrates a fundamental characteristic of civilization, namely, its uniformity. Egyptian and Babylonian influence had combined to produce a type of life common to all the peoples of the Fertile Crescent. This way of living had been accepted by the Hittites. It was, in fact, the basis of Cretan civilization and was passed on by them to the

Achaeans. Thus, by 1200 B.C., a uniform pattern of life and thought extended from the Adriatic Sea to the plateau of Iran. There were, of course, differences between groups, differences easily recognized and frequently described, but these surface qualities had neither the strength nor the permanence of the uniformity against which they fought in vain.

Continuity is another characteristic of civilized life. The new leaders and the fresh generations used the materials which had been collected slowly and painfully by their predecessors. The old stones and lumber, that is, the old habits, customs and institutions, were reassembled in slightly different fashion. Some novelties appeared, it is true, but the larger portion of the rebuilt structure was old.

The Bettmann Archive

THE THRONE ROOM OF KNOSSOS WITH THE FRESCO FRIEZE OF GUARDIAN GRIFFINS

COLLATERAL READING

J. H. Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience,* 1933.

E. A. W. Budge, *Babylonian Life and History,* 1925.

A. R. Burn, *Minoans, Philistines and Greeks,* 1930.

V. G. Childe, *What Happened in History,* 1946, Chaps. 6–8.

L. Delaporte, *Mesopotamia,* 1925, Part I.

G. Glotz, *Aegean Civilization,* 1927.

H. R. H. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East,* 1936, Chaps. 2–4.

J. O. Hertzler, *The Social Thought of the Ancient Civilizations,* 1936. Chaps. 2–5.

A. Moret, *The Nile and Egyptian Civilization,* 1927.

East and West

1200–500 B.C.

SOLON: ATHENIAN LAW-GIVER

THE EAST

THE era following the first great wave of Indo-European intruders belongs to the Little Peoples (Phoenicians, Hebrews, and Greeks). It was they who picked up and mended the broken threads of civilized life. They laid the foundations of a Second Modern Age with rediscovery of old values and fresh discovery of new values. Without their stories the history of European civilization would be incomplete.

Syrian coast region

The Syrian coast region has three distinct geographical districts. To the north lies a series of small valleys, running back from the sea into the Taurus range. Rich in copper and timber, with soil capable of supporting many men, it has nevertheless failed to develop a state strong enough to defend its inhabitants against invaders. Absorbed in turn by Hittites, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, the natives of this country, Cilicia, have played a secondary role in human history.

The southern part of the region begins at Carmel with a narrow plain which gradually widens to the south, fading into the desert of North Sinai. Behind this plain rise hills which separate it, with but few passes, from the valley of the Jordan. For countless centuries the plain has been the battleground of desert men and of seafarers, victory almost invariably resting with the Semitic farmer-shepherd.

Along the central section of the coast, running northward from Carmel to the mouth of the Orontes, the Lebanon range reaches down to the sea. Bold promontories afford ideal sites for easily de-

fended settlements, and the slopes, generously watered by the rains of prevailing easterly winds, make it the Paradise of the Near East. Rains and verdure extend east of the Lebanon into the valleys of the Orontes and the upper Jordan. The desert, volcanic and desolate, creeps close to the east bank of the Jordan but is held back in the north by the anti-Lebanon hills. Beyond the hills, out in the desert, at the end of a trail which pierces both ranges, lies Damascus, the terminal of one of the oldest trade routes in the world.

The Lebanon country is the homeland of the Phoenicians. Trade *Phoenicians* relations of long standing with Egypt weaken the tradition that the Phoenicians had migrated from the Persian Gulf. They were undoubtedly an offshoot of the original Semitic nomads of North Syria. In the tiny valleys they cultivated grain, the olive, and the vine. Fish were plentiful in the sea, and the Big Trees of the hills, the cedars of Lebanon, gave them not only material for shipbuilding but also a basis for trade with other less favored areas, as Egypt. Rock quarrying, metal work, and the purple dye extracted from the mollusk (murex) added to the stock in trade, and the tanned seafarers were welcomed far and wide for their wares.

The decline of Crete and of the Achaeans made possible a rapid extension of the Phoenician voyages to the west, an extension which was also encouraged by the uncertainties of trading ventures to the east. Certainly it was as seafarers that the Phoenicians were known to the Western world. But it is probable that for every ship working westward across the Mediterranean there was a Phoenician caravan carrying goods to Damascus and beyond. The Tell-el-Amarna tablets bear witness to intercourse with Babylonia, and the plans of Solomon and King Hiram of Tyre point to an exploitation of the Red Sea route to the south, perhaps to India. The search for new markets and for raw materials, however, led the Phoenicians westward. Cyprus, the copper island, was not far distant. Thence to the north, to Cilicia, westward to Rhodes, and to the troubled waters of the Aegean, the Phoenicians ventured. There is no conclusive evidence, save in Cyprus, of actual colonization by the traders, until the distant shores of the North African coast and of southern Spain were reached. The Phoenicians were usually satisfied with a "quarter," or a warehouse, at their ports of call, or merely security in a harbor where their ships would serve both as warehouses and retail stores.

The effects of seafaring life upon social and political institutions *Effects of sea-* were very marked. The first was the growth of a clear distinction *faring life* between country and city, between agriculture and trade. Tyre was probably the first city to have skyscrapers, tenements in which

men lived separated, both literally and figuratively, from the land. With the loosening of the land tie, came the breakup of family unity. The individual was independent. He took the risks; he made the gains or suffered the losses. It was only natural that he seek similarly minded partners. Corporations were formed, which lessened the individual risk.

Mercantile control reached out to the political field. A narrow plutocracy frequently succeeded the kings of earlier days. Affairs of state were placed in the hands of a small council, which in turn delegated its powers to a smaller working subcommittee. Finally, the commercial rivalry between cities prevented any development of a unified state. For a brief period in the ninth century the kings of Tyre dominated all the Phoenician cities, but independence and active competition were the rule.

From about 1000 to 750 B.C. the Phoenicians were the great carriers of Mediterranean trade. Their contribution to civilization was the alphabet, a group of twenty-two consonant characters derived from the incomplete experiment of the Egyptians. But their value to later generations rests not on the alphabet alone; although they originated few ideas, it was in their hands that the ideas of the East reached the West and through them that interchange of thoughts as well as of products was made.

Home of the Semites

Archaeology has fixed the original home of the Semitic people in the upland area behind the Syrian coast region. The northern section, central portion of the Fertile Crescent, was called by the Egyptians *Naharin,* or the two-river land, the Euphrates and the Orontes being considered as the natural limits. Below the two-river land lies the territory now included under the name *Palestine,* bounded on the west by the Mediterranean and on the east by the Arabian desert. The gradual transition from grazing land on the desert edge to fields which may be tilled is marked, for example, in the plains of Moab east of the Dead Sea, and in those of Gilead south and east of the Sea of Galilee. Even to the west of the Jordan almost every type of soil and physical structure can be found: bleak and forbidding desert, sheltered highland nooks, and fertile plains.

This medley of physical circumstance is repeated in the population of the area. Men have entered Naharin and Palestine as settlers in a land of promise, they have come as refugees, and they have tarried as conquerors. The first incentives to advance came to the neolithic natives from the Sumerian east and the Egyptian south. The development of the Amorite, Assyrian and Phoenician cultures was the result of these early contacts. Although differing
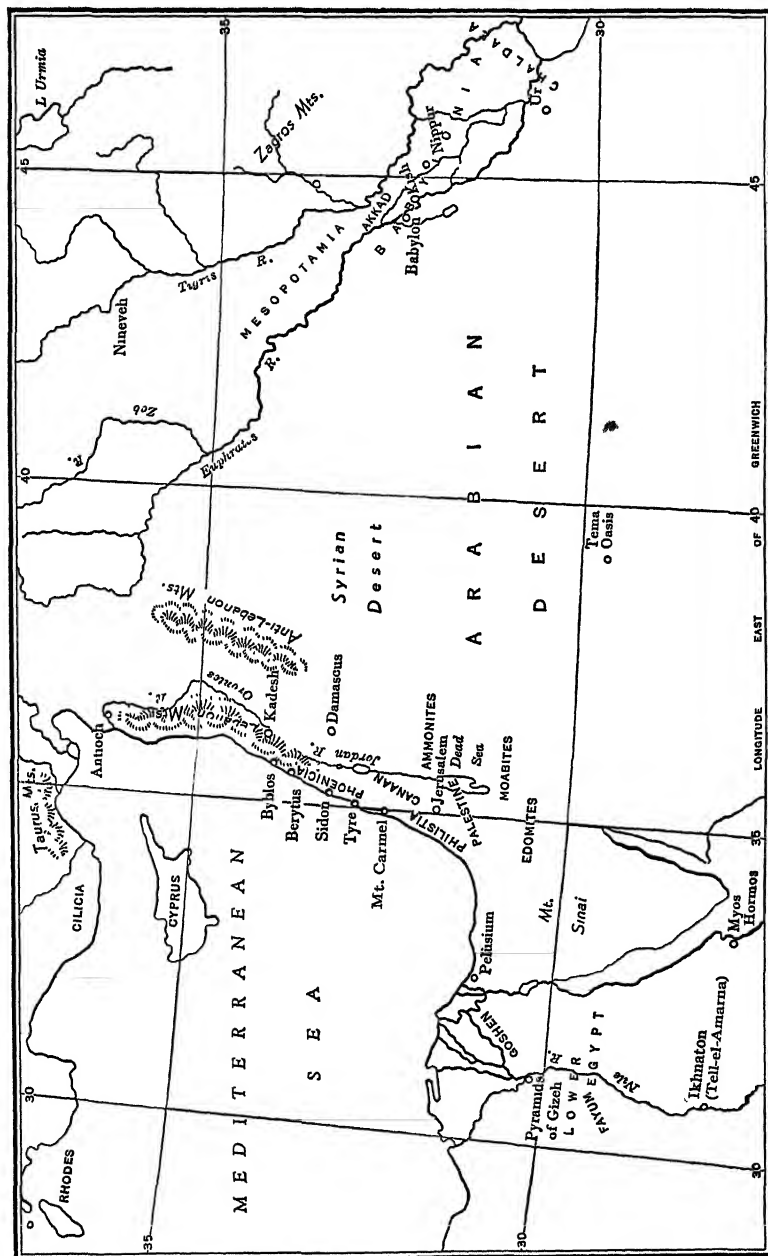
SEMITIC LANDS.

among themselves in many details, these three cultures possess a common body of customs, institutions, and beliefs, which is termed *Semitic.* The physical type, that of a brachycephalic brunet, was also retained in spite of Indo-European, Anatolian, and Mediterranean intrusions.

Israelites and Hebrews

Semitic pastoral groups frequently threatened the peace of their wealthier agricultural cousins. The Orontes valley folk were thus threatened and ultimately conquered by the nomad Aramaeans who made Damascus their headquarters in the late thirteenth century B.C. A similar movement in the south resulted in the occupation of the farm lands from the Jordan to the sea by the Hebrews. Hebrews and Israelites are now used to designate one and the same group, but from the fifteenth to the twelfth century the term *Hebrews* included Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites as well as Israelites. The first extant record of the name *Israel* is found in an account of a thirteenth-century pharaoh.

The beginnings of Hebrew wanderings may be traced in the migrations of a pastoral group from the lower Euphrates country (Ur of the Chaldees) to the lower Nile valley (land of Goshen). The appearance of the names Jacob and Joseph in the Egyptian record of the Hyksos invasion invites the theory that the Hebrews formed part of the Hyksos group. Those who accept this identification hold that the Exodus was a result of the nationalistic pride of Egypt, a part of the "Egypt for the Egyptians" program, about 1500 B.C. Conservative scholars, however, defer the entrance of the Hebrews into Egypt by more than two centuries and consider it a peaceful intrusion by royal invitation. But there came kings "who knew not Joseph," who through fear or envy placed heavier burdens upon the sojourners. The result was the Exodus (before 1400 B.C.), a period of nomad life ending with the seizure of Amorite land east of the Jordan, on the edge of Canaan—the "promised land." The transition from pastoral to agricultural life was long. An Egyptian record of 1235 B.C. boasts of the defeat of Israel, a hill people. Not more than a generation later the Israelites defeated the Canaanites of the plains and occupied the entire land to the Mediterranean shore. A period of domination by the Philistines (1080–1030 B.C.) was replaced by the brief glories of independence and union under the kings of Israel. The reigns of Saul, David, and Solomon comprise the period of Israel's greatness, but with the death of Solomon came disunion, discord, and civil war. The climax was reached in the subjugation by Assyria (720 B.C.).

Although the political history of Israel was relatively unim-

portant, and its economic development insignificant, in the Book *The literat* of Israel there was preserved a contribution of inestimable value to *and religion* human civilization. The Books of the Old Testament are more than *of the* *Hebrews* the annals of a people struggling with the complexities of advancing civilization. They are important in that they form the first national history; important, too, in that they include a guide to personal and national conduct.

The history of the Hebrews is a record of changes of environment and of adaptations to new surroundings. What is interesting in the record and what makes it unique in world history is the unwillingness of the people to make any adaptations whatsoever. Least of all were they inclined to give up their belief in one God. Life to the pastoral nomad was a simple affair. But even the contacts with the more advanced neighbors in Babylonia and Egypt did not break down the idea that for him there was but one God. God was the Deliverer; His worshippers were His children. Each was a part of the other. The home of the nomads' God was usually a high place, one to which the wanderers returned at regular intervals, but when the tribes made a permanent move a new sanctuary was chosen. Mount Sinai and Kadesh were the desert holy places, but the invasion of Canaan increased the need for divine assistance. Then it was that Jehovah became a God of war, and Israel, or "God fights for us," was the rallying cry of the invaders. The tabernacle, a movable sanctuary, was a glorified war tent with a portable throne. In the tabernacle was the Covenant, the written agreement of Jehovah and His people. The militant belief which centered in this Holy of Holies was not unusual in an age when warfare was almost continuous. The Israelites differed, however, from their contemporaries in that they remained faithful to Jehovah even when defeated. Defeat was the just punishment inflicted upon His chosen people by an omnipotent, omnipresent God.

Political organization did not advance quickly beyond the orig- *Kings and* inal patriarchal form. The unity imposed by the departure from *judges* Egypt and the invasion of Canaan was soon lost as some of the tribal divisions settled down in widely separated districts. Independent wars were waged by fractions of the entire group. The leaders, called judges, were not so much judges as advocates of the cause of Israel, inciters to war, like Deborah, or actual war-lords, like Samson. The obvious leader of Israel, the chief priest of Jehovah, was helpless in the face of political disunion. Defeat and oppression by the forces of Canaan, Egypt, and Philistia at length welded the tribes into a union which was political as well as religious. The combined efforts of Samuel and Saul formed a united kingdom.

When the kingdom had been firmly established and Israel was free and prosperous, her religion was put to its most severe test. There was a tendency on the part of the priesthood, powerful once more, to demand a stricter adherence to the letter of the law, and to accept this in place of real faith. At the same time, those who were in political control grew more and more cosmopolitan, more tolerant of the views and beliefs of their neighbors. The old faith was forced to compete with the less disciplinary and more attractive polytheism of the age. Its success in the contest should be attributed to the efforts of the prophets.

The prophets In ancient Israel the prophet was more than a foreteller. He was a thinker, an observer, a critic, and above all a speaker. His moral fervor and his unselfish motives secured for him a freedom of speech seldom equaled in any country. It was the prophets who checked the priests when the latter forgot the spirit of the law which they were bound to cherish. It was the prophets who criticized the monarchs when they turned away from the highest standards of leadership. And as the moral decline of the people increased under the monarchy, prophetic literature became more voluminous, recalling the men of Israel to the old faith and preserving it through political decline, political failure, and political death.

Philistia Among the Peoples of the Sea repulsed by Ramses III were the men known as Philistines. Occupying the coast cities of Canaan, with the consent of the pharaoh and nominally subject to him, the Philistines quickly and effectively established a political organization. Some elements of their culture, religion, language, and amusements are reminiscent of Minoan Crete, while others point to an Anatolian source. They were probably western Anatolians who had sojourned in Crete for some generations only to be caught in the maelstrom of unrest which disturbed the Aegean world in the twelfth century. Safe at last in their remote havens, they continued their seafaring activities and united in a confederacy of five important towns that they might exploit and extend their possessions on land. Superiority in weapons, and in organizing ability soon gave them control of all that land whose name, Palestine, is a memorial of their conquest. A brief century of rule was closed when the victories of united Israel under Saul, and again under David, reduced the Philistines to servitude. The seafarers were gradually absorbed in the native Semitic population, and Philistia survived only as a memory.

Syria 935–750 B.C. The political history of Syria in the tenth and ninth centuries B.C. has all the complexities of world politics without the dignity of size. A degree of stability was secured during the concurrent

rules of Solomon, king of United Israel, and Hiram, master of Phoenician Tyre. But divisive forces separated Israel into two camps, and northern Syria was plagued with a number of petty independent states. The intrigues and quarrels of ambitious leaders left the country an easy prey to the first great power to be established on its borders. Egypt in the hands of do-nothing kings was unable to seize the opportunity. A revived Hittite federation, with its center at Karkemish, was also too weak to expand. The danger lay in the upper Tigris country, where the followers of the god Assur awaited a king who would lead them to victory.

The origin of the Assyrians is unknown. Their culture is a confused medley of Sumerian, Semitic, Mitannian, and Hittite elements. Possibly a mixed group of refugees, the Assyrians were the problem children of the Mesopotamian family. In the weakness of Babylon they freed themselves from the control which had been exercised by the kings of Ur and of Babylon, acknowledging only the nominal suzerainty of the Kassites. From about 1350 to 1100 B.C., the Assyrians were aggressively imperialistic. The last and greatest of their early kings, Tiglath-Pileser I (1115–1100 B.C.), led his armies to the shores of the Black and the Mediterranean seas. A period of decline and lethargy followed within which subject states revolted, and the extent of Assyria's empire was greatly reduced.

The Assyrian Empire

The methods and aims of Assyrian imperialism have inspired violent criticisms in the poetry and prose of every language. A well-equipped and well-disciplined military machine proved its competence on the field and in siege work. With this invincible weapon the Assyrian monarchs raided, destroyed, and subjugated. Torture of captives, deportation of conquered peoples, and ruthless destruction of property made the victims helpless and harmless. All of this was done for the glory of the god Assur, who became, as it were, the personification of the right of might. Temples and palaces were adorned with the spoils of war; literature was a record of victories and of sadistic punishments; in art, the murder of human victims alternated with the killing of wild animals. Assyrian rule was the rule of force.

Military monarchy

A revival of imperialistic fervor in Assyria, beginning about 900 B.C., culminated in the campaigns of Assur-nasir-pal, whose empire equaled that of Tiglath-Pileser I. A single united effort of the peoples of Syria checked his successor at the battle of Karkar (846). The coalition soon broke, and it was civil war in Assyria which alone postponed Assyrian dominion over Syrians, Phoenicians, Israelites, and Philistines.

The third
Assyrian em-
pire

The year 745 B.C. was the beginning of a new and terrible epoch for the Eastern world, since it was then that the Assyrians renewed their aggressive imperialism. The campaigns of Tiglath-Pileser IV and his successors forcibly united many unfortunate peoples in a huge military monarchy. Homage and tribute came to Nineveh, the Assyrian capital, from Elam, Babylonia, Phoenicia, Palestine, and Egypt. Nine "kings" with Hellenic names acknowledged the authority of the Assyrian monarch in Cyprus, and Gyges of Lydia sought his aid against the Cimmerians.

The policy of the Assyrians was one of utter ruthlessness. Again death, slavery, deportation, or a life of fearful misery were the gifts of the conquerors. But an empire based on force alone could endure only while its army was strong. It succumbed at last to the fury of oppressed subjects and the raids of nomads more barbarous even than the Assyrians. Nineveh was captured and destroyed in 612 by a coalition of Babylonians and Medes. There were left for contemporaries only a memory of horror and, for posterity, a record of insane ambition.

Assyrian cul-
ture

The Assyrian did not devote all his time to unjust and inhuman practices, however. Ancient Sumerian and the contemporary language of trade, the Aramaic speech of North Syria, were taught in Assyrian schools. Eight different musical instruments were used to entertain the war-lords in their moments of ease and to do honor to the gods. The hunting of wild animals and the building of roads, for which they were famous, were natural by-products of the military character of Assyrian life. Other products of leisure hours were usually nothing more than imitations of Babylonian models. If one excepts the skill of the sculptors in reproducing animals almost photographically, there is no reason to regret the destruction of Nineveh, a destruction so complete that its location was unknown for more than two thousand years.

From Assyrian
to Persian
rule

The fall of Nineveh did not bring the millennium to the Fertile Crescent. An Egyptian army, strengthened with Greek and Carian mercenaries, carried the authority of the pharaoh to the banks of the Euphrates. The challenge was accepted by the Babylonians, who drove out the Egyptians and made themselves masters of the land bridge. The energetic Babylonian king, Nebuchadrezzar, is remembered for his capture of Jerusalem and the deportation of the entire population of its kingdom. His building operations in Babylon were so magnificent that he, or his wife, was known as the builder of the fabulous Hanging Gardens. But neither Babylonian nor Egyptian rulers could stir their subjects to protracted
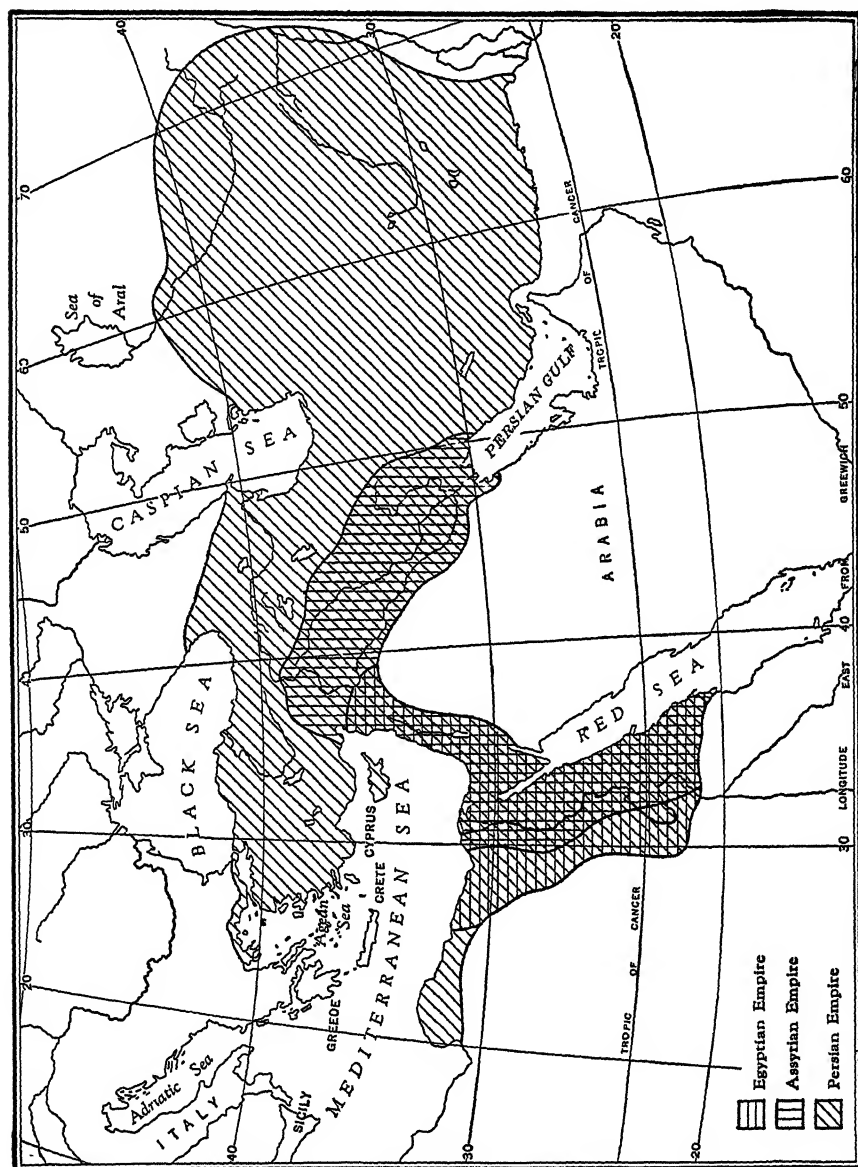
THE GROWTH OF EMPIRE, 1500 TO 500 B.C.

Egyptian Empire

Assyrian Empire

Persian Empire

effort. Future greatness was destined for the nomadic conquerors of Assyria, the Medes.

After the fall of Nineveh, the Medes pushed on directly westward to the Halys river, where they were halted by the Lydians. Of the early history of the Medes not much is known. The Assyrian references give little more than the names of tribal chieftains who have acknowledged Assyrian overlordship. It was probably Assyrian oppression that united the nomadic groups of Iran under Median leadership and gave them the strength and will to destroy Nineveh. That union was not greatly disturbed by a revolution, which shifted the commanding position from Medes to Persians. The difference was so slight that the Greeks spoke of Persian dress and customs, but called a man who accepted Persian rule, a medizer. The Hebrews solved the difficulty by speaking of the laws of the Medes and the Persians.

Out of the revolution came Cyrus, a man of energy and ability, conqueror and organizer, worthy to be listed among the great men of history. His conquest of Lydia and of the Hellenic cities was for him a simple task. Greater effort was involved in the capture of Babylon. But his real ability was demonstrated in the organization of the new imperial possessions, for Persian rule was accepted by the conquered without question. Cyrus (died 528 B.C.) was hailed as a deliverer by the lesser cities of Babylonia, and he was called messiah by the Jews, since he freed them from captivity and contributed to the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem. The humanity of Persian rule won over the Babylonian conquests in Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine. The great king died in the course of a campaign against border tribes far to the north and east of the plateau of Iran.

But it was not to the east that the future of Persian expansion lay. The second king, Cambyses, continued the western movement begun by Cyrus, incorporating Egypt within his empire as well as the Hellenic settlements in Cyrene. Two unsuccessful campaigns into the desert angered Cambyses to the point of insulting his Egyptian subjects and violating their gods. Further expansion was definitely halted by news of a palace revolution at home. The death of the king on his return journey did not aid the cause of the usurper, who was killed by Darius, one of Cambyses' generals and a member of the royal family. Darius fought for ten years against the rebels before he could resume the westward movement. In 512 B.C., the Persians entered Europe, acquiring all of Thrace and the recognition of Persian supremacy by the king of Macedon. But Thrace could not be held permanently, nor could any advance be made along the North African shore, until the Aegean and the

Greek peninsula itself were subjugated. A revolt of the Asiatic Greeks in 499 B.C., supported by Athens and Eretria, emphasized the Persian need for advance to a more easily defended frontier. Expeditions of 492 and 490 B.C. were but preliminaries to a mass attack. That attack was postponed by the death of Darius. It was finally launched in 480 B.C. by his successor, Xerxes, the Ahasuerus of the Old Testament.

The Persian Empire was ruled by a king whose authority was in many respects absolute. He was military leader; he assumed a position superior to that of the priesthood; and he was the sole source of law. His absolutism was checked by privileges granted to a few noble families and by the weight of public opinion as expressed by Persian advisors. Even the law of which the king was the source came to be greater than the king and had to be obeyed by him (Daniel 6, 8–15). Below the king were the Persian nobles, whom he used for the chief military and administrative positions in the empire. Below them were the Persian tribesmen, whose position was superior to that of the subject peoples. *Organization of the Persia Empire*

The empire was divided into districts, each of which was governed by a royal appointee, called the satrap. These districts varied in number from twenty to thirty-one, and represented administrative rather than racial divisions of the empire. The duties of the satraps were administrative, fiscal, and judicial. They had to maintain and pay the troops stationed in their districts, although these troops were controlled by other royal officials. They had the right to coin silver money and they dwelt in palaces rivaling those of their king and master. It was within their power to conduct diplomatic negotiations with foreign neighbors and, in general, to assume royal powers within their domains. In order to prevent revolt, an elaborate system of checks was built up by the central power. The satraps were connected by marriage with the royal family. The troops in their satrapies were controlled by a royal general, directly responsible to the king. Royal secretaries were to be found in each court. The king's Eye and Ear, a corps of traveling inspectors, was liable to descend at any moment upon the satrap and to demand of him an account of all his actions. Finally, there were a number of subordinate officials who had the right to appeal directly to the king for redress of grievances. These subordinate officials were sometimes native rulers, like the high priests at Jerusalem and the tyrants of the Greek city-states, or semi-independent Persians. The chief duties of subjects were the payment of tribute and service in the military forces of the empire.

The absolutism of Persian rule was tempered with a benevolence

THE LION GATE AT MYCENAE

of exceptional breadth. The assistance given to the home-coming *Imperial* Jews in the rebuilding of their temple is only one illustration of the *policy of* religious toleration of the Persians. Political toleration dictated the *Persia* abolition of tyranny in the Hellenic cities after they had been subdued (499–494 B.C.). Payment of tribute was made easier by a broad policy of economic improvement. The Red Sea and the Nile were once again united by a canal. A great reservoir gave a regular water supply to an arid district. The universal daric (coin of Darius) was a great asset to interprovincial trade. Roads were improved and extended in order that royal messengers and royal armies might move rapidly from one part of the empire to another. High standards of justice were set and maintained for governing officials.

The relations between the Persians and other peoples outside the *Foreign pol-* Persian Empire are not known to us, with the exception of their relations with the Greeks. We find that their feeling was not always hostile; that although the Persians were always looking down upon the Greeks because of their less pure religion, their lower standard of morals, and their fondness for talk, still, they recognized that the Greek intellect had many useful qualities, and that Greek individuals could be used by them to great advantage. We find, for example, that the leader of an exploring expedition down the Indus river and over to the Arabian coast was a Greek; that the court physicians of the Persian kings were Greeks; that the engineers who assisted the Persian armies in their crossing of the Danube river and of the Hellespont were Greeks; that the Greek mercenaries were the most trusted non-Persian groups; and that Greek artists were employed to decorate the Persian palaces. In brief, Persian foreign policy very closely followed domestic policy in these respects. It was based on toleration, religious and political, and it sought only to obtain from both subject peoples and foreign groups, advantages, industrial and commercial, for which it was willing to make payment.

Persian cultural life was a composite as varied in its elements as *Persian cul-* were the political units which paid tribute to the Persian king. *ture* The variety itself is significant, another proof of the tolerant spirit of the Persians. It also illustrates a remarkable power of assimilation. In architecture, for example, the Persians accepted elements from Babylonia, Egypt and Asiatic Greece.

Was there anything wholly Persian? Herodotus would have answered: "Yes. The Persians have a cult without gods, without temples. They do not burn or bury their dead, but expose the bodies to bird and beast. They teach their children horsemanship, archery,

and truth telling. In fact, they consider a lie a very great sin. Close behind is the sin of borrowing, for a debtor, they believe, must soon become a liar."

This cult, from which Herodotus chose practices that were strange in his eyes, is called *Zoroastrianism*. Many stories have been told about the life of the reformer Zoroaster. It is clear that he was trying to restore to purity the old faith of the Iranians. It is probably true that he converted the father of King Darius I. The teachings thus would have official support, but a tolerant king could not well press his faith on his subjects. The importance of the cult lay in those doctrines which proved attractive to non-Persians, for the Persians did not accept it wholeheartedly before the third century after Christ. Zoroaster asserted that these truths had been revealed to him. There existed a creative power, a power of light and of right, Ahura Mazda. Arrayed against this force of righteousness was a destructive power, a power of darkness and of evil, Ahriman. The constant struggle between these two powers would end, after 12,000 years, in the triumph of right. The forces of right would then be rewarded, the forces of evil punished.

The original teachings and practices have been preserved, with few changes, by descendants of the faithful group which fled to India. Ezekiel and other prophets of the period after the Babylonian captivity emphasized in Judaism, if they did not introduce them, the dualism and the personal immortality preached by Zoroaster. The Romans learned the doctrines in the cult of Mithras, and many a "soldier of Mithras" surely carried the lesson with him when he became a Christian soldier. The dualism appeared also in the Manichaean heresy.

THE WEST

Western Mediterranean

The unrest and confusion, which the coming of Indo-Europeans brought to the eastern Mediterranean lands, were felt also on the western shores of that sea. Pressure of homeseekers from the North caused shifts in population as far south as Sicily. Phoenician traders, using the island and the harbors of north Africa as ports of call, reached the Atlantic shores of Spain, while broken groups from the Aegean found security in the great West.

North Africa

The least attractive of the land boundaries of the Mediterranean is the southern. Although it was probably less arid in the days of Phoenician exploration than it is today, the merchants of Tyre apparently used the north-African shore only as a resting place on the long journey to Spain. It soon became valuable in itself because of its agricultural possibilities, as well as its caravan connections

with tropical Africa. Carthage, the latest and greatest of Phoenician settlements in Africa, was never a mere port of call.

The first Phoenician objective was Spain. Tradition places the *Spain* founding of Gades at 1100 B.C. The distant site was well chosen, for the men of the Baetis (Guadalquivir) valley, the Tartessians, were exploiting the silver, copper, and lead deposits of their own country and were receiving tin and amber from the far North by sea. Before the coming of the Phoenicians Spain had made definite though small contributions to European civilization. It had passed on megalithic culture to the entire Atlantic area of Europe and had been the source of migrations which reached central Europe and the upper Po valley. Implements of Spanish copper were probably the first to replace those of stone in western Europe. But it was the Phoenicians who brought the Iberian peninsula into direct and continuous contact with the civilized East. Their settlements increased in number both east and west of the Straits of Gibraltar, and by 800 B.C. they were well established in the kingdom of the Tartessians. In the meantime, they had gradually assumed control of the islands of Sicily and Sardinia. It is probable, also, that the trade of the Rhone valley was controlled by a Phoenician factory at Massilia (Marseilles). For more than three hundred years the ideas and goods of the East came to the western Mediterranean in Phoenician hands.

One exception must be noted to Phoenician guidance of the *Italy* West. This exception was the peninsula of Italy, a land of great variety, both in physical structure and in its peoples. Even before 1200 B.C. the original Mediterranean stock had been forced to give way to later comers. Archaeologists have noted so many variations in the cultures of different districts, and so many breaks in the culture of any one district, that they assume migrations from Illyria, from the Danube, and from Spain. The evidence of language, however, convinces some that all except the Etruscans spoke dialects which were essentially Indo-European. One statement and one alone is generally accepted, namely, that the history of primitive Italy was the history of its invaders.

Civilization came later to the Italian peninsula than to the regions lying east of it. Italy was too far removed from the great river-valley cultures to be strongly affected by them. The forbidding Adriatic coast discouraged intruders from the Balkan peninsula, while the Alps and the swampy, heavily timbered valley of the Po kept invaders from using that approach. Attractions of climate and soil, however, brought men to the peninsula in spite of the barriers. The Apennine highlands which separate the peninsula proper

from the Po valley, and then, turning to the southwest give an alpine character to the entire eastern section, are ideal grazing districts. Prolongations, to the west of the main range divide the gradual western slope into the plains of the Etruria, Latium, and Campania. The soil of these plains, enriched by the outpourings of volcanoes, encouraged and rewarded the farmers. Italy was superior to Greece in the amount and quality of its tillable soil. With a climate as equable as that of its neighbor, Italy offered a complete living to its inhabitants. They were landsmen and remained hostile to the sea to the end.

Copper may have come to Italy from the west; bronze apparently came from Crete to Sicily and to South Italy, and to the northern districts from the Danube. The use of iron was quite clearly the gift of late arrivals from the Danube, who brought with them the custom of burning their dead and a language destined to outlive all of its competitors in the form of Latin.

A final group of early invaders remains to be noted, the Etruscans. Whence and at what time they came are not known, but by 750 B.C. they had made the Etruscan (Tuscan), or Tyrrhenian, Sea their own, and were masters of the land between the Tiber on the south and the Apennines on the east and north. As seafarers they furnished the links between Italy and the more experienced East. As able organizers, they held out the only promise of unity to the medley of cultures then existing in the peninsula.

The Middle   Innumerable attempts have been made to elucidate the five
Age of Greece centuries of darkness following the destruction of Troy by the Achaeans. Inaccurate and often contradictory traditions, incomplete archaeological evidence, and hypotheses, more or less rational, have been the bases of reconstruction. The simplest account is that of Thucydides. His story, sketched in bold and bald outline, gives an impression of migration and war followed by a long period of fusion, leading to the establishment of peace and order. The history of Herodotus, who was much more tolerant of tradition, traced the beginnings in Greece of a long struggle between two outstanding groups, the Dorians and the Ionians. This limitation of the story to the Balkan peninsula is not observed in other legends, which include the entire Aegean area and connect the unrest in the Balkan peninsula with a more widespread migratory change. No substantial check on the legends is available, since the records of contemporary eastern civilizations are silent with reference to events in the West. Modern reconstructions, therefore, almost invariably are based on the known facts of the eighth century B.C. It is known that the language of that later time was Indo-European;

that the gods were, for the most part, of northern origin; and that iron had replaced bronze in implements and weapons. The generally accepted hypothesis is that the Middle Ages were the results of a second and larger wave of northern invaders. Secondary movements back and forth across the Aegean and to distant shores merely increased the confusion. Philistia in the east, and probably Sardinia and Etruria in the west, mark the limits of migration. As the restlessness gradually subsided, certain well-defined groups of migrants were to be found in their new homes. Refugees from central Greece, speaking the Aeolic dialect, had settled on the Anatolian coast south of Troy. Directly south of the Aeolians was an Ionic-speaking group connected by tradition with Athens. In the extreme south venturesome Dorians, who had traveled from the Peloponnesus by way of Crete and Rhodes, had founded cities. The islands were held by refugees of every sort. Carians and Leleges from Anatolia, Minoans and Achaeans from Greece, combined with native Mediterranean stock in desperate efforts to maintain life.

On the Greek mainland three types of communities were developed during the period of darkness. In Thessaly and Laconia, for example, the conquered residents tilled the soil as serfs of the victors. Complete conquest of this type, however, was not general. Many towns along the southern shores of the Corinthian gulf were composed of Dorian and non-Dorian elements joined in the exercise of authority. Resistance in Attica was so obstinate that no Dorians obtained entrance. Athens was the only city on the Greek mainland to survive untouched by Dorian influence.

In the course of centuries the antagonisms of conquest were forgotten and replaced by a consciousness of common interests. The legend manufactured to explain this feeling of unity derived it from the Helloi, an ancient priesthood of Dodona. From them the legend secured the name *Hellenoi,* or *Hellenes,* for all of the inhabitants of central and southern Greece, and the name of *Hellas* for their land. It was not until 776 B.C. that unity received general recognition. At the first celebration of games in honor of the god Zeus, a people gathered together who spoke the same language, worshipped the same gods, and buried its local differences in this first pan-Hellenic union. *Hellenes*

The life of a Hellene, whom we call Greek, at the beginning of the eighth century, was one of problems. The readjustment of invaders to the new environment, to the conquered natives, and to one another was a long and painful process. One of the earliest economic changes was from a nomadic pastoral to a sedentary agricultural life. The poverty of the soil and the relatively large number *Primitive Hellas*

of invaders combined to defeat any distribution of land that would satisfy all. The result was that those with power acquired ownership of land, and those who were weak either descended to serfdom or sought other means of making a living. In a land where war was the rule and peace the exception, any serious improvement in agriculture was impracticable. Still, a few olive trees and a few vines were planted to increase the farmer's income. Sheepherding and charcoal-burning, pottery and metal-working were the alternatives to farming. Security, comfort, and prosperity came first to the refugee communities of the Anatolian coast. There the commercial tradition of Mycenaean days survived. Trading and industrial activity brought to these Greeks a measure of wealth and of leisure.

City-state development

In the eighth century B.C., the period during which the light of recorded history begins to dispel the gloom of the Middle Age, the Greeks were living in independent communities, which they called *poleis,* or city-states. The *poleis* had arisen from a combination of villages geographically contiguous and composed of men bound together by ties of kinship. They were, presumably, the descendants of a single family. The simplest development would be from house to village to city, or from family to clan to state. But since it was impracticable to move whole villages bodily in order to form a city, and since different clans were found in the same neighborhood, the third step was a complicated one. The city was a place agreed upon, to which all of the villagers would resort for conference, for worship, and for defense. In the city the clansmen were grouped in tribes of kinfolk, invariably three in a Dorian city, four in an Ionian city. The legendary organizers of the cities were the first monarchs of the *poleis.*

Hellenic monarchy

Monarchical rule was not unknown to the Greeks. The absolute power of the nomadic patriarch had remained in the hands of family heads throughout the migrations. Each village of the conquest period had its own king. The king of a city was therefore only one among many. His power depended as much upon his ability as upon his divine descent. And it was checked by the other kings of the community, who sat in council to control him. In fact, by 750 B.C., the power of the monarch had been greatly curtailed or entirely usurped by the council, an oligarchy of birth.

Hellenic leadership

The solid worth of Egyptian and Sumerian civilizations had been demonstrated by their long lives. Generation after generation of barbarian neighbors and invaders had been taught the lessons of better living without exhausting the sources of instruction. The time was coming, however, when the old teachers were to retire in favor of younger and stronger members of the profession. While

THE HELLENIC HOME-LAND.
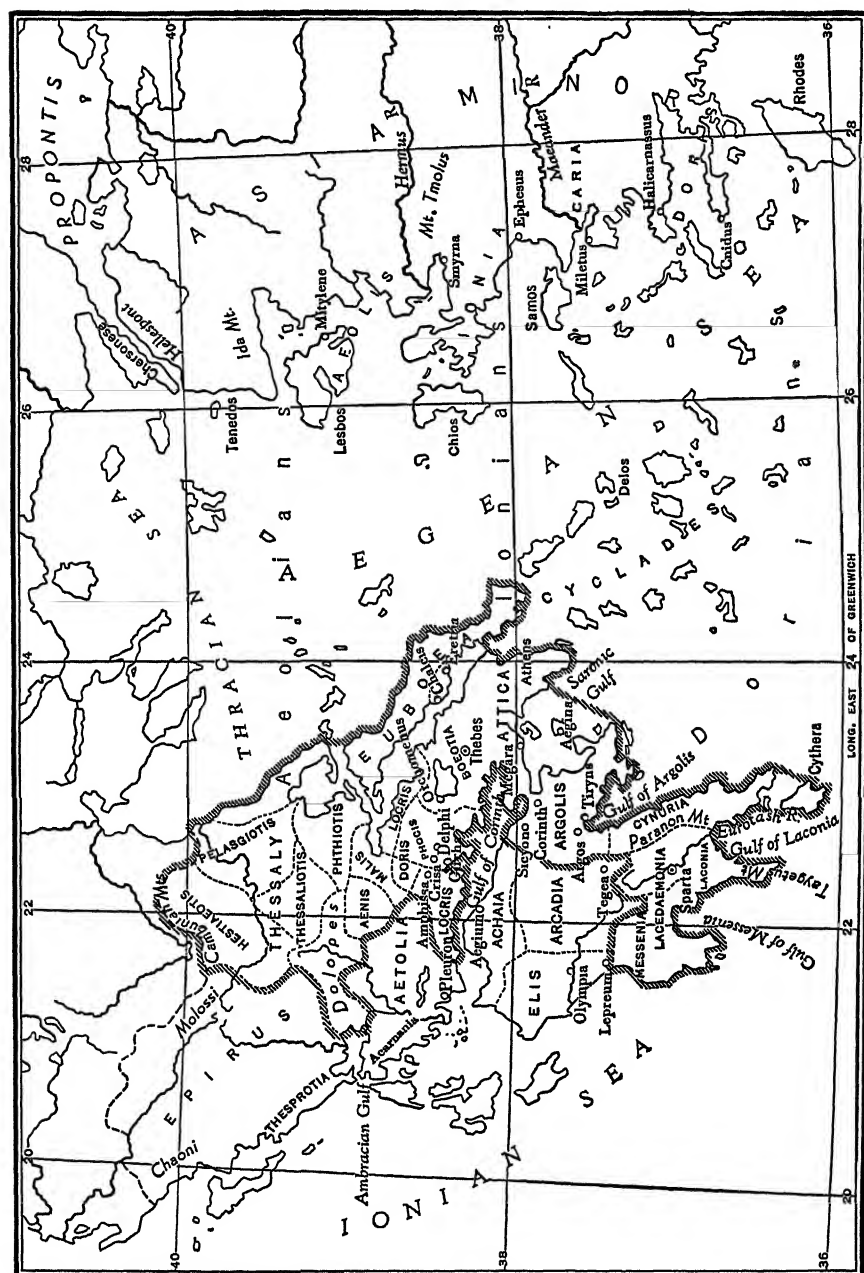
the East was plunged in a series of wars to determine political supremacy, the Greeks were combining new ideas with old, formulating an original rule of life. The agony of the East was the opportunity of the West. When the East, united under Persian (Indo-European) kings, strove to impose its culture upon the West, the Greeks were prepared to oppose with their Occidental culture.

The four centuries which follow 750 B.C. were definitely Hellenic. Within that brief period the Greeks developed a well-rounded civilization, defended it against the military and cultural attacks of the East, and finally spread the Hellenic point of view throughout the Mediterranean world. Their errors were many and unmistakable. Equally unmistakable were their successes and the fundamental reason for their triumph. It lay in the fixing of definite limits to each task, and the use of the power of reason in completing the task within those limits. Many of their achievements have been lost, but the method, which the term *Hellenism* implies, remains a permanent contribution to human civilization.

The story of Hellenic leadership falls naturally into periods of growth, maturity, and decline. Two centuries and a half (750–500 B.C.) of preparation were characterized by the establishment of colonies and the development of political institutions at home. A decisive struggle with the new forces of a changed outside world was followed by fifty years of glory. The final period was a century of painful transition. The political rise and fall of the Greeks were as brief as their cultural influence was lasting.

Colonization   The habit of migration and the small amount of agricultural land were the most powerful incentives to a movement of colonial expansion which followed hard upon the establishment of peace in the Aegean area. The first motive is reflected in the poetic tales of the rhapsodists, singers who recounted the deeds of the Achaean heroes, the Trojan adventure, the wanderings of Odysseus, the voyage of the Argonauts, and the travels of Herakles. In sharp contrast to these ideal stories of bygone days and faraway places was the harsh description of eighth-century life in the *Works and Days* of Hesiod. The greed and dishonesty of the powerful, the oppression and hardships of the weak, which he laments, show that his native land, Boeotia, was not a place in which to live well. Hesiod perhaps belonged to that class for whom comfort in life is impossible, but there were many of his fellows who suffered, in spite of ability and energy. Nor was Boeotia the only district which experienced the evil effects of overpopulation.

Motives   The Hellenic peninsula had only a limited amount of arable land; the islands could not support a large population; and the

GREEK AND PHOENICIAN COLONIZATION

Phoenician Colonial Area

Greek Colonial Area

HAGSTROM CO., N.Y.
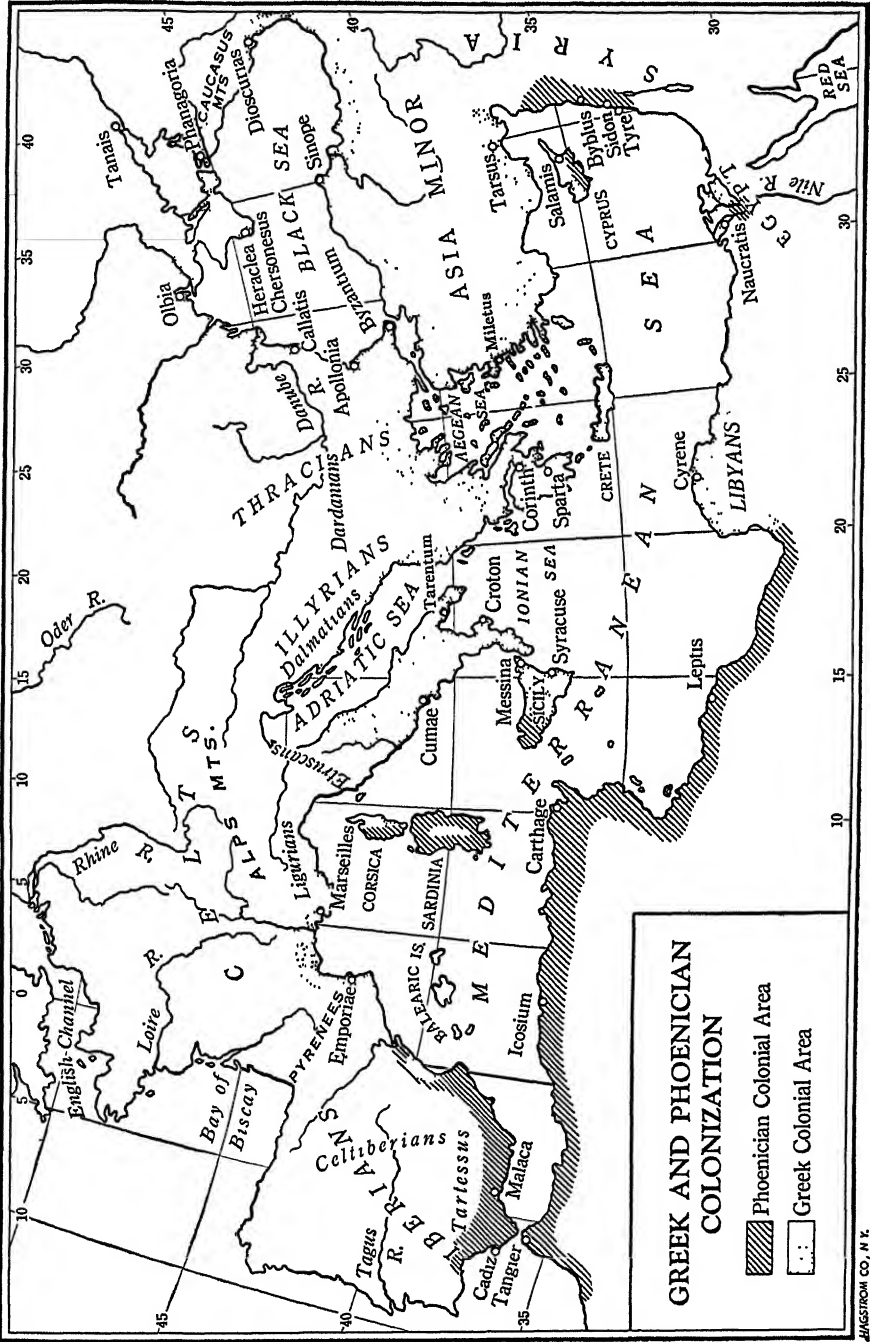
refugee cities of the Asia Minor coast were effectively restricted to the shore by the hostile natives of the interior. Unequal distribution of land aggravated a naturally difficult situation and encouraged many Hellenes to seek agricultural opportunities away from home. A nascent industrial development was threatened by the exhaustion of local supplies and led to an intensive search for raw materials abroad. The cities of Anatolia, which had advanced more rapidly, were looking for new markets for their manufactured wares as well as for those obtained from Asiatic traders. Political discontent drove some from their home cities, and the love of adventure attracted others to new lands. But the chief reasons why the Greeks left home were economic.

Extent   Colonial expansion did not cease until every available site on the Mediterranean and Black Sea had been occupied by Hellenic settlements. The northern shores of the Aegean, both sides of the Propontis, (the Sea of Marmora), and the entire shoreline of the Black Sea were dotted with Greek colonies. There were a few fishing villages on the southern side of Asia Minor, some trading pioneers on the island of Cyprus, a flourishing settlement at Naukratis on the Nile delta, and another on the then fertile promontory of Cyrene. Where Carthaginians and Etruscans were unsuccessful in excluding them, the Greeks took possession of the western Mediterranean shores. Two-thirds of Sicily, the lower portion of Italy, a large part of what is now southern France, and a few footholds south of the Pyrenees were theirs.

Character   Each colony was sent out with the blessing and under the auspices of the mother city. An informal, but none the less real, guidance was afforded by the Oracle of Apollo at Delphi, whose advice was almost uniformly solicited. Encouraged by the party in power as a means of allaying local discontent, and embraced by the colonist as a solution of his political or economic problems, the colony left the mother city with ties of kinship, bonds of religion, of trade, and of friendship unimpaired. Political ties were completely severed since the colonists, from the moment of departure, constituted an independent and sovereign body politic.

Relations between colonists and natives   The normal relationship between colonist and native was one of peace, since the colonial groups were too small to conduct wars of conquest. Wars, however, were not infrequent, especially on those frontiers where the Greeks were confronted with organized opposition of trade rivals. Modern commentators emphasize the cultural rather than the political conquest, and speak of the spread of Hellenic civilization over the entire Mediterranean world. The evidence supporting this assertion is still incomplete. Sicily and

South Italy were so thoroughly permeated that Hellenic civilization dominated. But Hellenic language, law, and religion found little or no foothold in other parts of the colonial areas.

The effects of expansion upon the homeland are more easily discernible. Much of the economic development within the Greek peninsula during the seventh and sixth centuries is directly attributable to the colonies. The quantities of cheap grain shipped back from Sicily and South Russia greatly reduced the importance of the agriculturists at home. Cheap foreign grain forced the stay-at-home farmer into a more intensive form of agriculture, to the cultivation of olive and vine. The demands of the colonists for the familiar articles of the old home life greatly stimulated industry. Improvements in shipbuilding and increased production of naval stores were direct results of rapidly growing trade. A rising group of industrialists challenged the superiority of the land-owning capitalist. Some communities encouraged the immigration of craftsmen in order to build up their industrial output. The presence of a growing number of resident aliens was in itself a problem, and the introduction of coinage as a medium of exchange added another complication to economic life.

Relations between colonies and mother country

The reaction of representative city-states to coinage is interesting. Sparta attempted to exclude the dangerous novelty by confiscating all gold and silver and by limiting official coins to iron. Athens accepted coinage and all other economic novelties. Thebes sought to control the innovations by excluding from political office those who could not prove a ten-year abstention from trade. This was the great cause of suspicion, the fear that the economic revolution would be succeeded by a political change. The political development of the city-state was indeed greatly influenced by the economic changes introduced by colonization.

The economic basis of the political power of the oligarchs has led to the assumption that economic factors were responsible for the origin of the *polis,* but other factors were present and deserve consideration. Cities were there before the northern invaders entered the Greek peninsula. Topography encouraged the establishment of small compact units. The need for defense was great. Finally, there was the sense of unity, based on kinship, and the worship of the same deities, which made possible the acceptance of civic organization.

Origin of city-state

No other period in antiquity, no other area, has presented so many plans for living well together. The infinite variety of the experiments makes generalization concerning them dangerous when it is not absurd. It is dangerous, perhaps, to accept Aristotle's state-

Development of the polis

ment that the city-state was a union of villages. It is absurd to speak, without reservations, of a period of oligarchic rule, or of an age of tyrants, or of the era of democracy. For there was never a time in which each form of government, once established, did not have representatives.

No matter what reason be ascribed for the origin of the *polis*, there can be little doubt that the most effective cause for political development was economic. With increase in population, there came a shortage of land. So important was land that ownership of a portion was universally one of the qualifications for citizenship. As the allotments diminished in size through division among sons, it became increasingly difficult to make a living. Some citizens became debtors for their food, serf-tenants; others gave up their land and citizenship in order to obtain food in industrial centers or in colonial foundations. .The two latter groups, the colonists and the resident alien craftsmen, were the agents of an economic revolution which directly affected the political institutions of many city-states.

Bonds of unity

The geography of Greece was responsible for the most significant omission in the series of political experiments, namely, national unity. Physical discontinuity had apparently developed local patriotism and a love of independence which was almost fanatical. On the other hand, elements of unity were not lacking. An alphabet had been developed out of numerous experiments with that of the Phoenicians, an alphabet with vowel as well as consonant signs. It was used by trader and author to bind men of business to the written contract, and men of thought to common traditions. Hesiod used it in his *Theogony* to remind the Greeks of national deities and national heroes. Then, too, the Olympic Games in honor of Zeus were duplicated for many other national deities. Smaller groups formed amphictyonies, unions to worship a local deity and to discuss the welfare of the worshippers. Trade and colonization were also unifying factors in that they made the Greeks conscious of the differences between themselves and barbarians, and of the resemblances between themselves and other Hellenes. But serious consideration of the possibility of a pan-Hellenic union came too late. Even the ideal communities of Plato and Aristotle were city-states limited in size and in number of citizens. This effective control by geography is remarkable when one considers the encouragement to union offered by language, religion, habits, and customs which were national in scope. But the idea of a national state, with which we are familiar, never entered the minds of men in antiquity. If the Greeks ever considered

a national union, they left no written record of the thought.

Practical politics engaged the attention of the Greeks through- *Political* out the early period of city-state development. It was not until the *theory in* fifth century that the literary record gives proof of interest in the *Greek letters* general question of the best form of government. The historian Herodotus discussed the relative merits of monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy. Critics and advocates, teachers and political pamphleteers, filled the first half of the fourth century with their writings. The *polis* was then slowly dying, and these doctors gathered round the bedside with diagnoses and prescriptions of every sort. The last contribution was made by the philosophers, who, drawing heavily on the distant past, constructed their Utopias. Much of the illustrative material was taken from the experiences of Sparta and Athens, the two most powerful, the two most widely contrasting city-states of ancient Hellas.

In Sparta, the most striking example of the conquest type of *polis*, *Sparta* a small group of conquerors extended their rule to include the entire Eurotas valley. The conquered natives were either reduced to serfdom, tilling the soil for their masters, or were granted freedom without political rights. Helots and *perioeci*, as they were called, performed all the economic tasks of the community, thus relieving the Spartan citizen body. Archaeology (as well as what is known of their literature) has proved that the Spartans at first made use of this acquired leisure to keep pace with the rest of the Greeks in cultural development. The conquest of neighboring Messenia gave to the Spartans the relief which other states found in colonies. But soon after the Messenian wars, probably about 600 B.C., cultural development ceased and Sparta became an armed camp. The Spartans of later days did not know when this change occurred. They placed it too far in the past. But they were probably correct in attributing the change to one man, to a genius, whom they called Lycurgus. The aims of this reformer were to retain for Spartan citizens and their descendants a political monopoly of the land which they then held and to extend that monopoly to the remainder of the Peloponnesus. Efficiency through discipline was the essence of his method. The attention of the Spartans was riveted upon military strength. The results of the reforms of Lycurgus are to be found in the history of Sparta, partial success followed by complete failure. The causes of failure are not difficult to understand. The Spartan had no leisure time. He was culturally bankrupt. Economic forces ultimately swept over the artificial barriers erected to exclude them and ruined the state which would not and could not adjust itself to new conditions. Since the military power

was too weak to advance the northern boundary of Sparta, the policy of conquest was replaced by one of federation. But even the Peloponnesian League failed. It had nothing new, nothing constructive to offer, and was, at its best, a means of defense, at its worst, an agent of destruction.

Athens

The refugee city of Athens had a far more diversified story. Traces have survived of early village groupings and of inter-village strife in a pre-Athenian Attica. Theseus, the hero who, according to legend, united these villages into the city-state of Athena, was not one of those who followed Agamemnon to Troy. And yet Theseus delivered his people from the tyranny of Minos before Troy fell. Probably the number of Achaeans in Attica was small, and many of the ancestors of the Athenians were, as their descendants claimed, autochthonous, that is, "sprung from the soil." Nevertheless, strangers from many places found refuge there. Tradition records the foreign origin of many of the kings, and Mycenaean finds in Attica prove that foreign wares were not excluded.

The story definitely begins with the success of this mixed group in warding off the Dorian invaders. When that danger had been averted, the people of Athens settled down to the solution of their local problems by and for themselves. The differences between parts of the citizen body were those which develop naturally in any community. The more successful increased their power and authority at the expense of those who were less successful. Tradition records the gradual weakening of royal power. This included the division of kingly duties among three men, the substitution of election for hereditary rule, and the limitation of tenure from life to ten years and finally to one year. The winners in the long struggle were the well-born, the *Eupatrids*. An aristocracy of birth controlled the Athenian state when tradition gave way to history. This aristocracy was a land-holding group. It exercised authority over religion, law, finance, and reserved to itself the defense of the state. Driven probably by the greater complexity of seventh-century life, the aristocracy introduced two changes in the government of the city. Six judicial officials were added to the board of archons, or rulers, all of them now elected annually by and from the land-holding aristocrats. A new classification of citizens was also introduced, based on wealth and designed to increase the military strength of the state by incorporating the middle class as heavy-armed infantry.

The march toward democracy

The unexpected result of this reform was an increasing demand for privileges by the mass of unprivileged. The demand found its first expression in an unsuccessful attempt to establish a popular

dictatorship. It was answered by the nobles, who assigned to Draco the task of codifying and publishing the laws. Equality before the law was an improvement, but it did not satisfy the majority. One generation after Draco a much more drastic reform program was carried out by Solon, chosen from the Medontid house to be chief official, or archon, for the year 594 B.C. Solon, the aristocrat, was a remarkable man. Poet, orator, soldier, philosopher, and man of affairs, he brought to his task an exceptional wealth of experience and thought. He prepared his fellow citizens for entrance into the commercial and industrial life of the Aegean. At the same time, he tried to quiet political discontent by a distribution of governmental authority among the different groups of citizens. Some legislative powers and the right to elect the magistrates were given to the assembly, in which all free men were now included. From the assembly there was chosen, by lot, a final court of appeal from the decisions of the magistrates. The first class, or citizens of greatest wealth, retained the highest magistracies.

The constitutional reforms of Solon were efforts to maintain peace by compromise. They produced, instead, factional strife. One faction, called the party of the Coast, fought with another, the party of the Plain, until a third faction, the party of the Hills, seized control of the state under the leadership of Peisistratus. If we may believe the picturesque account of Herodotus, Peisistratus failed as a "third-party" leader, and again as leader of a coalition. His final effort, backed by outsiders and supported by the masses of Athens, was successful. Securely entrenched as a "tyrant," resembling the American political boss in that he held no office, Peisistratus unwittingly continued the march towards democracy by equalizing the economic and political status of the citizens of Athens. The wealthy landowners were deprived of political power. Their estates were, in part, divided among tenant farmers, who now became landowners. Of equal importance to the future of Athens was the foreign policy of Peisistratus. He built on the foundations laid by Solon, encouraging production of objects of trade, opening new markets for Athenian traders, and fighting his way into a dominant position at the entrance to the Propontis. The ultimate failure of his sons to retain power brought partisan quarrels once more to Athens. But again a statesman appeared who completed the structure to which many reformers had contributed a share. *Factional strife*

Peace had been secured by Peisistratus through his domination of all the factions. Cleisthenes secured peace by a reorganization which made factional control an impossibility. He divided the *Cleisthenes and Athenian democracy*

state into thirty districts, ten each of Coast, Plain, and Hill. These districts were united in ten tribes, each tribe including one district from the Coast, one from the Plain, and one from the Hill. Ambitious nobles found this new organization impervious to political manipulation. Every one saw in it the threat, or promise, of democracy. But neither attack from without nor opposition from within the state could prevent the establishment in Athens of the rule of the people.

Hellas at the close of the sixth century

By the year 500 B.C., the Hellenic world had reached the limit of its colonial expansion. Colonist and stay-at-home were swept along in a current of commercial and industrial activity. Political readjustment was as rapid and frequently more violent in the colony than in the mother city. Above all in importance was the flood of new ideas, which excited a naturally active intellectual curiosity. There was little in life which escaped the attention and study of some Greek. Quickened by Oriental speculation, the scholars of Ionia sought to derive a formula which would explain the origin and nature of the universe. These same men, taking the astrological data of the Near East and applying pure reason to the compilations, laid the foundations for the science of astronomy. Others described the newly discovered lands. From Ionia, too, came the first expressions of individual thought and emotion, the poems of those who believed that their loves and hates were worthy of preservation in verse. At the close of the century two states stood prominently in the lead. Sparta, with her state-imposed discipline, was the great military power, head of a league which included almost all of the Peloponnesus. Athens, choosing liberty rather than discipline as the highway to success and efficiency, was rapidly growing more wealthy and more powerful.

General development to 500 B.C.

The history of Hellas is not merely that of Sparta and of Athens. These two were extremes, exceptions. Spartan stubbornness and Athenian poverty had kept them out of the main current of Hellenic life. The record of general development, however, is fragmentary. Corinth, Aegina, Chalcis, and Miletus are more truly typical city-states of the period 750–500 B.C. It was they who led in industry, trade, and colonization. The Anatolian coast and the Corinthian gulf were the great centers of commercial activity. In their progressive communities the first triremes were built, and the systems of weights and measures were developed. It was there that the struggle between rich and poor first brought forth champions of the people, who ruled as "tyrants." These men were patrons of art and letters; they increased the wealth and fame of their homes, and continued the intense trade rivalries, which frequently led to

relentless wars. Nor were they hostile to a new religious movement, which swept through the Hellenic world. The worship of Diony-sus, an emotional cult, was welcomed with enthusiasm. Even after being subdued and controlled, this new form of religion was a menace to Hellenic faith in the Olympian deities. Promising an immortality of bliss in return for a life of purity, the new cult was a permanent addition to the religious life of the Greeks. Its prog-ress can best be studied in the accounts of the City Dionysia and the Eleusinian Mysteries of the Athenians.

This world of activity was the background of fifth-century Athens. The explanation of Athenian greatness lies here. For Athens drew heavily upon the Hellenic world, as well as upon the more remote background of the barbarian neighbors of Greece. That back-ground was described for the Athenians by a great traveler and teller of tales, Herodotus. A native of Halicarnassus, a Dorian city of southern Anatolia, Herodotus possessed the frontiersman's in-terest in the vast barbarian world, which lay just beyond the bor-ders of his home. The interest was quickened by the facts that bar-barians had conquered his home and that a state of war existed between Greek and barbarian for the first forty years of his life. The task which he set for himself was an inquiry into the events and causes of that struggle. His purpose was to preserve the memory of the deeds of barbarians as well as of Greeks in that conflict. Hailed as the Father of History and derided as the Father of Lies, Herodotus is today respected as one who tried to discover the truth and to make his account interesting. His History is of value to the student of economics, anthropology, the history of religion, and of literature, for he was writing for likeminded men of his own day.

The continuity and uniformity of civilized life remained power- *Summary* ful factors even in this period of many states and many wars. The right of one man to rule his fellow men was still generally ac-knowledged, and to it was added the right of one group to rule other groups. This form of union of many groups, which is called an empire, was not simply an enlarged kingdom. It was based on a feeling of superiority of the ruling *people,* as well as that of the ruling monarch. Perhaps the most interesting imperial union was the Hittite Empire, since the independent Hittite kings united by treaty (a federation) to lord it over non-Hittite groups.

Phoenician and Greek political experience followed a different direction. The kings of the city-states lost their power to small groups who established oligarchies or governments by the few. The Phoenician oligarchs were men of wealth. Rule by the wealthy is called *plutarchy,* or *plutocracy.* The Greek oligarchs, wealthy

at least in land, based their right to rule on birth, and called their rule *aristocracy,* that is, government by the best. The final step in this development was taken by Athens, for there the rule of the few was replaced by the rule of the many, or the rule of the people, *democracy.* This was indeed a political innovation. Only to the Athenian did it seem a natural outgrowth of his past. Monarch and oligarch considered democracy unnatural and dangerous. One century alone was needed to prove its strength, its weakness, and its capability of combining with the apparently opposite form of government, imperialism.

VAPHIO GOLD CUPS: CRETAN GOLDSMITH WORK

COLLATERAL READING

V. G. Childe, *What Happened in History,* 1946, Chaps. 9–10.
L. Delaporte, *Mesopotamia,* 1925, Part II.
H. R. H. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East,* 1936, Chaps. 6–10.
E. R. Bevan and C. Singer, Eds., *The Legacy of Israel,* 1928.
G. Glotz, *The Greek City,* 1930.
C. Huart, *Ancient Persia and Iranian Civilization,* 1927.
A. Jardé, *The Formation of the Greek People,* 1926.
C. H. Moore, *The Religious Thought of the Greeks,* 1925.
A. E. Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth,* 1931.

Greek Leadership,
500–146 B.C.

The Bettmann Archive

PERICLES

AT the close of the sixth century there were still traces of im-
maturity in the Greek mind. No greater evidence of this im-
maturity may be found than in the indifference of the Greeks to
the persistent advance of the Persian imperial boundaries. The
conquest of the Asiatic cities, the annexation of the colonies in
Cyrene, the presence of Persian garrisons in Thrace, aroused no
alarm. Local matters received the undivided attention of the Greeks
in spite of the Persian menace.

Greece before the Persian attack

Sparta and Athens were but two of a great number of ambitious
and prosperous cities. Corinth, with its industrial aristocracy,
Thebes, ruled by its great landowners, and Argos, bitter opponent
of Sparta, were prominent on the mainland; Corcyra and Syracuse
commanded respect in the West. The cities of Anatolia, leaders in
thought and in the arts, had lost little of their vigor under Persian
rule. All of these cities watched with great interest the remarkable
development of Athens. Spartan interest had led, in 510 B.C., to
armed intervention, which drove out the son of the tyrant Peisis-
tratus and restored the oligarchs to power. A second intervention,
in 508 B.C., put a temporary halt to the democratic reforms of
Cleisthenes. Then a coalition of Sparta (with her league forces),
Thebes and Chalcis was formed to stamp out, once and for all, the
democratic peril, to make the Hellenic world safe for oligarchy. In
a last and desperate move Cleisthenes threatened to appeal to
Persia for aid. The sudden withdrawal of the Peloponnesian forces

by Cleomenes, the Spartan leader, induced possibly by the threat of Cleisthenes, was fortunate for Athens. The Athenians scored a great victory over Thebes and Chalcis. A few years later, in 499 B.C., the Athenians reversed their attitude towards Persia, supporting the Ionian cities in their effort to throw off Persian rule. The task was too great, but the Persian counterattack, a strong expedition designed to replace the expelled tyrant in Athens, met with defeat on the famous field of Marathon. The ability of the Athenians to defend themselves against Greek and barbarian enemies had been demonstrated. The victory over Thebes and Chalcis had given democracy a place in the Greek sunlight. It closed a chapter of Hellenic history. The victory at Marathon, however, opened a new chapter, presented a new problem, and forced the Greeks to determine their attitude toward the "king of kings."

Persian influence in Greece   It was by no means a united Greece which defied the Persians in their ponderous westward movement. The influential Oracle of Apollo at Delphi advised submission, advice which was accepted by three quarters of the cities which met to worship the god. The oligarchs of Thessaly and of Thebes were medizers, sending earth and water in token of submission to the Persian king. Only thirty-one states sent representatives to discuss plans for defense at a congress held in Corinth. The western Greeks needed all of their strength to repel the invading armies of Carthage, while Corcyra cannily held to a strict neutrality. But the destruction of the Persian fleet at Salamis and the decisive defeat of the Persian army at Plataea ended the hopes and fears of an Oriental conquest.

Immediate results of victory   The repulse of the Persians led to an outburst of gratitude to the protecting deities of Greece. Athena gained what the medizing oracle had lost, and more. The feeling of reverence was most nobly expressed in the immortal tragedies of Aeschylus. But gratitude toward the gods did not prevent the Greeks from enjoying the fruits of victory. The scars of Persian occupation were quickly covered. Trade and industry were renewed with energy. An increasing knowledge of the comforts of life led to a desire for their enjoyment. Democracy and oligarchy, now on equal terms, joined in a struggle for supremacy. In the contest democratic Athens finally wrested Greek leadership from oligarchic Sparta, for it was Athenian policy and Athenian energy that swept the Persians from the Aegean, freed the Greek cities of Anatolia, and launched an ambitious counteroffensive against the king of kings.

The Delian League   The alliance of the victorious Greeks took the usual form of a religious union. It was ostensibly a league of the worshippers of Apollo of Delos. The specific purpose of the Delian League was

to punish the Persian king for his offenses against the gods of Greece. Xerxes was thus responsible for the formation of the league. He and his people might also claim credit for the course of its development. For the retreating Persians had left behind them an idea, the idea of imperialism, which brought power and authority, wealth and reputation to those who practiced it successfully. It was that idea which converted many Athenian patriots into ardent imperialists and which led to the transformation of Athens from leader in a league of equals to mistress of an empire. In the beginning, an Athenian had fixed the assessments of each ally in ships or in money, Athenian stewards had administered the funds, and an Athenian commanded the allied fleet. Before thirty years had elapsed the assessments had become tribute, the league funds had been transferred from Delos to Athens, and cases between citizens of league members had to be tried in Athens. The cities which attempted secession were compelled to return as Athenian subjects. The forces of the league were used against the Hellenic enemies of Athens, and a portion of the league funds was used to adorn the city.

Many years before, when the Athenians had taken the island of Salamis, and again in 509 B.C. after the defeat of Chalcis, settlements of Athenian citizens in the conquered territory had been made. Each citizen had been given a *kleros,* or lot of land, and the entire settlement was called a cleruchy. The new colonists did not lose their citizenship, but no colonist could return to Athens until a son had grown up to take his place. This semi-military type of colony had been so useful in keeping peace and in relieving the city of its surplus population that the Athenians used it freely in the organization of their empire. Rebellious allies were not only forced back into the league, but were also compelled to cede some of their land to Athenian cleruchs. *Athenian cleruchies*

Imperialism, or the rule of many states by one, usually calls for an emperor, monarch, or dictator, one man who controls his fellow imperialists. The Athenians were the first to reconcile political equality at home with political dominance abroad. It is true that in Athens there were a large number of slaves (perhaps four tenths the population) as well as an important group of resident aliens (perhaps one tenth), and that admission to the charmed circle of citizens was restricted to those whose fathers and mothers were citizens (never more than forty thousand adult males). But within that circle there was complete equality of opportunity. The assembly of adult males was the supreme legislative body. From its number fifty men from each of the ten tribes were chosen by lot to *Athens, an imperial democracy*

serve as a council and executive committee. The choice by lot was also used for determining all except ten of the twelve hundred or so officials. Final judicial authority was vested in a jury panel of six thousand, also chosen by lot. Election was reserved for the commission of ten *strategoi,* who served as chief executives and military leaders. Every conceivable safeguard was introduced to make supreme the will of the people gathered in assembly. It was a complete and unadulterated democracy which governed Athens in the days of her imperial greatness.

Imperialism and individualism

How could a group of thirty-five to forty thousand men agree upon domestic and imperial policies, even if they met ten times the thirty days scheduled for regular meetings each year? They solved the difficult problem by following leaders who gained their position by ability and retained it by persuasion. Control of the assembly was not easy. The citizen body was critical and austere in its punishment of those who failed, or those whom it disliked. But the opportunity was there for great men, and there were great men ready for the opportunity. Prominent among them was Themistocles, who led the allied Greeks to victory at Salamis, who persuaded the Athenians to construct a navy second to none in the Greek world, and who vigorously promoted a policy of westward trade and expansion. The Athenians gladly fortified Athens at Themistocles's suggestion. They improved and fortified the harbor town, Piraeus. But their disapproval of his anti-Spartan policy forced him into exile, from which he never returned. Another leader was found who combined friendship for Sparta with a hostile attitude towards Persia. It was under this leader, Cimon, that the Delian League gradually became an Athenian empire. And it was because of Spartan coolness, even to her friend Cimon, that Sparta was included in the list of Athenian enemies. Cimon was ostracized, and his place was ultimately taken by the greatest of all Athenian leaders, Pericles.

Foreign policy of Pericles

Pericles (?495–429 B.C.) was an aggressive imperialist. Under him the war against Persia was continued in an effort to aid the Greek cities of Cyprus and the Egyptian rebels. Diplomacy and arms were used to gain access to the mineral districts of the Strymon valley and the grain fields north of the Black Sea. The Aegean became an Athenian lake. Alliances and conquests made Athens supreme in central Greece. Two severe checks halted this remarkable advance. A great Athenian fleet was utterly destroyed in Egyptian waters (459–454 B.C.) and an Athenian army routed in central Greece (447 B.C.). The Athenian eastern line was withdrawn to the fringe of Hellenic states on the Anatolian coast (445 B.C.), and

her land empire given up. The next moves of Pericles were pacific. He called a pan-Hellenic Congress, to which none but Athenian subject-allies sent representatives. He sponsored a pan-Hellenic colony, Thurii, but a factional strife, in which the Dorian (oligarchic) element was victorious, caused that plan to fail. Convinced that Athens would soon be confronted with a coalition of her enemies, Pericles built up reserves, strengthened his navy, and revived the plan of Themistocles to make Athens supreme in the western Mediterranean.

In the meantime, Pericles had a manifold and well co-ordinated *Domestic policy. It was imperative that every citizen should as- icy of Pericles* sume a full share of civic and imperial duties. In order that the poor would not neglect this burden, pay for public service was introduced. It amounted only to a minimum living-wage but accomplished its purpose. A large majority of the citizens were farmers. The other tasks essential to the life of a busy city were performed by slaves, or by the increasing group of resident aliens or metics *(metoikoi)*. It was the policy of Pericles to attract these strangers to Athens, thereby strengthening the commercial and industrial groups of the city. There remained the task of filling the leisure hours of the citizens with worthwhile pursuits. Pericles's solution was democratic in that he achieved his aim, in part, by the distribution to the poor of tickets to the theater, the center of Athenian intellectual life.

The creation of an imperialistic democracy was a difficult task, *The educa-* brilliantly achieved. The maintenance of that empire presented *tion of the* greater problems. It demanded, in particular, a justification other *Athenians* than the right of might. This justification Pericles sought in intellectual superiority. Under his guidance the Athenians became the most highly educated group in Greece.

In their attitude towards the gods, the Athenians, like all other *In religion* Greeks, combined devotion with liberalism. The gods of old were remembered in Athens as in all Greece. The ethical content of the old beliefs had been increased, and men approached the divine family of Olympus as children come to stern but just parents. The Athenians tolerated many new gods as well. Dionysus was a resident of long standing and was worshipped both in the city and in the countryside. The metics, Greek and barbarian, had brought their gods with them. Pericles even attempted to extend the boundaries of toleration so as to include agnostics and sceptics. At the same time he encouraged devotion by giving to religious buildings and religious ceremonies an awe-inspiring beauty. The annual festival in honor of Dionysus, the celebration of the Elusinian
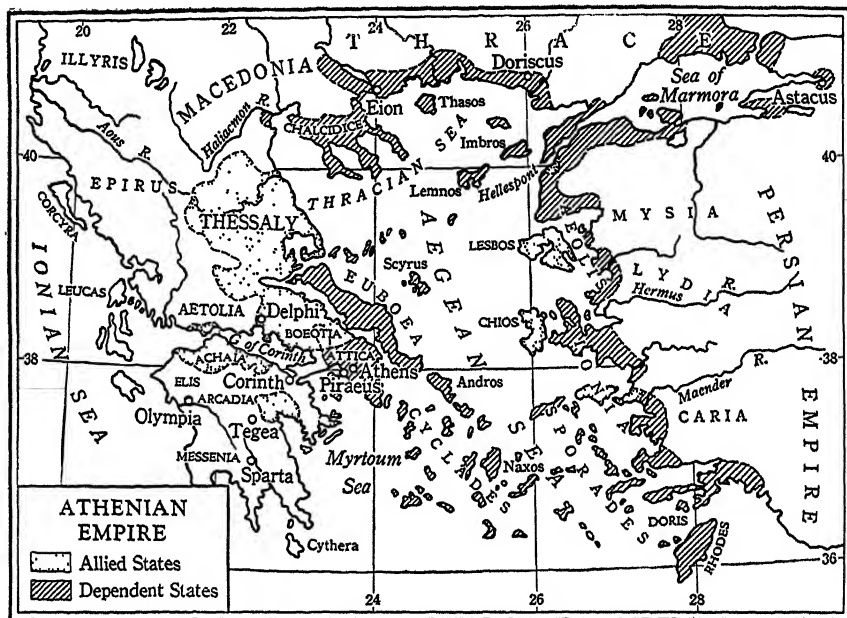
GREECE IN THE DAYS OF PERICLES

mysteries, but above all the quadrennial Panathenaia, attracted many strangers. Athens became the haven of the unorthodox and the goal of the devotee. It was the chief religious center of Greece.

The masterpieces of architecture and sculpture, which crowned *In art* the Acropolis, were dedicated to the gods. They were also object lessons in art, unsurpassed models for a lifelong course in art appreciation. The Acropolis was an essential part of the university which Pericles meant to make his beloved Athens. Imperial funds contributed to its construction; citizens and metics put their hearts into its buildings. All of the artistic ideas of Hellas were combined in a synthesis of beauty for its adornment. The influence of the Acropolis was manifest in the minor arts, in sepulchral monuments, in vase painting, and in the later attempts to make whole cities beautiful through scientific and artistic town-planning. Clarity, simplicity, and perfection in detail were the ideals realized in metal, marble, and clay. Chief credit is assigned to Pheidias, who was at once worker, teacher and director extraordinary.

The same ideals governed the writers of poetry and prose in fifth- *In literature* century Athens. The natural intellectual curiosity of the Athenians, increased by the wealth of information available in the busiest city of Greece, drew men of ideas from all parts of the Mediterranean. The Athenian audience was also critical, insisting upon high quality in the words of those who addressed it. Clarity and simplicity were the fundamentals of an art which was still transmitted orally. There were at most only a few copies of the written word, no book stores, no libraries. Prose and poetry alike were recited to groups of listeners, who demanded excellence in form and in content.

Public speaking was stressed in the education of a democracy which held that each citizen must seek redress or defend himself in person before juries of his peers. Political success was dependent upon oratorical skill. The growing interest in the art of speech accounts for the popularity of Protagoras, lecturer on good citizenship, and of Gorgias, teacher of rhetoric. Interest in man extended beyond the law court and the assembly. Not many, it is true, were attracted by the speculations of Anaxagoras about the origin of the universe and the nature of its parts. Possibly only a few were aware of the discoveries of the great physician Hippocrates (460–377 B.C.). But the descriptions of barbarian neighbors, of men dwelling on the remote fringes of civilization, and of their own ancestors —these the contributions of Herodotus—were popular. The greatest interest was reserved for tragedy and comedy.

Drama alone preserved the older literary form of verse. Its rapid

development in Periclean Athens was in form rather than in content. The beauties of epic, lyric, and choral types were combined and perfected in tragedy, just as Doric and Ionic were joined in the Attic style of architecture. Both were fundamentally conservative, and both were dedicated to the gods. The nearest approach to perfection in form was in the tragedies of Sophocles. These still expressed a profound belief in the gods, and although the characters were treated sympathetically and with a deep understanding, there appeared no criticism of the gods, nor any doubt of the validity of divine judgment.

The conservatism of comedy was much more aggressive. New ideas and new leaders were ridiculed unmercifully, and the old customs were strongly upheld. Comedy expressed the views of a large, inarticulate group, the agricultural class. Tolerant in many respects, the farmer disliked extreme change. His most famous spokesman, Aristophanes, flourished at the very close of the period. But the power of his dramatic satire can be seen in the reaction to some of the advanced ideas and practices of Pericles. Impiety and impropriety were the successful charges which led to the fining of Pheidias, the banishment of Anaxagoras, and the persecution of Aspasia, foreigner and wife of Pericles.

Economic life   The economic foundations of Periclean Athens are noteworthy because of the differences between Athenians and moderns in theory and practice. The Hellenic saying, "Nothing in excess," applied both to work and to wealth. The Athenians were contented with little and bent their minds to wiser spending rather than to greater earning-power. Socrates voiced a general opinion when he said, "We work that we may have leisure." Accumulation of wealth by an individual was a result of accident and incident rather than design. Manual labor, except that of the farm, was considered menial. Almost all of the business activities, therefore, were assigned to slaves or left to metics. It should not be inferred from this that the Athenians were lazy. Three hundred court days each year, with full calendars, kept the six thousand jurors busy. Some twelve hundred others were devoting their time to the duties of magistracy. Military service was demanded of all able-bodied men and was needed for imperial defense. Life on the farm was not easy, but it was on their farms that a majority of Athenian citizens lived, in the days of Pericles.

A list of the occupations in which the metics dominated is all-inclusive. The building trades, all phases of the clothing industry, textiles, ceramics and metal work, retailing, manufacturing, the importing business, shipping, and banking were in their hands.

Their contribution to the arts was considerable. The names of the most famous vase painters were those of metics. They held their own with citizens in sculpture. The greatest painters were metics, and the greatest of all town planners was not an Athenian citizen. Sophists and speech writers, orators and philosophers, astronomers and physicians were, in many instances, men from abroad.

There was no sharp line between public and private economics. The wealth of her citizens and residents was the wealth of Athens. The general opposition to a personal tax or to a regular property-tax was based on a feeling that these were beneath the dignity of a citizen. Metics and slaves paid a poll tax. All men submitted to indirect taxes, tolls, harbors dues, market duties, and a tax on sales. A large revenue came from the state-owned mines which were leased to private contractors, as were other bits of state property. The tribute from imperial subjects furnished probably the largest item of revenue, but many tasks, which we should consider public works, were undertaken by wealthy private individuals. Since the prevailing sentiment was that wealth, like life itself, was something that the state might demand at any time, request and response were made as a matter of course. These tasks, called liturgies, included superintendence and maintenance of the civic athletic grounds, feasts and other celebrations in honor of the gods, equipment and command of a trireme, or man-of-war. The last named could be performed only by a citizen, but metics might and did perform the other liturgies. Modern economists smile over this primitive method of balancing the civic budget, this confusion of mine and the state's. The method was at least tolerable, for it persisted for many centuries.

There were other primitive elements in Athenian economic life. Free men ordinarily worked only while working was a pleasure. There was little competition among craftsmen. Prices were fixed by custom rather than by supply or demand. There were a few men of great wealth and only the beginnings of a credit system. "Beautiful temples but no sewers" is a valid criticism, especially to those who benefit from the latter.

But in spite of unhygienic conditions, Athens was a flourishing city. Speedy settlement of legal disputes in the Athenian courts, accuracy of weights and measures, well-policed and well-regulated markets, a large array of manufactured articles, a strong demand for the raw materials of the north and the rare objects of art from the east and south — all of these brought traders, and made Athens the economic heart of the Aegean.

Economic, political and cultural factors were so closely inter-

woven in Athenian life that it is impossible to assign leadership to any one of them. Nor can the respective shares of Pericles and of Athens in this eternal glory that was Greece be estimated. It is impossible to imagine Pericles in any other environment than that of Athens. They were fitted one for the other. On the other hand, weaknesses may be observed both in the leader and in his followers. Athens was ready to be "the school of all Hellas," but few of the pupils were willing to attend school. The Athenians themselves had been educated to the point where "thought broke free," but they were unprepared to withstand the explosive results of that liberation. Finally, intellectual superiority as a basis for imperialism was challenged. There was no substitute in Periclean organization for the one desideratum of the Greeks, political freedom. The only reply of Pericles to the demand for freedom was a return to the use of force.

Thucydides, the contemporary historian of the struggle between the Athenian Empire and the Peloponnesian League, states the causes of the war in political terms. He stresses the general love of independence and the rivalry between democratic Athens and oligarchic Sparta. Economic and cultural differences have been emphasized by later writers. Thus, the trade rivalry of Athens and Megara, or of Athens and Corinth, the "fear (in Sparta) of the Athenians and their increasing power," and the fear, in Athens, of the conservative element and its increasing power, are given as important causes. Megara and Corinth were threatened with the destruction of their commerce and industry. Sparta, too, felt the pressure of Athenian commercial expansion, since it was threatening her economic isolation and her system of life based upon isolation. Her generals had been corrupted by Persian gold and luxuries. Her citizen-body would soon be corrupted by the prosperity, the comforts of life, and the abundant leisure of which the Athenians boasted. There were, then, economic differences sufficient in themselves to cause a war. To them may be added cultural differences, differences in ideas and ideals. The Spartan ideals may be gathered from their actions, the Athenian ideals were presented in the famous funeral speech of Pericles. The phrases used to describe them, "Efficiency through discipline" and "Efficiency through freedom," have the merit of showing that both states sought the same end, though the means used were radically different. Both were trying to maintain a government in which the proper relation between the state and the individual would be secured. Sparta proposed to destroy individualism, to make every citizen like every other citizen, and to control every act and thought of man, woman,

and child. Athens encouraged individualism, applauded and re-
warded special ability and skill, and asked only that each citizen
serve the state when the state needed service. There were, of course,
Athenians who preferred discipline to freedom, just as there were
Spartans who hated discipline and longed for freedom. But in
435 B.C. these dissenters were neither powerful nor dangerous in
either state. Granting that the immediate incentives to war were
economic, the profound differences of every sort made conflict in-
evitable.

As an exhibition of military or naval skill, the war was a failure. *Divisions of*
Aften ten years of fighting, peace was agreed upon by Athens and *the war*
Sparta. But the failure to consider the economic differences be-
tween Athens and the allies of Sparta led to a renewal of fighting.
The effort of Athens to capture Syracuse and dominate the West
brought Sparta back into the war. Athenian failure in the Sicilian
expedition was a severe but not irreparable loss. But it was followed
by the active intervention of Persia on the side of Sparta. This
third and international phase brought in forces with which Athens
was unable to cope, and, in 404 B.C., the proud city surrendered.

In many respects the war aims of the victors were not realized. *Results of the*
The dream of freedom was rudely shattered by Sparta. Athenian *war*
imperialism was succeeded almost at once by a Spartan imperial-
ism, which brought more burdens and fewer compensations to the
subjects. Again, Athenian trade and commerce were not utterly
destroyed, nor was democracy annihilated.

The democratic idea had spread, bringing with it civil strife.
This *stasis*, or civil war, had ruined many a city which would have
been untouched by the original conflict. Athens did not escape and
was for a time ruled by the oligarchic faction. War for the sake of
political principles became habitual. To the weakness of civil war
was added the harmful intrusion of non-Hellenic forces. Persia
achieved a dominant position in Hellenic politics, while Carthage
gradually acquired one city after another in Sicily. Very little that
is bright or comforting graces the record of war and poverty for
the fifty years following the defeat of Athens. Sparta, Thebes, and
Athens for the second time tried in vain to control other Greek
cities. Individual tyrants (Jason of Pherae in Thessaly, Dionysius
I of Syracuse, Mausolus in Caria) wrote their exploits in the sands
of anarchy.

One doubtful gain was a great advance in the art of war. The *The art of*
Theban phalanx, fifty men deep, produced a concentration of force *war*
which could not be stopped. The light-armed troops of Iphicrates,
the Athenian, had striking power and mobility which made them

superior to the heavily armed forces of Sparta. Light and heavy cavalry were given better training and used more effectively. Siege weapons were introduced and improved. Engineering techniques were applied to the solution of military problems. Naval vessels, dockyards, and arsenals were increased in size and efficiency.

Mercenaries   The man power came from political exiles (their number was estimated at one half of the adult males in 380 B.C.) and barbarians. The most famous group of these mercenaries was the Ten Thousand. They were employed by a young prince, Cyrus of Persia, in an effort to wrest the throne from his brother Artaxerxes III. From his base in Asia Minor, Cyrus marched to the east, crossed the Euphrates and met the royal army at Cunaxa. The Greeks defeated their opponents but without ultimate success, for when they returned to the field of battle they found their Asiatic allies defeated and their employer killed. The dramatic story of their march up to Cunaxa, the *Anabasis,* and the more dramatic account of their return, the *Katabasis,* were told by one of their leaders, Xenophon the Athenian. The Retreat of the Ten Thousand was important as a demonstration of Persian military weakness, but much more important was the effect of travel on Greek political thought.

The representation of these mercenaries on the stage portrays them as describing to the home folk the laws and customs of other cities and peoples. Many of these the soldiers thought were superior to laws and customs of their own cities. Scholars and literary men traveled widely and spread ideals of intellectual brotherhood—of friendship with men of other cities and countries stronger than the friendship for fellow citizens. The individual finally came to believe that he was the one to decide what his life should be. His ideal state was one that would offer the greatest opportunity for self-realization.

Changes from   The conclusion is not so remarkable in view of the losses in-
450 to 350 B.C. flicted by war after war. Greatest among them was the loss of faith, faith in the gods, in the city of one's birth, and in one's fellow citizens. The successes of preceding centuries had been based on the unswerving loyalty to one's city. In 350 B.C., patriotism was a rare virtue; self-preservation and self-advancement were the rule. The development of individualism had been slow but constant. As early as 450 B.C. some men had commenced to question the right of the city to demand so much, and to doubt the value to the citizen of offering his time, his wealth, and his talents so completely to the *polis*. These lecturers and teachers, the sophists, began to suggest new standards and to criticize the old ones. Some of them found errors in the city's laws and insisted that there was a superior law,

a law of nature. A few boldly asserted that justice and equity were unnatural, that the only right recognized by nature was the right of might. The ensuing general discussion of the best form of government increased the number of those who substituted for loyalty to the state, loyalty to a political principle. A staunch old oligarch described the democracy of Athens as a government by rogues, paupers, and base men. Even in the states where civil war had been avoided, oligarchic clubs were formed, bound by oath to harm the people, or democratic clubs with the ideal of a share to every citizen.

Discussion invariably was limited to the reform of the sovereign, independent city-state. The efforts to replace independence with interdependence in amphictyonies, leagues, and empires had failed, and even the philosophers considered the city-state as the only form worthy of study. Plato (427–347 B.C.) and Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) both looked to the past for the model of their ideal state, and found it in Sparta. They retained the limitation in size, the complete independence of the *polis*, and the complete subservience of citizen to state.

The growth of individualism can be seen in literature, art, philosophic and religious thought. Among the first to sound the individualistic note in literature was Euripides, the writer of tragedy. *Cultural changes* He was the champion of the underdog. In his *Medea* he presented the case of the despised barbarian and the unprivileged woman. He condemned the Athenians for their unwarranted destruction of the people of Melos, and he dared attack Apollo for an unjust act. After his death no great writer of tragedy appeared. Public interest then shifted from the play itself to the leading actor and his interpretation. The change in comedy is noticeable in the later plays of Aristophanes, in which he abandons political satire for a description of social types. History became decidedly individualistic in tone. Xenophon's *Anabasis* is autobiographical; his *Education of Cyrus* a biographical essay; his *Memorabilia* recollections of his friend and teacher Socrates. The tendency towards specialization in prose is also found in Xenophon: the *Oeconomicus* is a guide to the managing ownership of a landed estate; the *Cynegeticus* a treatise on the gentlemanly art of hunting. This specialization in literature was encouraged by the introduction of papyrus as a writing material, which made possible many copies of a single work, an active book trade, and a reading public as wide as the Greek world. Thanks to the great orators of Athens and to the constant interchange of goods, the Attic dialect had become the *lingua franca* of the Mediterranean and Near East. Thus, the appeal of Hellenic literature was universal as well as individual.

The same characteristics may be ascribed to Hellenic art. The artists of the period no longer worked exclusively for church and state. The Mausoleum, masterpiece of the century, was dynastic, not civic art. The sculptured tombstones were secular, not religious in character. Painter and sculptor became home decorators for wealthy patrons. The reproduction of reality and of emotion in marble or bronze was an innovation.

Natural philosophy had been laughed out of existence by the sceptics. Among the sophists who succeeded them was one, Gorgias, who maintained that there was no such thing as truth; that if there were,

The Bettmann Archive

THE PARTHENON

it could not be expressed; and that, if expressed, it could not be understood. The reply to this nihilist was made by Socrates (c. 470–399 B.C.), who asserted that truth and wisdom did exist, and that it was humanly possible to ascertain at least a part of them. In conformity with the trend of his time, Socrates confined himself to search for that which was true, right, and good in human conduct. Openly and sincerely a lover of his city, Socrates upheld a doctrine that was bound to destroy it. Theoretically, there can be no dispute between the ideal state and the wise man. But an Athenian jury felt justified in condemning Socrates to death for corrupting the youth. The jurors remembered that one of his pupils was largely responsible for the defeat of Athens in the Peloponnesian War. Another almost ruined Athenian democracy. A third, Xenophon, preferred exile to the performance of his civic duties. A fourth pupil, Plato,

retired to private life, where he tried valiantly to achieve a rational compromise between civic loyalty and individual freedom. And yet Socrates remained a benefactor of mankind. This apparent contradiction in the life and teachings of his master is what Plato tried to understand and explain. In his explanation lie answers to problems which have disturbed the minds of every thinking human being. What is the best way of getting along with my neighbor, with my neighborhood, my community, my state? How can I best prepare myself for life? The answers in Plato may be incomplete, impractical, and sometimes incorrect, but no one wisely ignores, in the study of individual and state, the guidance of Plato, pupil of Socrates. Much of Plato's discussion deals with ideas, ideas of justice, of beauty, and of harmony. In fact he came to believe that ideas had the only reality. Educators have sought, ever since his day, to apply to life the principles of Plato.

Aristotle was Plato's most famous pupil and possibly his most bitter critic. For this reason, the work of Aristotle in many respects supplements that of his teacher. Plato, the dreamer and idealist, and Aristotle, the observer and realist, give two widely different approaches to the seeker after truth. It was Aristotle's method to collect and classify before formulating a conclusion. The objects observed were to him the realities. His conclusions were ideas, without substance. This choice between Platonic nominalism and Aristotelian realism has never ceased to divide the world into two hostile camps.

Aristotle's contributions were more numerous, since his interest included inanimate and animate nature as well as man. He also developed a standard definition of definition, which is really a by-product of his more famous invention, the syllogism. This is not a perfect instrument, but it has probably done more than any other device to make the thought of one man clear to others. Aristotle's study of man as an individual and in society is another solid contribution. Psychologist and political scientist owe much to his systematic discussions. Few men have influenced European thought for so long a time, none more profoundly.

In spite of war, in spite of economic distress and of party struggles, many an individual of the year 350 B.C. was enjoying a much broader life than he could have even in the Athens of Pericles. He found artists who were willing to make his home more beautiful, craftsmen and merchants who could make it comfortable, guests who had time to enjoy his home with him, authors who described for him the private lives of other men, philosophers who taught him how to live a good and happy life, and religious teachers who brought him the hope of immortality. Slowly but certainly these men thought

their way through to a new type of state in which they might enjoy more thoroughly the hints and promises of the age of transition. They hoped for a larger state, ruled by a benevolent and wise monarch who would give peace, prosperity, and justice to his subjects.

An immediate and more practical solution of the political problems of the Greeks had been offered by political pamphleteers. If the Greeks must fight, said they, why could they not fight a common enemy? If poverty compelled men to leave home, why not select the land of a weak but wealthy barbarian? A war with Persia was the solution. The unity demanded for this war need not be permanent. It appealed, therefore, to all groups, to conservative and liberal, to democrat and oligarch, to rich and poor. The selection of a leader defeated the plan time after time, for every one wished to lead, none wished to follow. It was obvious, in 350, that, if unity was to come to Greece, it must be imposed by some external authority.

The rise of Macedon   The name of Philip II of Macedon had been suggested by Isocrates, most influential of the political writers of the period, as a suitable leader of the Greeks against Persia. In 359 B.C., Philip had acquired control of Macedon. He had observed Hellenic political and military organization during the years he was held as a hostage in Thebes. To the Greeks he was the barbarian king of hunting, drinking, and fighting men, the ruler of barbarian subjects. Much to their surprise, he proved to be an organizer and leader of troops, a subtle diplomat, and an effective administrator. Within five years he had crushed revolts of Paeonian and Illyrian vassals, extended his sway over parts of Thrace, allied himself to the king of Epirus, and outwitted the diplomats of Athens. The occupation of Thessaly by Philip brought home to the Greeks the threat and promise of Macedon. The highly centralized monarchy threatened the liberty of the independent city-states, even though it promised an end of civil strife and of war among the cities. For fifteen years (352–338 B.C.) the advocates of liberty struggled in vain against the power and skill of Philip. Their failure is in part attributable to the political rivalries, the losses in wealth and population, and the decline in Hellenic morals and morale. But liberty, in and for itself, had lost its charm as a cause for which to fight and die. The most telling arguments of the great Athenian orator, Demosthenes, were those that asserted the right of Athens to dominate other Greeks, to maintain her empire. The victory of Philip in 338 B.C. was not so much the sudden destruction of Greek liberty by an outsider, as it was the termination of a century-old struggle for Greek unity through the dominance of a single power. Athens, Sparta, and Thebes had failed,

Philip had succeeded. His plan for the future had precedent. It was the resumption of the original aim of the first Delian League—the punishment of Persia for offenses against the gods of Hellas. It was to be undertaken by a United States of Greece, of which Philip was the president. The plan was successful, in spite of Philip's assassination, because of the greatness of his son, the young Alexander.

Few men deserving the title "Great" have been born in surroundings better suited to the display of their talents. Political, social, economic, and cultural developments in Hellas had laid the foundations for the broader Hellenism which Alexander carried to the Indus river. The physical strength of Macedon and the intellectual strength of Hellas awaited the combining and guiding power of one man. The East had long been preparing for a new master. And yet the magnitude of his achievements conceals the significance, even the existence, of the forerunners of Alexander. *Alexander the Great (356– 323 B.C.)*

Similarly, the growth of legend concerning this remarkable youth obscured his true personality so quickly that even contemporaries combined fact and fiction in their accounts of him. These records, known to us only in the biographies of later centuries, picture him as either madman or genius. Modern studies, no matter how scientific, cannot avoid the emotional tone which brands him as the villain, or hails him as the hero, of his generation. His ability to think rapidly and clearly was equal to that of his father; his pride and emotional instability came, perhaps, from his mother. An extraordinary intellectual curiosity was encouraged and broadened by his tutor, Aristotle (384–322 B.C.). Of practical experience in war or administration he could have had but little, since he was less than twenty when his father was killed. And yet, within thirteen years, he destroyed much that was old, and revised or created institutions that remained unchanged for centuries.

The problems first confronting Alexander were those of the absolute monarch. There were other claimants to the throne, for the Macedonian monarchy was elective. These claimants Alexander quickly eliminated. A public appearance in the recently conquered Hellas gained him succession to his father as the leader of the united Greek states. A spring campaign against the rebellious Thracians carried him beyond the Danube. The rumor of his death in that distant campaign encouraged the Greeks to revolt. His absence alone was excuse enough for the Illyrian subjects to seek independence. A brilliant campaign against the Illyrians was followed, in fifteen days, by Alexander's presence at Thebes. The city was captured and destroyed. The other states submitted. There was no time, probably *Alexander in Europe*

no desire, to punish them, since Alexander wished to complete his father's design of an attack upon the Persian Empire.

Alexander in Asia

No trace of insanity has been discovered in the actions of Alexander up to this point, but the approach to Asia, a duplicate of that made by his reputed ancestor, Achilles, has been explained in widely different terms. Were the journey to Troy and the sacrifices in honor of his ancestor, Achilles, which followed, proofs of insanity, of overweening pride, or acts to kindle the imagination of the Greeks, arousing enthusiasm for this second Trojan War? Probably the last, since the Hellenic cities had given only the minimum of support to Alexander. It is certain that the first part of his Asiatic campaign was wisely planned. A Persian force gathered to stop him was defeated at the Granicus. The rest of the year was devoted to the occupation of the Hellenic cities of Asia Minor, possible centers of revolt and naval bases for the fleets of Persia. The defeat of the Persian army, led by its king at Issus, did not divert the Macedonian from his first plan. He continued his march south from Cilicia through Phoenicia to Egypt, and completed the task of clearing the Mediterranean of Persian ships and Persian influence. In an exchange of communications with his Persian opponent after the battle of Issus, Alexander denied to his rival the status of an equal and asserted his own right to rule the entire empire. It was a claim made good in Phoenicia, in Palestine, and in Egypt.

Alexander in Egypt

Although the men of Tyre and of Gaza fought against him, Alexander was generally hailed as a liberator. The Egyptians accepted him as their legitimate ruler, a true son of the sun. A subsequent visit to the oracle of Zeus-Ammon in the distant oasis of Siwah will always remain a mystery. No official report of that private interview was ever made, but the widely circulated rumor that Alexander was addressed as the son of Zeus had a greater influence in Hellas than in Egypt. What pleased the Egyptians was the foundation of a city named Alexandria in honor of their new god-king.

Conquest and expansion of the Persian Empire

One more defeat, at Arbela, proved to the Persians that Alexander was their master. The original war-aims had been achieved. A spectacular demonstration of this fact was given by the destruction of Xerxes's palace. It was followed by the discharge of Alexander's Hellenic allies, who were given the alternative of going home or of joining Alexander in a new venture. For five years he pursued rebellious subjects, quieted the restless nomads of the northeast, and forced a powerful king of the Indus valley to become his ally. A mutiny of his weary troops put an end to the forward movement. Alexander led them back to Mesopotamia. There he devoted himself to the organization of his conquests, a task from which death removed him in the summer of 323 B.C.

Alexander, it is said, was the first to give reality to the idea of *Alexander* world empire. The statement requires analysis. In the first place, the *and world* word "world" should be defined. To Herodotus, probably the *empire* greatest traveler of the fifth century, the world was much smaller than the world of today. Reaching from the Atlantic to India, from the Baltic Sea to the Niger, it was not a large area, nor was it well known even within these limits. Geographers, discoverers, and explorers had done little in the period between Herodotus and Alexander to extend the boundaries of geographical knowledge. Philosophers, it is true, had imagined other lands and other peoples, but to kings and statesmen the world was limited to areas in the west, which had been seen by Carthaginians or Greeks, and to areas in the east, which had been reached by the Persians. The idea of unifying the civilized world, the *oikumene,* had never found expression among the Greeks. To Athenians, in the most brilliant days of their success, world empire was an idea beyond the reach even of dreams. Pericles had tried to unite central Hellas but had failed. His plan of overseas empire did not include the non-Hellenic people of Asia Minor, or of South Russia, or of Egypt. In the western Mediterranean it was only the Greeks whom he wished to make subject to Athens. Even in his plan for a peaceful federation, no barbarian had a place. It was to be a pan-Hellenic union. Evidence from the Near East, however, indicates that the idea of world empire was old. More boastful than true were the words of Lugal-Zaggisi (2800 B.C.), who "subdued all from the rising to the setting sun, from the lower sea to the upper sea." More pride than fact was reflected in the title of Naram Sin (2700 B.C.), "King of the Four Quarters." Assyrians and Persians, however, had sought to make these claims real, and the title, "King of kings," was not unjustly assumed by the Persian monarchs. Darius the Great was not far from world empire. The accomplishment of Alexander, then, was not so much the discovery and application of new ideas, as the use and expansion of ideas that had long been current.

The ruler of the empire was a god-king. Alexander was not the *Organization* first to assume that position. Egypt had been ruled by god-kings for *of world* more than three thousand years. Oriental states had not deified their *empire* kings, but had placed them far above all other human beings, above the law and close to deity. Even the Greeks had offered divine honors to victorious generals (Brasidas, Lysander), and their philosophers had discussed the possible existence of a man born to rule others, an "archic" man. Alexander claimed all of these titles.

This archic man, superhuman ruler, and god-king divided his earthly realm into convenient administrative districts. Within the districts he made few changes. The boundaries were old ones; the

ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE
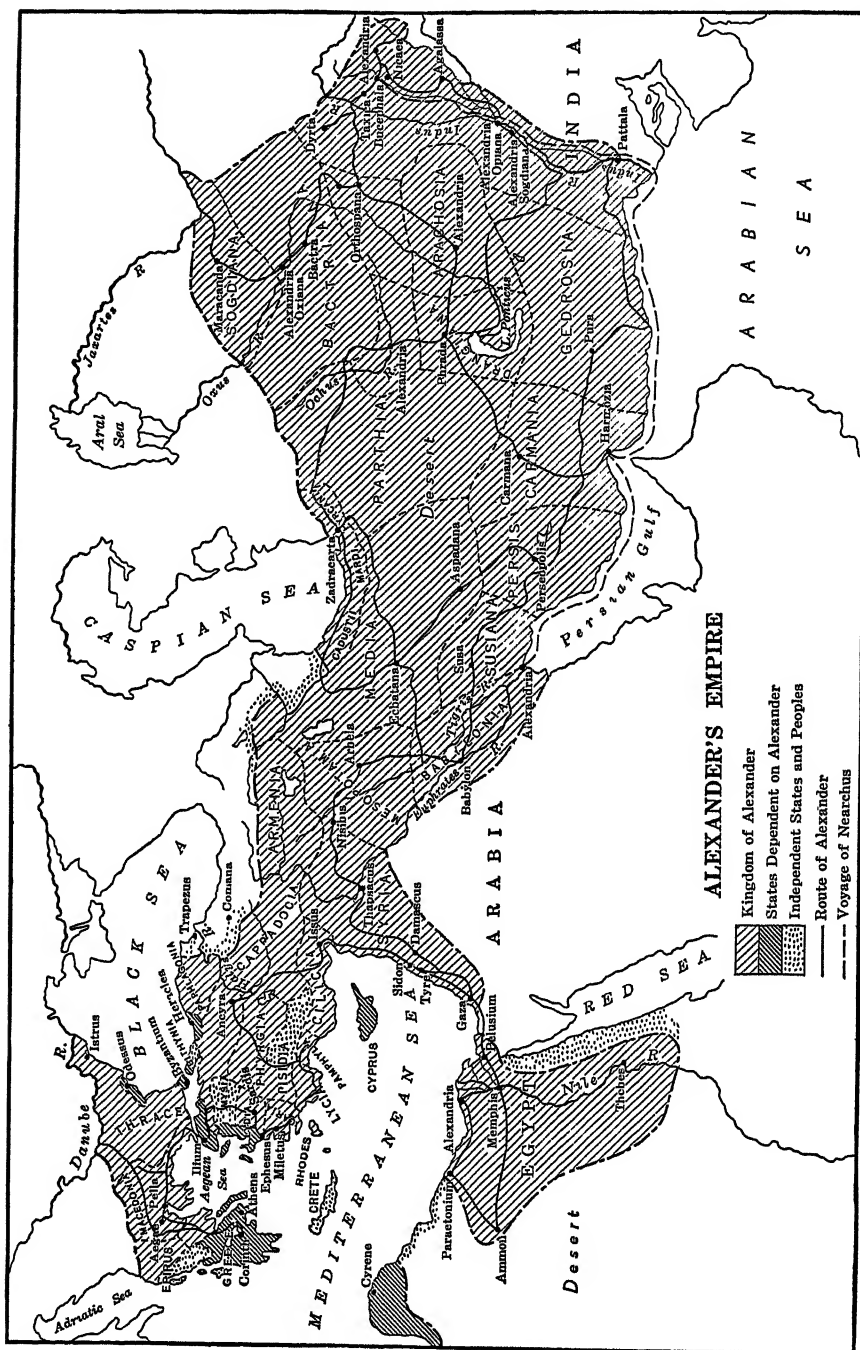
forms of government remained unchanged,—kingdoms, theocracies, oligarchies, or democracies; the religions were unaltered; local law unchanged. All of this was Persian practice. It was oriental imperialism applied to a larger area than the realm of Darius.

One of Alexander's noteworthy accomplishments was the foundation of numerous Hellenic cities in the Oriental part of his empire. *City foundations* The system of colonization used in those cities was new in method and motive. Hellenic colonies had been sent out by cities and under city auspices. Their destination had perhaps been suggested by the Delphic Oracle. They were ordinarily politically independent of the mother city. The colonists of Alexander's foundations came from any and all parts of the Hellenic world. They were under Alexander's supervision from the beginning. This was a directed and controlled colonization with no precedent in Hellenic experience, unless it be found in the Athenian cleruchy. There were marked differences, moreover, between these two types, none of them so striking as the difference in motive. Athenian cleruchies were founded primarily for military reasons. A new motive lay behind Alexander's foundations, if we may trust tradition and modern opinion. It was his hope that these cities would be fusion centers, that in them East and West would mingle and, in the end, become one. It is possible that fusion was the result of Alexander's action without being his conscious aim, that he wished merely to take advantage of the administrative experience of his Hellenic subjects.

The attempts to hasten fusion through wholesale intermarriage *Other indications of fusion* and incorporation of Persian troops in the army were not successful. But the indirect encouragement of amalgamation bore fruit after Alexander's death. A uniform silver-coinage, based on Attic standards, stimulated the interchange of goods. Along the channels of trade flowed an increasing stream of ideas, which, in the end, not only Hellenized the East, but also Orientalized the West. The economic and cultural union of East and West, that is, from the Adriatic to the Euphrates, lasted for nine centuries.

Opinion concerning the significance of Alexander's accomplishment frequently reflects opinion concerning Alexander the individual. If, as some believe, he was a madman, his contribution to *Estimate of Alexander's work* world civilization cannot have been great. If, as others are certain, he was a genius, his work must have been extremely valuable. A saner estimate may be made if consideration is limited to those plans of Alexander which were accepted and developed by his successors. No one has credited them with genius or accused them of insanity. The generals, administrators, and statesmen of Alexander's genera-

tion were practical men. They accepted a strange environment and adjusted themselves in business-like fashion to a new situation. Theirs was not a new world created by their youthful leader, but it was a changed world, a world changed by the conquests of Alexander the Great.

Political union vs. division

During the years 323 to 281 B.C. the successors of Alexander tested every part of the political structure which he had built. Many parts were rejected; many were accepted. The resulting structure, Hellenistic monarchy, is worthy of study not only because of its influence upon economic, social, and cultural development, but because it was the model used by the Roman Caesars. It became evident on the death of Alexander that his position was not to be hereditary. The minority who supported the principle of heredity were soon defeated by the armies of other claimants. The next step was to determine the possibility of union under any other ruler. That possibility was removed after the defeats of Antigonus Cyclops in 301 B.C. and the assassination of Seleucus I in 281 B.C. Political unity was relegated to the world of ideas, where it remained for two hundred and fifty years. In its stead there stood the principle of division, represented by three great first-rate powers (Egypt under Ptolemy I, Syria under the successor of Seleucus I, and Macedon under a grandson of Antigonus Cyclops), several second-rate powers (the Kingdom of Pergamum, the Republic of Rhodes, the Achaean and Aetolian Leagues of Hellas), and many minor independent states.

The survival of fusion

The policy of fusing East and West lost ground for a variety of reasons. Opposition to foreign rule was sufficiently strong to secure independence for Parthia, Bactria, and other eastern sections of Alexander's empire. An invasion of nomad Celts barbarized Thrace and postponed the Hellenization of that area for centuries. Neither the Ptolemies in Egypt nor the Antigonids in Macedon looked with favor on the policy. The only successors of Alexander in attempting to unite East and West were the kings of Syria. Fusion was accidental and incidental, but none the less vital.

Hellenistic monarchy

To the Greeks the political novelties of the Hellenistic period were the theory of sovereignty and the concept of the state as a territorial unit. The divinity of the ruler was generally accepted in the East. The Greeks at least looked upon the kings as absolute despots beyond human control, and were ready to offer divine honors to the Roman generals of the second century B.C.

The Hellenistic monarchies were territorial units. They were the personal property of the kings, to be increased by war, diplomacy, or matrimonial alliances, to be disposed of as the monarchs saw fit.

The Hellenic *poleis,* which were not immediately absorbed by these large monarchical units, sought to ward off the danger by permanent federations.

The political relations of these kingdoms, leagues, and independent cities were intricate, and are known to us only in incomplete and inaccurate accounts. The history of Syria may be summed up as a series of defeats and losses of territory. The accession of Antiochus III in 223 B.C. brought no change at first, since he was defeated in an attempt to regain prestige at the expense of Ptolemy. But he followed this with the recovery, in quick succession, of Sardis, Armenia, Parthia, Bactria, and Palestine. A second westward drive gave him much of Asia Minor and a foothold in Europe, where he was met by Rome. *Political history*

The Ptolemies followed an aggressively imperialistic policy in order to secure markets for the vast agricultural and industrial products of their kingdom. With sea power and with gold they controlled the eastern Mediterranean. The accession of an infant and the immediate coalition of Syria and Macedon, in 204 B.C., placed Egypt in peril of her existence, a peril from which she was rescued by Rome.

Macedon was a prize for which many of Alexander's successors fought. It did not achieve unity and greatness until the rule of Antigonus Gonatus in 277 B.C. Harassed on the north by barbarians and on the south by the Greek leagues, the Antigonid kings seldom ventured from their peninsular home. It was Philip V (221–179 B.C.) who, by his alliance with Hannibal, brought upon himself and his people the vengeance of Rome.

The minor states came into being as a result of the weaknesses of the three great kingdoms. Their continued existence depended upon the rivalries and jealousies of their more powerful neighbors. Pergamum was secured from Syrian or Macedonian attack while Egypt remained strong. The Aetolian League looked to Macedon for aid in the frequent clashes with the Achaean League. The latter received moral and financial assistance from Egypt. But Egyptian support of a rejuvenated Sparta against the Achaeans upset the delicate balance of power in the peninsula. Sparta was defeated, and Macedon assumed a dominant position in Hellas. The weakness of Egypt and the friendship of Syria and Macedon could be answered only by the intervention of an outside power. Embassies from Egypt, Pergamum, Rhodes, and Athens were sent to Rome.

The elevation of the ruler to a superhuman position had the effect of clearing away the old distinctions of race, religion, birth, and political opinion. Before a god, all races are equally humble, *Social conditions*

and all who serve him receive rewards based on the quality of service, not on the social position of the servant. Praise of democracy or of oligarchy became treason when the ruler was a god. Foreign affairs, local government, even private life were subject to divine ordinance. Endless political discussions were replaced with other, less dangerous topics. Home life assumed greater importance. The position of women was noticeably improved. Interest in human beings as social rather than political animals developed a spirit of humanitarianism, which applied to slaves as well as free men. New lines of cleavage began to appear. Those who served the king as soldiers and those who served as administrators formed separate groups. Intellectual interests and occupational pursuits determined other groupings. But the really sharp lines were drawn in accordance with nearness to divine majesty. The royal family became a sacred family. The ministers and servants of the court caught a reflected glory from their master. The citizens of the royal capital felt superior to those who served an unseen king.

Economic conditions   Alexander's conquests had brought a temporary economic unity to the world. His successors did not give up all the advantages of commercial intercourse when they established independent kingdoms. Important changes in the flow of trade resulted from the foundation of new court-capitals. Alexandria and Antioch were great industrial as well as commercial centers. Improvements in shipbuilding and in the science of navigation made possible the use of longer and more direct routes between East and West. The cities of central and of southern Greece declined as a result, Corinth alone retaining any degree of prosperity. On the other hand, Rhodes profited. A skillful maintenance of the balance of power among the ambitious sovereigns and the effective control of piracy in the Aegean enabled the Rhodians to become the international bankers of the Hellenistic world. Under the leadership of Rhodes the Hellenic cities of Asia Minor grew prosperous.

The capital which formed the basis of this commercial activity came largely from the stored treasures of the Persian kings, which Alexander had released. Royal monopolies, royal merchantmen, royal estates, and royal industries kept this wealth in the hands of the kings and of their favorites. In spite of humanitarian sentiment, poverty and want were widespread.

Unequal distribution of wealth was not a novelty to the Greeks. It had sent them out to new homes in the eighth and seventh centuries. It was a legacy of the imperialistic attempts at Athens, Sparta, and Thebes. It was similarly present in the territories of the Persian kings. The Hellenistic monarchs made no effort to correct the evil.

Serfs and slaves did most of the work in field and factory. Free workers were gradually pauperized. Trade and service as a mercenary were the only secure avenues of escape from poverty for the members of a rapidly dwindling middle class.

For the farm laborer, there was no leisure. The urban masses were more fortunate. Religious festivals, royal processions, athletic contests, and the regular feasts of the craft guilds afforded a variety of entertainment. A still greater variety of distractions was offered to their more fortunate fellow townsmen.

Alexander and his successors had made Greek, or rather the Attic *Literature* dialect, the official language of their empires. It became the language of literature. Manetho retold the history of Egypt, and Berossus the story of Babylonia, in the new tongue. Religious teachers and men of business used it. Written on parchment or on papyrus, both of which were plentiful and relatively cheap, the literature of the Hellenistic period reached a wide reading-public. In order to meet the demands of this enlarged group of readers, successful writers followed one of two methods. Some attempted the universal note, appealing to the human traits, which all men held in common; others, by concentration on a limited field of knowledge, directed their writings to the small group of specialists, with interests similar to their own.

Although the literary output was enormous, there were few con- *Poetry* tributions to the drama. That which survived was the "new" comedy, or comedy of manners, a type well suited to the cosmopolitan and sophisticated audiences of a "modern" world. The tragedies of Euripides were not forgotten. The realism of his plays, the intricacies of his verse, and the intensely human character of his heroes and heroines kept his plays alive, but there was none to follow him. Other forms of poetry show clearly the great change which new political conditions had wrought in men's thoughts and feelings. Religious feeling and patriotism were conspicuously absent. The old epics which had described a distant past were considered diffuse and rambling. They were replaced by shorter, more compact poems with modern themes. Elegy and epigram recalled the lyric poetry of an earlier day in form and content, but the differences were marked. Alcaeus, Sappho, and the older lyric poets had written their thoughts without caring for the approval of the reader. The Hellenistic poet had his reader constantly in mind. He tried to attract attention to his trivial subjects by a display of technical skill and by the use of unusual words and of hidden meanings. The poet ventured frequently to instruct. A catalogue of the stars, the *Phaenomena* of Aratus, was issued in verse form. Another poet, filled

with the scientific spirit, announced, "I sing nothing for which I cannot produce evidence." The pastoral poetry of Theocritus almost persuades the reader that it, at least, was genuine and sincere; it may well have been. If so, it is the only form in which creative genius was displayed.

Prose

Prose writing was frequently personal in tone, taking the form of autobiography, memoirs, letters of the author, or biographies of other men. A public of tired businessmen and tireless women demanded and received instruction in good manners and in the art of shopping. Textbooks and encyclopaedic works were produced. The specialists and the polymath were equally active, and of the writing of books there was no end. It may be true, as one critic has stated, that men of the Hellenistic period were supremely unconscious of their decadence. It is certain that they were supremely conscious of the greatness of their predecessors. Antiquarians collected decrees and inscriptions and wrote learnedly of games and sacrifices. The literary masterpieces of the past received critical editions with biographical and textual commentaries. Marks of punctuation and a system of accents were invented to facilitate reading, and the first Greek grammar, with its parts of speech, declensions, and conjugations was published. Hellenistic prose writers had little originality. It was from them, however, that the Romans learned the Greek classics. They were teachers and scholars, not creative artists.

Science

Patronized by kings, the scholars were given leisure and materials for research. The great library of Alexandria, the collections of plants and animals, and the Museum, a research institute rather than a home of the Muses, were justly famous. A passion for facts spread from this and other royal centers to the smaller cities. The donations of wealthy citizens or funds from municipal treasuries placed elementary and sometimes more advanced instruction within the reach of free-born boys. From their ranks were recruited the group who continued their study in the field of philosophy or science.

Leisure and the materials for research have been cited as two of the aids to the productive research of the Hellenistic period. To them may be added the wealth of new facts which Alexander's conquests had unearthed, the cosmopolitan character of the royal court centers, and the tolerant spirit of the new era. The boundaries of the known world were extended, and its parts more accurately described. Mathematical and physical geography reached a culmination in the pronouncement of the heliocentric theory. Megasthenes described the land and people of northern India; Nearchus charted the water route from Mesopotamia to the Indus. Eudoxus explored

the east coast of Africa; Hanno, the Carthaginian, reached modern Sierra Leone, on the western coast. But the most adventurous of all was Pytheas, who penetrated the Baltic. Meanwhile Eratosthenes determined the size of the earth; the precession of the equinoxes was measured with remarkable accuracy; Aristarchus advanced the heliocentric theory. Geometry was organized by Euclid and developed by Archimedes. The latter and Ktesibius laid the foundations of mechanics and hydrostatics. Medicine and surgery were greatly benefited by the anatomical discoveries of Herophilus and Erasistratus. In all these fields there remained a formidable residue of superstition and unscientific hypotheses. The simultaneous development of astronomy and astrology illustrates this unnatural union. The promises of astrology attracted the practical man, the philosopher, and the superstitious masses. The insistence upon predestination and the assertion of ability to predict the future gave to the astrologer an importance which made his lore a veritable cult.

Religion Other phases of Hellenistic religious thought reflect the political and economic conditions of the period. World empire had its counterpart in world religion, and just as there were many god-kings, so there were numerous cults struggling for victory in the field of religion. In the conflict, the deities of classical Greece were worsted by the invading cults from the Orient. There were features common to all of them which illustrate the truth that the appeal to the individual is a universal appeal. Magna Mater, Mithras, and Sarapis (to mention only the most important) appealed to the senses in their use of color, sound, and perfumes. All of them promised individual immortality. Each had its mystery, revealed only to those who were initiated, and each had its astrological content. The logical weaknesses of these cults and their failure to state clearly the moral responsibility of the individual turned some men to philosophy. There were, indeed, many who professed a religion and practiced a philosophy at the same time. Although today philosophy is thought of as a speculative study, in the Hellenistic period it was much more a rule of life. Stoicism, Epicureanism, and Cynicism all emphasized the ethical side and taught men how to live.

Art The art of the Hellenistic Age illustrates the changes in life and manners. Architectural masterpieces of the time were more ornate. The palaces of the kings were Oriental in size and splendor. Houses of private citizens (those possessing means) were made more beautiful and more comfortable. Sculptors found it more satisfactory to humanize their representations of the gods and to create works of art which had no religious significance whatever. The dignity and

aloofness of classical sculpture were replaced with realistic duplication of models—attempts to portray emotion and character. There was a great advance in technique, a more exact representation of the human body (based, no doubt, on the anatomical discoveries of the Alexandrian surgeons). Many of these changes can be explained by the shifting patronage of art and artists. Kings and private citizens wanted artistic products for their homes or their tombs. Big business, too, had its artistic desires, represented by the Colossus of Rhodes, which appears to have been an advertising "stunt." Businessmen wanted granaries, warehouses, harbors, docks, lighthouses, and ocean liners. In this work the artist and the engineer joined hands.

Much of this development in art began before the days of Alexander. Literature, religion, and science had their transitional periods before 336 B.C. To Alexander and his successors is due the credit for the acceleration of a movement already under way and the encouragement which made the transition complete.

Importance of Hellenistic Age   Interest in the Hellenistic period, neglected for many centuries by admirers of classical Greece, was reawakened in 1833 by Droysen. The texts of today bear witness to the permanence of this interest. The intensive study devoted to Hellenistic life and thought is justified on three grounds. First, the civilization was predominantly Greek. Greek reason and Greek artistry permeated its cultural products. Not until the fourth century of our era did the Oriental elements triumph. Second, Greek civilization was given a searching test in the fourth century B.C. Only those elements of that civilization which were real and solid endured the test and issued from it triumphantly. A study of the Hellenistic world reveals the permanent contributions of classical Greece. Third, Roman civilization was profoundly affected by the Hellenistic East. The Ptolemies, Seleucids, and Antigonids may have been dull and tedious, their subjects may have been commonplace, but they carried on the Hellenic tradition and were the guides and teachers of the Romans. The reasons for the obvious decline of the second century B.C. were the real poverty of the Hellenistic states and the ruinous effects of the Roman conquest.

If one word can be stretched enough to include all of Hellenic culture, it is the term used to describe the work of those who restored the legacy of Greece to western Europe—*Humanism*. The whole field of human relationships is dominated by words and ideas of Greek origin. The Hellenic approach to the solution of any problem is by the use of that strictly human instrument—human reason. It has been remarked by Mr. Wade-Gery that the gods exercised a great deal of ingenuity in preventing Achilles from com-

mitting acts which would lessen his dignity as a human being. Those whom the gods would destroy they first deprive of reason. Plato tried to save a tyrant king by the development of the royal youth's rational faculty. It was this humanness which marked the best in Greek life and thought from beginning to end.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT
(Detail from mosaic: The Battle of Alexander)

COLLATERAL READING

M. Cary, *The Legacy of Alexander,* 1932.
G. Glotz, *Ancient Greece at Work,* 1926.
R. W. Livingstone, *The Legacy of Greece,* 1922.
L. Robin, *Greek Thought and the Origins of the Scientific Spirit,* 1928.
W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great,* 1947.
———, *Hellenistic Civilization,* 1930.
See also Glotz, *Aegean Civilization,* 1927, *The Greek City,* 1930 and *Ancient Greece at Work,* 1926; Moore, *The Religious Thought of the Greeks,* 1926; Robin, *Greek Thought and the Origins of the Scientific Spirit,* 1928; and Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth,* 1931.
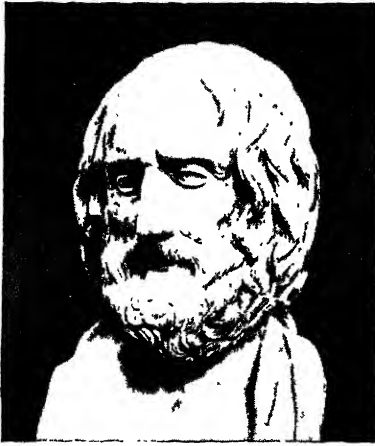
Rise of the West,

750–200 B.C.

EURIPIDES

THE western Mediterranean in the eighth century B.C. presented a drama similar to that which was being produced in the Aegean area. The actors were city-states of diverse origins, independent, competing, and bellicose. Phoenician, Etruscan, and Hellenic communities fought among themselves with as much zest as they did against natives or one another. The weakness of Tyre had forced her colonists and traders to shift for themselves. The Hellenic colonies came without much hope of aid from their mother cities and bore with them the hatreds which divided Hellas. There were indeed years of friendly relations and decades of peace. Without them there could have been no exchange of goods and ideas, no time for the temple gem of Paestum, for the architectural glories of Agrigento, for the splendid coins of Syracuse, and for a thousand other works of peace. But the impression remains that men constantly thought of war as "just around the corner" if not knocking at the door. The only group which held out any hope of peace, any promise of unity, was the Etruscan. No regular pattern of conflict appeared for at least two centuries. Even then one may speak only in the most general terms of international or inter-racial conflicts. But political, economic and cultural phases of the struggle may be separated and the normal lines of hostility laid down.

Phoenician vs. Greek   The hostility between Phoenician and Greek was most persistent. Almost two centuries of unorganized warfare preceded the rise of Carthage as an imperial city, but by 550 B.C. Carthage was recognized as the leader of all Phoenician action. Carthage drove the Greeks

from southern Spain, defended the Phoenician holdings in western Sicily, gained control of Sardinia, and, with the help of the Etruscans in 535, forced the Greeks out of Corsica. With the exception of the northern shore from the Pyrenees to the Apennines, along which Massilia had successfully entrenched herself, the western Mediterranean was to be a Carthaginian sea. Definite attempts were made to strengthen Carthaginian control of the Atlantic coast both north and south of the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar). An extant treaty between Carthage and Rome, dated about 508 B.C., is the chief source for this description of Carthaginian policy. Because of a forward movement of the Greeks, the policy was changed to one of aggression against the Hellenic possessions in Sicily. A great Carthaginian expedition, however, was destroyed in 480 B.C. Tradition placed this Hellenic victory on the day of the battle of Salamis, and the temptation to unite Carthaginian and Persian attacks as parts of an international agreement is difficult to resist. But no evidence of any pact between Carthage and Persia exists. Although the way was opened for a great Hellenic forward movement, no western Pericles appeared. A long duel, instead, between Dorian and Ionian settlements followed, interspersed with local quarrels. It was climaxed by the famous Sicilian expedition, a formidable armada sent by Athens to capture Syracuse. The account of this expedition in the pages of Thucydides takes the form of a Tragedy of Errors, of defeat and destruction. Syracuse received scant profit from her successful defense. The real victor was Carthage, to whose armies one Hellenic city after another succumbed in the years which followed. Even Syracuse was threatened with siege in 406 B.C. In that year the position of Carthage in Sicily was stronger than that achieved by Persia in Greece at the time of the King's Peace.

The man who saved Syracuse was the most remarkable individual of his generation. Having obtained absolute authority in Syracuse, Dionysius began extending his power over neighboring Hellenic and native cities. The intervention of Carthage only lost for her the territory she had recently acquired. In the intervals between the three separate wars with Carthage, Dionysius became master of southern Italy, dominated the Adriatic, and sent expeditions into Etruscan waters.

The tyranny of Dionysius was based on force alone. The army with which he gained and retained control of his empire was composed largely of freed slaves and mercenaries. In artillery and siege equipment he was unexcelled. His navy was efficient and, by 398 B.C., greater than that of Athens. Arsenals, dockyards, and granaries were built to support the huge war-machine, which at the time of his

death, in 367 B.C., included 400 men of war, 100,000 infantry, and
9000 cavalry. The funds necessary for its upkeep came from heavy
taxation, debasement of coinage, and the looting of temple treas-
uries. It is difficult to discern in his career anything more than the
satisfaction of a lust for power. He saved Sicily from Carthaginian
control and yet allied himself with barbarians in order to subdue
the Greeks of southern Italy. In many respects he was as great an
individualist, as much a "precursor of Hellenism," as his contem-
porary, Xenophon. Although a constant ally of Sparta throughout
the period of her greatness, Dionysius turned towards Athens in his
later years. A celebration in honor of a victory, which he had won in
the annual dramatic contest at Athens, brought on the illness that
ended his life.

The death of Dionysius afforded no relief to the Greeks of the
West. Syracuse was plunged into civil war, Hellenic Sicily was little
better than an armed camp, and the Hellenic cities of south Italy
were the objects of renewed attack by barbarian natives. Carthage,
fortunately, did not take any active interest in Hellenic affairs for
more than twenty years, but in 345 a new defender against Car-
thaginian attack was needed. The savior, this time, was Timoleon,
a leader sent, on petition of the people of Syracuse, from Corinth.
His success in holding Carthage at bay and in freeing all Sicily from
tyrants is told in all its miraculous detail by Plutarch. But chaos
followed Timoleon as it had followed his predecessor. This alterna-
tion of chaos and tyranny is characteristic of Hellenic Sicily. Agatho-
cles (317–289 B.C.) and Pyrrhus (278–276 B.C.) are names to be
added to the list of saviors of Hellenism. The details of their military
and political exploits add little that is new. Agathocles inaugurated
the practice of carrying the war into Africa, and Pyrrhus introduced
to the West the elephant as a fighting machine. But both saviors
failed to expel the Carthaginians or to bring a lasting internal peace.

Greek vs.
Etruscan   The second international conflict took place on the northern
frontier of the Hellenic settlement in Italy. The meeting place was
the land around the Bay of Naples, since the Etruscans had gradually
occupied Latium and Campania, reaching as far south as Pompeii.
Hellenic settlers, coming by sea, had established themselves at an
early date at Cumae. The later colonies of Massilia and of Alalia, in
Corsica, aroused the Etruscans to action. A combined attack of
Etruscans and Carthaginians upon Alalia, in 535 B.C., checked the
Greeks for a time and afforded an opportunity for Etruscan advance
across the Apennines to the central and lower reaches of the Po.
Hellenic land victories in Campania and in Latium, together with
local revolts and domestic quarrels, compelled the Etruscans to

withdraw to a position north of the Tiber. An effort to re-establish Etruscan influence to the south through a naval expedition was ruined by a king of Syracuse, who defeated the Etruscans off Cumae in 474 B.C. This was the last threat of the Etruscans, who spent the next, and last, century of their independent existence, in vain struggles against former subjects and barbarian invaders from the north.

The Greeks, too, had native opposition with which to reckon. The opposition was at first unorganized and ineffective, but before the Etruscan danger was completely removed, some of the larger cities formed temporary alliances to conduct military operations against the Lucanians, Messapians, and Bruttians. Bitter quarrels among the Hellenic cities and civil war within their walls weakened them, while the natives increased in numbers and became more efficient fighters. Disaster came in 390 B.C., when Dionysius of Syracuse joined the Lucanians in a campaign which deprived almost all the Hellenic cities of their freedom. The death of Dionysius encouraged the Lucanians to recover his empire for themselves. Military assistance from Sparta and from Epirus warded off the evil day for a time, but in 272 B.C., Tarentum and Rhegium, the last Hellenic cities to remain free, fell into the hands of men from the north. *Hellenism vs. Barbarism in Magna Graecia*

One great barbarian group brought trouble alike to Carthaginian, Greek, and Etruscan. They were the Gauls, or Celts, whose migrations carried them across Europe from east to west and down into the Mediterranean peninsulas. Carthaginian contact came late, and in far western Spain. The Greeks of Massilia knew them well and feared them. Dionysius I used them as mercenaries. They were best known, however, to the Etruscans, who were driven by these land-hungry wanderers from their settlements north of the Po. The pressure of great numbers gradually broke the Etruscan control of all land north of the Apennines. Although the majority of the Gauls settled in the Po valley and became industrious farmers in the land which bore their name, Cisalpine Gaul, bands of raiders crossed the Apennines in intermittent expeditions for the next half century, 400–350 B.C. It was probably the desperate defense of their homes by the Etruscans which saved southern Italy from Gallic conquest. *The Gauls*

The ambitions of leaders, fanatical adherence to political doctrines, and fear and hatred of foreigners were truly the immediate causes of the interminable wars which were waged in the western Mediterranean. But the prize for which all the contestants fought was the largest possible portion of the apparently inexhaustible wealth of western Mediterranean lands. It was the wealth in raw materials which made recovery from the ravages of war so rapid. Carthage, with but a small citizen-body, bought her way to power *The economic background*

with Spanish ore and African foodstuffs. Sicily was an excellent investment, even after two hundred and fifty years of war. The wealth of southern Italy was a commonplace in literature. During the last century of her independence, Tarentum could afford to employ kings as leaders of her mercenary armies. The Etruscans were notorious for their luxury, and even Massilia, shut off in a distant corner of the sea, was prosperous.

Wealth, luxury, and prosperity are relative terms. Although it is easy to exaggerate the meaning of Hellenic contemporary writers by reading modern concepts into their accounts, the existence of objects of trade, of an active industrial life, and of a flourishing commerce cannot be denied. Archaeologists have found little, save in Etruria, to support literary tradition. A consideration of the domestic and foreign policies of the important states, however, reveals the steady and powerful influence of the economic factor.

Carthage   The Phoenicians, as a whole, were traders, preferring peace to war. This was true in Carthage also, whose citizens rebelled rather than undertake naval or military duties. It was. this rebellion which led to the employment of mercenaries. The leaders of the mercenaries and the war party in Carthage were recruited from the landholding aristocracy. This party, no doubt, dictated the destruction of Tartessus and laid the foundations of a Carthaginian empire. The "closed-sea" policy, which drove the Greeks from Spain, Sardinia, and North Africa, is known through treaties reported by Polybius, the historian of Rome's imperial success. Its application has aroused more criticism from modern commentators than from the contemporaries affected, for Carthaginian traders frequented Etruscan and Hellenic ports without molestation. On the whole, Carthage appears to have indulged in war only when war seemed likely to pay. Had the Carthaginians followed, from the first, an aggressively imperialistic policy, the occupation of Messana would have been attempted long before 265 B.C.

Etruscans   The Etruscans did not concentrate on the carrying trade. Phoenician and Hellenic merchantmen were not excluded from Etruscan ports. The squadron which helped to drive Hellenic colonists from Corsica in 535 B.C., fought only to preserve the iron deposits of Elba from Hellenic exploitation. The iron, in smelted or manufactured form, followed a land route, through Latium and Campania, to trade terminals in Hellenic territory. Trade by land and expansion by land were the normal procedures of the Etruscans. They were particularly successful in cultivation of the soil. The most important Etruscan settlements in the Po valley were agricultural centers, and the Etruscan overlords of Latium were skilled farmers. Archaeology

confirms tradition with evidence of an intricate system of subsurface drainage, or irrigation, in Latium, and with the contents of Etruscan tombs, which are real treasure-houses.

A number of factors made land lovers of the seafaring Greeks in *Greeks* south Italy. The soil was much more fertile than that of the home-land, and the harbors much less usable. The only formidable na-tives, for a century or two, were the Iapygians, who kept the colonists of Tarentum near the sea. Again, easy access to the western sea was controlled by Rhegium, whose citizens tried to block entrance to all comers save their friends. The greatest enemies of a Hellenic colony were its Hellenic neighbors. The separation caused by trade rivalry is illustrated by a whole series of competing neighbors. Thus Mi-letus, Eretria, Megara, and Sybaris united in competition with Samos, Chalcis, Corinth, and Croton. Sybaris solved the immediate problem of her friends by dominating a land route across Italy, leading to the Sybarite colony of Laos.

Grain, vines, olives, and sheep were the chief sources of wealth. Wine, oil, pottery, hides, and wool were the industrial products of the large urban populations. The Etruscans brought their wares to Campania and received in exchange the luxury articles which the Greeks brought from the Aegean. In like manner, Carthage de-pended on Hellenic colonists in Sicily for luxuries, as well as for the essential oil and wine. The Greeks of Sicily, too, found a fertile soil. They were thus, like their cousins in Italy, both middlemen and producers.

The most active cultural element in the western Mediterranean *Cultural fac-* was the Hellenic. This was not a mere echo of the life and thought *tors* of the homeland. Quickly acquired wealth made the westerners more boisterous than the Greeks of the Aegean, fonder of display and of size, and more attracted by extremes in thought and in act. Cities shifted from the rule of the mob to the rule of one man and back again with bewildering rapidity. The ruins of the largest Hel-lenic temples stand in Sicily. The wildest tales of effeminacy are told of the Sybarites. For many years Pythagoras ruled Croton with a completely ascetic discipline. The greatest physician of his day, Democedes, the greatest rhetorician, Gorgias, and the greatest moun-tebank, Empedocles, were children of the West. But much that was less spectacular was carried by the Greeks to the barbarians of the West. The alphabet of Cumae was adopted by the Etruscans and their Latin subjects. The gods of the Greeks were received by the natives of South and Central Italy. Hellenic bronzes and Hellenic vases had a decided effect on Etruscan art. Even the conservative Carthaginians were not untouched by Hellenic influence, imitating

Hellenic wares, learning the language of Greece, and welcoming the goddesses Demeter and Persephone.

Carthaginian culture, like Carthaginian character, had a bad name. It is indeed difficult to find any trace of Carthaginian influence outside of Africa. To the outside world the Carthaginians were traders during centuries in which trade and piracy were closely allied occupations. They had among them famous explorers, but refused to make public the results of their explorations. They perfected the system of plantation cultivation, which the Romans of later days looked upon as an accursed legacy. They produced many famous generals, from whose genius the Greeks of Sicily suffered. Their customs and dress remained Oriental, as did their religion. The abject submission which their gods demanded of them, they in turn demanded of their subjects. It may be that their snobbishness annoyed their contemporaries, or that contempt for them was inspired by fear. In either case, Carthaginian influence was largely negative.

In the Etruscans appears a mingling of Carthaginian and Hellenic civilizations. Etruscan religion was a gloomy one. Cruelty, superstition, and a strict attention to form in worship were the prominent characteristics. But the Etruscans were not unaware of the pleasures of this life. They had skilled craftsmen and artists and were greatly stimulated by the contacts with the Hellenes. Thoughts and products of Ionian origin inspired them in days when Athens was still culturally poor. The Etruscans had solved their economic problems by setting up a feudal aristocracy in control of native subjects. The leisure thus acquired was spent in a life of pleasure, of comfort, and of increasing wealth and power. The cultivated Etruscan, therefore, could appreciate the religious thought of the Carthaginian and yet sympathize with the Greek in his love of life and his understanding of beauty.

This was the atmosphere and these the surroundings in which developed the city which came to rule the known world. Grant that the Roman knew little of the contest for control of Spain, or of Sicily, or of the Po valley, the effects of those conflicts reached the streets of his city. "No more Spanish tin unless from that oily Carthaginian. No more dealings with that genial Syracusan merchant. Dionysius the tyrant ruined him. Let us hope that the Gauls will destroy the Etruscans, root and branch." These, however, were the sentiments of a Roman merchant in the third century of his city life. The beginnings are buried in the darkness before the dawn of history.

The lower reaches of the Tiber attracted neither the primitive

men of Mediterranean stock nor the invaders from the north. The
few elevations only accentuated the extensive lowlands, which were
almost wholly marshes renewed by the spring flooding of the river.
About thirty miles by boat from the mouth of the Tiber, the land
was sufficiently high to escape complete flooding, and the number
of hills increased. On a group of these hills near the river, traces
have been found of habitation by men of two groups, those who
cremated and those who buried their dead. The former were clearly
Latins of Indo-European origin. The latter have been identified as
descendants of the neolithic Mediterranean race, as immigrants
from Illyria, or as a part of a later Indo-European invasion which set-
tled in the southern Apennines. The language of the inhumators
was Oscan, an Indo-European dialect. Whatever their origin, they
were not Latins, and the significant fact remains that the immediate
ancestors of the Romans were a mixed group.

The cultural equipment of the Romans was very simple. Like
many of the Indo-European migrants to the Italian peninsula they
emerge from tradition with the transfer from herding to farming
completed. The unit was the family (*familia*); it included the head
of the household (*paterfamilias*), his descendants, the servants, free
workers (*clientes*), and the slaves and animals in a unified group
over which the father exercised a truly patriarchal authority (*patria
potestas*). No son, no matter how old, was freed from the control
of a living father. All family wealth belonged to the head of the
household. He conducted the family cult ceremonies and he held
power of life or death over each member of his group.

The paterfamilias knew no gods. Formless powers (*numina*) with
capabilities of harming or helping him filled the environs. A power
(*vesta*) of comfort and protection was in or near the family hearth,
another (*janus*) guarded the threshold, and still another protected
his boundary stones (*limites*). Diseases (like *febris*, fever) were
malign powers. A spirit of good feeling (*concordia*) was recognized.
The relationship between man and power was purely mechanical.
The proper word or gesture could awaken your *numina* to activity
or ward off those hostile to you.

If one admits, as most scholars do now, the existence of kings in
Rome, the admission is based on the need for uniting the villages
into a city and for the selection of royal protectors. The traditional
date of the founding of the city, 753 B.C., corresponds to Etruscan
penetration of the interior and to the beginnings of Hellenic ex-
pansion into Italy. Rome was born at the time when Hellenic and
Etruscan influences were at hand ready to contribute to the city's
development.

The importance of the foreign factor in Rome's early history was great indeed. The trail used by the hill folk to reach the salt marshes at the mouth of the Tiber, the Via Salaria, passed through the Roman domain. This gave the Romans contact with the non-Latin groups of the interior. The land routes north and south converged at Rome, where the shallow Tiber offered a foot crossing for travelers. Hellenic and Etruscan traders soon made this a well-frequented road, and tradition records the efforts of kings to make the Roman ford more popular than its competitor some distance upstream. Tradition also preserved the memory of a visit from an Etruscan noble, who drove into Rome in a cart and remained to be king of the city.

The pleasant story of the visitor who became a permanent resident probably covers actual conquest, a conquest which was part of the Etruscan domination of all Latium. The effect on Rome was revolutionary. Technical skill and efficient leadership increased the crop yields and made pasturage a secondary occupation. Industry was stimulated by the demands of Etruscan overlords and by the presence of trained Etruscan craftsmen. Increasing numbers and greater spending-power meant a larger importation of goods from Greece and the Orient. The political development of Rome, and of Latium, kept pace with economic growth. Villages were replaced with cities, and the amphictyonies (religious unions) were transmuted into political federations. In this development, Rome took the lead, becoming the most prominent city of Latium, greater, in fact, than many of the older Etruscan foundations north of the Tiber.

To the ideas which accompanied the foreign rulers and merchants the Romans were not so receptive. Etruscan and Hellenic deities were substituted for the formless powers which the Latins had been wont to worship. The pleasure and will of the gods were determined, in the Etruscan manner, through the examination of the sacrificed animals, and, in the Hellenic manner, through consultation of the oracular responses of the Sibyl of Cumae. Nevertheless, the Etruscan rulers, the Tarquins, changed the character and institutions of the Latins no more than did the Norman conquerors of Sicily in the Middle Ages. The love of country life, the exceptional power of the head of a household (*patria potestas*), the fundamental agricultural and family flavor of Roman religion, all remained untouched. The Etruscan contribution was primarily a political and military organization which enabled the Romans for many centuries to preserve and to enjoy their own manner of living.

At the close of the sixth century the Romans achieved inde- *The Republic*
pendence. Tradition unfolds a dramatic story of the expulsion of
the third and last Etruscan king in 509 B.C. It is probable, however,
that the Romans were not the only interested parties. Etruscans
controlling the next ford up the Tiber at Fidenae were jealous of
Tarquin success, and their leader, Lars Porsenna, may have held
Rome for a short time. Then, too, the Greeks of Campania would
be pleased with any weakening of their Etruscan competitors. In
any event, Rome reverted to its original task. At first an outpost
against the Etruscans, then the base of Etruscan operations south
of the Tiber, Rome in the sixth century again guarded the Latin
frontier against northern attack.

For over one hundred years the attention of the Romans was *Foreign rela-*
turned to the solution of domestic problems. Foreign relations did *tions of the*
not cease, nor were foreign influences barred. Sea-borne trade was *new republic*
left by treaty almost entirely in the hands of the Carthaginians.
The demand for Hellenic objects of trade fell off with the de-
parture of the Tarquins, but the Hellenic idea of gods in human
form and with human needs for homes (temples) and food (sacri-
fices) was retained. Greeks and Carthaginians concentrated their
energies in the struggle for Sicily. The Etruscans, defeated by the
Greeks at sea and harassed by barbarians from the north, had de-
clined to the status of neighbors, dangerous, but not invincible.

The kingless city was taken in hand by a small well-organized *Internal or-*
group called *patricians.* They quickly set up a "kingship in com- *ganization*
mission," a consulship of two officials elected annually by and from
the patricians. They gave to these men the *imperium,* that is, com-
plete executive and judicial power. The only checks were the veto,
which one consul might employ against the act of his colleague,
and the body of unwritten customs. In actual practice, however, the
advice of a select group of patricians, the Senate, came to have the
force of law. But in time of crisis all checks were swept away, and
one man with complete and absolute authority was elected, a dic-
tator. There was also an assembly, which included all the citizens
and their dependents, but it did little more than register the will
of the powerful oligarchs. The government was, in brief, a rule of
force applied by a small but well-organized minority to a larger
group without leaders and without a policy.

The internal history of Rome for the first two centuries of the *Patricians vs.*
republic is a record of the struggle by the majority, the plebeians, *plebeians*
for equality with the patricians. In 494 B.C. patrician oppression
led to a secession of the plebeians. When the latter began a new
settlement not far from Rome, the patricians gave way. It was

agreed that the plebeians, if they returned to Rome, might elect by and from their own number a group of officials. To these tribunes of the plebs was given the duty of protecting their fellows from the unjust attacks of individual patricians. The tribunes were placed under the protection of the gods. To interfere with them in any way was to violate the divine law, for which the penalty was death.

A second secession gave the plebeians equality before the law. Five years later, in 445 B.C., the right of intermarriage was recognized. The offices of the state were gradually opened to plebeian candidates. A plebiscite, or decree of the plebeians in assembly, was recognized as having the force of a law to be obeyed by patrician and plebeian alike. By 300 B.C. the distinctions between plebeians and patricians were distinctions between equals. The latter had gained legal, political, religious, and social equality.

Roman expansion to 265 B.C.

Under the Etruscan kings Rome had become the dominant city of central Italy, the ruler of the Latins. The expulsion of the Tarquins, the Etruscan kings, meant the loss of that hegemony, but some of the lost ground was recovered in 493 B.C. when an alliance was negotiated between Rome and the Latin League. With the assistance of a third group, the Hernici, the allies were able to subdue the neighboring hill tribes. In the meantime, the Romans warded off Etruscan attacks and ultimately succeeded in capturing the fortress city of Veii. A disastrous and almost fatal attack by the Gauls in 387 B.C. checked Roman advance, but was followed by quick recovery. Later Gallic raids were repulsed with ease, and expansion continued up to 270 B.C. when Rome was recognized as mistress of peninsular Italy.

The Roman state in 270 B.C.

Far more important than the military conquest of Italy was the organization effected by the Romans during the years 387 to 270 B.C. As parts of this organization should be noted the changes in domestic institutions, the development of a military machine, and the application of novel ideas in the relationship between conqueror and conquered. The ultimate success of the plebeians in obtaining political and social equality with the patricians by 300 B.C. has been mentioned. A new alignment on the basis of wealth necessitated many institutional changes. The original division into three tribes of ten curiae each had been replaced by an artificial division into four city tribes and seventeen country tribes. Patricians and plebeians alike were enrolled in these tribes, and, as additional territory was acquired by the state, new tribes were formed. This process continued to 241 B.C., when the total number reached thirty-five. The tribal assembly had become the chief legislative

Domestic changes

body of the Roman state. It had replaced the purely plebeian assembly (the *concilium plebis*) as the democratic organ of the state. The old centuriate assembly, a grouping of the citizens in military formation, retained some of its electoral powers. The final step in the complex procedure of declaring war was still in its hands. Even the old assembly of the curiae continued to function in legalizing
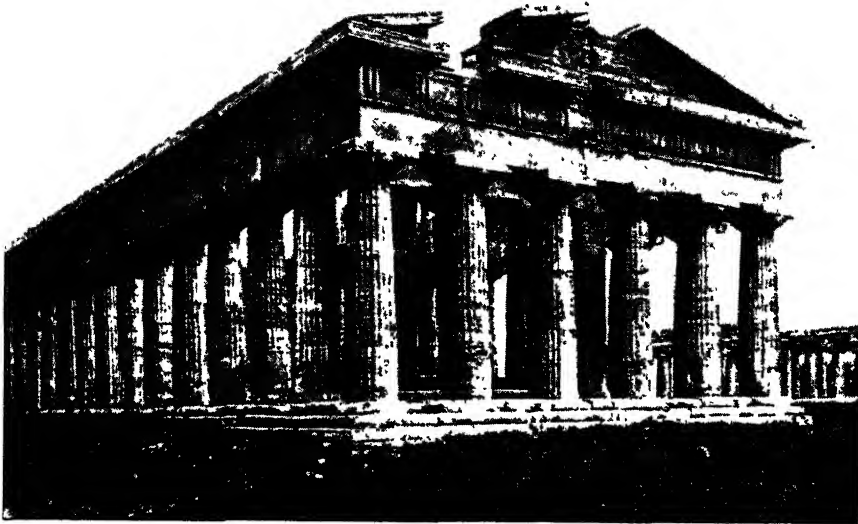
The Bettmann Archive

TEMPLE OF POSEIDON IN PAESTUM

adoptions and in conferring the *imperium* upon officials elected by the centuries.

As the tribal assembly was the voice of the people (the democratic element), the Senate was the voice of the nobility (the oligarchic element). It was characterized by a continuity in dignity and authority, which survived all changes. Its legislative acts, decrees, were obeyed by all. Control of war, finance, and foreign affairs was vested in it. Composed of ex-magistrates who had a reasonable expectation of life tenure, the Senate contained the most successful and, in general, the best minds of the old nobility of birth and of the new plebeian nobility of accomplishment.

In the magistracies ancient commentators noted the third and complemental element of an ideal state, the monarchical. The magistrates, armed with the *imperium*, were, in theory, supreme mas-

ters of the state. In actual practice, magisterial authority was severely limited. The dictator held office only for the duration of the crisis which he was called upon to combat and never to exceed six months. The annually elected consul was checked by the veto of his colleague in office. A part of the consular power was now exercised by independent censors. Judicial authority was given to a subordinate magistrate, the praetor. Perhaps the most effective control of magistracy was exercised by the Senate, since the social and political future of a magistrate depended on the judgment of that body.

The great Struggle between the Orders, that is, between patricians and plebeians, had produced this efficient and satisfactory combination of Magistrates, Senate, and Assembly, but it had also brought into being an independent assembly of the plebeians with its independent officials, the plebeian tribunes. Here was a state within a state. If no other proof of Roman skill in government existed, it would be completely proved by the fact that these two states existed without armed conflict for more than a hundred and fifty years.

The history of Roman expansion begins, as it ends, with a paradox. Rome's last wars were fought in the name of the Prince of Peace. Its first acquisitions of territory were gained as a result of wars of self-defense, wars to preserve the peace. Yet no people, unless it be the Assyrian, profited more by military strength or expressed more pride in its armies.

Military organization

No war-like action was taken until a special group of priests, the *fetiales,* conducted an inquiry and determined that an aggressive act had been committed. Then, and only then, did the Senate demand redress. If that were refused, preparation for war was begun, and the centuriate assembly was asked for its decision. If the assembly voted in the affirmative, the Senate assumed control of operations. It is probably for this reason that no standing army existed. A call for volunteers followed the declaration of war or the news that an enemy was invading Roman territory. War was at first a seasonal occupation, carried on in such a manner as to interfere as little as possible with the business of making a living. In the early period, the divisions were those indicated by the centuries of the assembly, the more wealthy men forming the cavalry, the middle class the infantry, and the landless poor the light-armed troops. The development of this force of farmer-citizen soldiers into the Roman legions of quasi-professional character was the result of centuries of war. But from the first, at least since the days of the Etruscan kings, the Roman soldier was well disciplined. The patriarchal absolutism of the Roman *paterfamilias* made the Ro-

man youth a tractable recruit. The *imperium* of the consul, or representative, on campaign was as great as that of the father on the farm. The construction of a fortified camp each night was and is at once a proof of this discipline and an indication of intelligent leadership.

Changes in the military system came slowly. The prolonged siege of Veii brought pay for military service. The desirability of continuity in command led to the proconsulship, which was merely an extension of tenure beyond the year of office for the consul in command of troops. The foundation of military and maritime colonies furnished advance bases for the Roman armies as frontiers moved farther and farther away from the city. The Via Appia, built in 312 B.C., was the first of the vast network of military highways. The only valid excuse for war, namely, self-defense, remained unchanged, but the protecting arm of Rome embraced those who had allied themselves to her, as well as those who had been forcibly federated.

The wars undertaken during the first century of the Republic were in general those of the allies—Rome, the Latin League, and the Hernici. After a successful war, these allies would confiscate some land of the conquered and establish on it a colony of Romans and Latins. These colonies became members of the Latin League, bound to Rome and to the others by treaty. They were military outposts, protectors of the conquered against other enemies, and preservers of peace in the recently subdued area. Meanwhile, Rome fought and conquered independently of the League. On the territory gained by these wars, Rome placed Roman citizens, either in colonial groups or individually. The treaties of peace dictated by Rome after her wars invariably contained the terms of an alliance with Rome. Victory gave to Rome the right to dictate the terms, which varied from town to town, or from tribe to tribe. Rome reserved the right to control the foreign affairs of her new ally and asked for a military contingent, but local self-government and freedom from taxation were granted. *Treatment of the conquered*

In 340 B.C. the Romans were supreme in central Italy. The state included Rome and Roman colonies, which were themselves replicas of the mother city, inhabited by Roman citizens and subject to Roman law and to Roman magistrates. There was also the Latin League—the original members and the new Latin colonies—allied to Rome on a basis of equality. Then there were the inferior allies who had surrendered some of their sovereignty to Rome. The total was a federation.

Fearing that the equality which they enjoyed would not be

permanent, some members of the Latin League announced their withdrawal in the year 340 B.C. Rome interpreted this secession movement as an act of hostility, declared war, and subdued the Latins by 338 B.C. Then was applied a new principle in political expansion. The citizens of towns which had remained loyal were granted all the rights of Roman citizenship. Their cities were called *municipia civium Romanorum*. Other towns were granted only the private rights of Roman citizenship, that is, they did not have the rights of voting or of holding office in Rome. They were called *civitates sine suffragio,* states without the suffrage. A third group, in which were found the most dangerous or least trustworthy of Rome's foes, were denied citizenship and placed under the supervision of a Roman colony or of a Roman official. The fourth, by far the largest group in the federation, were the Italian allies, *socii Italici.* This novel form of expansion would probably be looked upon with little favor today, although it has been accepted by the men of the Transvaal. But in the fourth century B.C., defeat meant extermination, slavery, or subjugation. The alternative offered by the Romans was acceptable to the Latins, and, used sparingly at first, was extended to other non-Latin communities in Italy. The effect of this new policy was slow in developing. For the next two generations men fought just as bitterly against Roman advance, but the ultimate and crucial test of the federation, applied by Hannibal, found it an indissoluble union.

Elements of Rome's success

No list of reasons for the success of Rome would be complete without some reference to location. Accessible in time of peace, easily defended in time of war, Rome was the logical capital of Latium. The military strategist would note that, in the struggle for control of Italy, Rome fought along interior lines. Etruscan training and Etruscan leadership for a century gave great advantages to the Romans. The stubborn refusal of the Romans to acknowledge defeat at the hands of an enemy saved them from ruin on more than one occasion. This attitude toward outsiders is in marked contrast to the spirit of compromise which made the Struggle between the Orders a gradual evolution. But superior to these qualifications and more lasting in their effects were the rigid adherence to treaty obligations, the political tolerance, and the voluntary extension of citizenship rights. These were the foundations of the "grandeur that was Rome."

It is customary to find in Rome's military successes proofs of land-hunger, of greed, of a persistent indifference to the rights of others. But the facts that probably not more than five per cent of conquered land was occupied by Roman settlers, that no taxes

were levied on the conquered, and that the good faith of the Romans was not challenged appear better to support the theory of war for self-defense only—war for the sake of peace. Two hundred years of hypocrisy should have given Hannibal thousands of allies in the peninsula. The truth, bitter to him, was that there was .but a handful.

The conquests of Alexander the Great had turned the attention *The Mediter-* of the Greeks to the East. The division of his great empire into *ranean world* kingdoms, leagues, and independent city-states produced situations *of 265* B.C. so intricate that the interest and energy of soldier, statesman, and merchant remained fixed in the eastern Mediterranean. The West was left to work out its own political and economic problems. The Carthaginian answer was a sea closed to all but her own merchants. She sought political control only for the protection of her traders. The Roman answer was the search for and maintenance of a frontier which would ensure peace to Rome and to Rome's allies. Commercial treaties and a formal alliance of the two states against Pyrrhus are indications of the help which each could give the other. But the incorporation of the Greek seafarers of south Italy in the Roman federation, increased the possibilities of friction. It was more by accident than by design that the Straits of Messana became the background of the first conflict. Carthage needed control of the Straits in order to perfect her closed-sea policy. Rome needed control in order to protect the interests of her new subject-allies.

Cultural differences used to be cited as the underlying cause of *The First* the contest between Rome and Carthage. More recently, the oc- *Punic War* cupation of Sicily has been emphasized on the ground that it was a part of a comprehensive plan of Roman expansion. It is difficult to reconcile these ascribed causes with the thesis that Rome waged war only in self-defense. It is possible that both were important reasons for prolonging and enlarging the struggle, but it seems clear that the Carthaginian *mare clausum,* which worked against Rome's allies, and the Roman policy of protecting her allies would inevitably lead to war.

Rome won a contest which stretched out over twenty-four long years. Her rewards for victory were the islands between Sicily and Italy, all of Sicily save the territory of her ally Syracuse, and an indemnity of thirty-two hundred talents ($625,000 gold) . Through a liberal interpretation of the rule of self-defense, the islands of Sardinia and Corsica were acquired (238 B.C.) .

A returned-soldiers' settlement act of 238 B.C., granting lands to *The interval* veterans in the northeastern part of the peninsula, disturbed the long peace between Gauls and Romans. Gallic raids in the newly

settled territory led to a war which advanced Rome's northern frontier to the Po river. Piratical attacks upon Italiote-Greek shipping in the Adriatic resulted in a war, which ended with Roman occupation of naval bases on the eastern side of the sea. By 220 B.C. Rome.was not only .stronger but also much more interested in western Mediterranean commerce. The interests of Massilia, an ally of Rome, were threatened by Carthaginian expansion in Spain. The representatives of Rome secured from the Carthaginian commander in Spain a promise that he would not advance north of the Ebro river. But further intervention by Rome, south of the Ebro, impelled Hannibal, the Carthaginian leader, to an attack upon the heart of the Roman federation.

Second Punic War

Hannibal's memorable conquest of the Alpine passes, his decisive victories over three Roman armies, did not result, as he had hoped, in a dissolution of the federation. Without reinforcements from Carthage or assistance from his ally, Philip V of Macedon, he maintained himself for fourteen years in the Italian peninsula. In 202 B.C., Carthage paid the price for Hannibal's error in judgment. An indemnity of 10,000 talents, the surrender of all war elephants, of all save ten triremes of her navy, of title to any part of Spain, of all land in Africa, except that near the city of Carthage, of the right to wage war outside of Africa, of the right to wage war in Africa without Rome's consent—these were the terms accepted by Carthage.

Effects of expansion on Rome: economic

In 200 B.C. Rome held Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Spain, the Po valley, and exercised control over the Adriatic. The results of this rapid expansion were not altogether bad. In spite of the great loss of life and property, there were compensations in the slave labor of countless war captives, in the cash indemnities received in installments from Carthage, and in the revenues from the newly acquired territories. The old regime of small farms, however, had passed. Trade and industry obtained a greater amount of attention, large estates replaced the small farms, and slave labor was used on the land. There was a shift from cereal culture to that of the olive and the vine. In some of the districts devastated by Hannibal were great cattle-ranges given over to slave herders.

The prolonged and distant campaigns had developed two new economic groups. Many farmers, in despair or disgust, had left their farms and entered military service as a more satisfactory form of making a living. Other men, with some capital, had found it profitable to undertake public contracts. Food, clothing, and munitions for the armies had to be furnished in large amounts and on short notice. The rewards were very attractive and the returns·

certain. In time of peace, the state accepted bids for the building of roads, temples, and public buildings as well as for the collection of all taxes. The system was old, but the volume of business thus transacted before the Punic Wars was small. As the business of the state increased, the wealth and power of these public contractors, *publicani*, advanced.

The constitution weathered the storms without much change. Senate and Assembly worked in harmony, the former tending to assume all responsibility. The responsibility was an enormous one and brought with it a corresponding increase in power. The Senate frequently forgot its constitutional limitations, but this usurpation of authority was not challenged by the Assembly, in part because the Senate accomplished the work so efficiently, and in part because there was no Assembly machinery for transacting imperial business. The action of the Assembly in 212 B.C. (see p. 128), however, proved that it could intervene in foreign affairs when Senatorial action was displeasing to it. The practice of changing officials each year was in part given up; when a competent general was found, he was allowed to remain at his task as proconsul until it was completed. The judicial work formerly handled by one official, the praetor, increased to the point where a colleague was elected to assist him. This officer, the *praetor peregrinus,* judged cases between resident aliens (an indication of increasing business activity in Rome). New praetorships were created for the administration of the new provinces. In general, it appeared that the government which could include all of Italy in its scope could again be expanded sufficiently to meet the needs of a power controlling the entire western Mediterranean. *Constitutional*

One important result of the First Punic War was the acquisition of Sicily. This was the first possession of Rome outside of Italy, and the decision concerning its relation to the rest of the state was of vital importance. Sicily might be treated as a part of Italy and receive the federal type of organization used in the peninsula. It might, on the other hand, retain its pre-Roman organization. The Romans preferred the second alternative. Only three cities were granted treaties of alliance similar to those so freely used in Italy. Some land was confiscated and administered in much the same manner as our public land in Alaska. A few cities were granted special favors, but over three-quarters of the island was governed, as it had been before the conquest, in accordance with Hellenistic theory. Rome simply took the place of local king, or tyrant, demanded a tribute in kind, levied other taxes, and treated the population as subjects. Administration of the province was vested in an *The new provinces: Sicily*

annually elected praetor with military, judicial, and executive authority. Thus, in 237 B.C., when Sicily received her charter of organization, the *lex provinciae,* and her first praetor, Rome became an imperial state.

Sardinia and Corsica

The occupation of Sardinia and Corsica was not so easily completed. Lack of natural wealth and the wildness of the native population had discouraged the Carthaginians from undertaking a thorough conquest. What the Romans acquired was land half controlled, half free. The lowlands were tilled by peasants, either native or imported from Africa, while the highlands were occupied by refugees, brigands, and raiders. In spite of frequent attempts, the Romans were unable to establish peace until 175 B.C., when Tiberius Gracchus the Elder returned to Rome with a report of 80,000 natives killed or captured. Even then, peace was but temporarily secured, and the islands were little more than imperial burdens throughout the first century of their rule by Rome.

Spain

Spain was a troublesome acquisition from the first. Size, distance, and the fighting power of the natives were factors which combined to make organization extremely difficult. The unusual problems demanded unusual solutions; the plans, which were adequate for the administration of Sicily, could not be applied to Spain. There was little pre-Roman organization on which to build, and the distance from Italy negatived any extension of the Roman federation to Spain.

The defeat of a Roman army in 212 B.C. almost induced the Senate to postpone the struggle until Hannibal could be dislodged from Italy. Nevertheless the plebeians insisted that the war be carried on and conferred the *imperium* on an inexperienced youth, Publius Cornelius Scipio. With the support of the people, but without the blessing of the Senate, Scipio reopened hostilities, succeeded in driving the Carthaginians from Spain, and returned to Rome, after a five-year campaign, during which he had governed the peninsular with truly regal powers. His was the first great extraordinary command, extraordinary because it was granted to one who had held no office of state, and because it came in the form of a *plebiscitum,* a decree of the *concilium plebis.* Scipio continued his royal manner in the conduct of the last phase of the war; it was he who, as consul, carried the war into Africa and defeated Hannibal, at the battle of Zama.

The government of Spain by *plebiscitum* continued until 197 B.C., when the peninsula was divided into two provinces, and two praetorships were created for Hither and Farther Spain. The former was based on the partially Hellenized district of the Northeast, and

the latter on the Punicized valley of the Baetis. Beyond each province was an unknown area occupied by tribes of varying degrees of culture. The natives had welcomed Scipio as a savior, but they had no desire to exchange Carthaginian for Roman rule. The occupation of Spain thus brought to Rome a new frontier threatening Roman peace, and a new type of commander threatening the republican constitution and senatorial control.

Two forces were active throughout the first five centuries of the city's life. One was the point of view, the way of living, which the Roman had inherited and shared with his fellow-Latins and with the other Italic (Indo-European) groups in the peninsula. The bundle of habits, thoughts, and feelings which was Roman character survived many attacks from the second force which was external. The second, the foreign element present in Italy before Rome was founded, continuously exerted an influence on Roman institutions. There was never a chance for normal institutional development. The non-Italic influences could not be overcome. Ruled by Etruscans, visited by Carthaginians and Greeks, the unsophisticated Romans were subjected to a flood of suggestions and orders. To this must be added the complication that Romans were blessed with a power of assimilation like that of the Persians. *The old vs. the new*

The extremely conservative nature of the Romans fought hard to retain that which they cherished. Tradition gave as cause for the expulsion of the kings a violation of the *mores maiorum,* the customs of the forefathers, that body of unwritten rules which established decent and proper conduct. Even the marked changes in religion did not change the spirit behind acts of a religious character. The incantation to a *numen* and the prayer to a god were equally formal, both of them oral contracts. Not for a long time did prayer have any emotional content. *Conservatism succumbs*

Familiar habits and institutions were preserved and fixed in law. *The Twelve Tables,* published in 450 B.C., present a farmer's law, although Rome had been a trading center for many decades. The father's power over his family was untouched. He still controlled the wealth of his household and dictated the marriages of his sons and daughters. The strict discipline and respect for conventions which the *paterfamilias* exercised in a Spartan-like, humorless manner at home had its solemn counterparts in public life.

A story told by Cicero [1] well illustrates the formality and observance of rules of ancient Rome. It begins in controlled emotion and ends properly in the frustration of an upstart plebeian. The Senate invariably authorized a consul returning from a victorious

[1] Cicero, *Pro Gael,* 14.

campaign to ride through the city in triumphal procession directly
to the temple. of Jupiter. For the moment the consul was more
than human; he was Jupiter returning from victory to his home.
But even Jupiter had to halt when another sacrosanct individual,
a tribune of the plebs, blocked the narrow roadway. A consultation
ultimately produced the solution. The consul's daughter, a Vestal
Virgin was summoned. Her progress to the temple of Vesta, where
she helped to maintain the sacred fire on the city's hearth, could
not be blocked, even by a tribune. Cicero and the procession con-
tinue with the three actors in the moving chariot, the daughter em-
bracing her father in order that he might not be removed forcibly
by the tribune. The date of the incident is 143 B.C.

An era of peace after the conquest of Italy might have preserved
for Rome the many excellent characteristics of her simple and dis-
ciplined way of life. But the shock of wars, increasing imperial
possessions, and the ever-growing contacts with cultures more com-
plex and more sophisticated than her own again denied the pos-
sibility of normal adjustment. Consider, for example, the effect of
the Punic Wars on the *patria potestas*. Prolonged campaigns (ten
to twenty years in Sicily, twelve years and more in Spain, fourteen
years in Italy) removed the sons from paternal supervision. The
pay and loot which the soldier acquired, his *peculium castrense*,
were legally his. Distractions in Spain were few, but in South Italy
and Sicily a new world was his to enjoy. The veteran, on his re-
turn, could not be forced back into the old routine of respect and
obedience.

Those who remained in Rome, together with an increasing num-
ber of refugees, the flotsam and jetsam of war, built up an emo-
tional demand which the formal and impersonal religion of Rome
could not answer. The desperate recourse of the priesthood to
human sacrifice did not succeed. The cry of the populace was
quieted with the introduction of the Greek Rite. Banquets for the
gods and games in their honor prepared the way for supplications
and for heartfelt prayers. The old Roman practices and beliefs
were replaced with Hellenic concepts. In 204 B.C. the Romans
again sought help from the East. Since their gods had failed to drive
the gods of Hannibal from Italy, they petitioned the Great Mother
of the gods to aid them. The *Magna Mater* arrived from Pessinus
in Asia Minor accompanied by her priests. Within two years Han-
nibal had left Italy and been defeated in Africa. The Great Mother
had earned permanent residence, and she remained to share honors
with the Hellenized gods of Old Rome.

Before the year 200 B.C. Rome came to resemble the Hellenistic

states in many respects. The presence of Greek slaves—war cap- *The influence*
tives from south Italy and Sicily—was rapidly changing the do- *of Hellenism*
mestic life of the nobility. Slave teachers, doctors, and businessmen
began to take over the duties once performed by the heads of house-
holds. Greek men of letters were making the Romans proudly con-
scious of their past. They invented a Trojan origin for Rome (the
Aeneas legend) and linked that distant beginning to historic Ro-
man records with a picturesque account over which scholars still
dispute. Homer was translated into Latin to serve as a textbook for
children; Greek comedies were translated and presented to amuse
the populace. Kings and city-states of the East sent embassies seek-
ing alliance with this victorious power of the West.

COLLATERAL READING

C. Bailey, *Phases in the Religion of Ancient Rome,* 1932.
T. Frank, *An Economic History of Rome,* 1927.
———, *Life and Letters in the Roman Republic,* 1930.
L. Homo, *Primitive Italy,* 1927.
———, *Roman Political Institutions,* 1929.
H. F. Jolowicz, *Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law,* 1932.
P. Louis, *Ancient Rome at Work,* 1927.
D. Randall MacIver, *The Etruscans,* 1927.
H. H. Scullard, *History of the Roman World from 753 to 146 B.C.,* 1935.

THE ROAD TO ROME: THE APPIAN WAY

The Roman World,

200–31 B.C.

The Bettmann Archive

CICERO

BEFORE the Romans could make good their losses or grow accustomed to their new position, they were called upon to enter the complex political life of the eastern Mediterranean. The call was made upon the basis of treaties of friendship. A weakened Egypt and a frightened group of smaller states begged for assistance against a coalition of the two great kingdoms, Syria and Macedon. The Senate had first to decide whether a friend, *amicus,* had a right to the protection which Rome had always granted an ally, *socius.* After obtaining the consent of the fetial priests to the more liberal construction, the Senate had to overcome the unwillingness of the army to vote for war. Why was the Senate so eager for war? Speculations of modern commentators vary from altruism through a desire for reputation and distinction, down to pure greed. In their arguments before the assembly of the centuries, the senators pointed out that war with Macedon was inevitable. If any connection exists between results and causes, altruism, or phil-Hellenism, was the dominant idea of the Romans, for Rome returned from the war with Macedon, and from another with Syria, without territorial gains, with nothing but indemnities which barely paid her expenses. The public declaration of her policy came in the proclamation of 196 B.C., in which the freedom of the Greek city-states was made a part of Rome's foreign policy. Three years later, Roman

Roman intervention in the East, 200–167

133

diplomats offered to relinquish this protectorate over the Asiatic Greek cities in return for a promise from the Syrian king to keep out of Europe. But the refusal of the offer by Antiochus, and his subsequent defeat, made it unnecessary to explain this deviation from the earlier stand. On the whole, Roman armies had defeated enemies, protected friends, and retired from the East with glory and honor.

Beginning of decline

The effects of this intervention in the eastern political arena were not wholly beneficial. There were proofs that the ideals which prompted intervention could not be upheld, and that the experience gained in the East was changing Roman character and institutions. In the first place, a change can be noted in the feeling of Rome toward her allies in Italy. The last Latin colony was founded in 184 B.C. From that year, all rewards for service to the state in the form of land allotments were reserved for Roman citizens. The policy of assimilation was checked, and Rome began to treat Italians as she did her subjects. In the second place, a change may be noted in the attitude of the Romans towards treaty obligations, particularly in the West. Provincial governors were careless in the observance of treaties with border tribes. The Senate not only failed to reprimand the governors but even encouraged abrogation of treaties which impeded the advance of the Roman frontiers. In the third place, the attitude of the Romans towards the Greeks changed. Distrust, contempt, and haughtiness replaced the earlier sentiments of friendship and respect. The result was that the champions of Greek civilization, the idealists who followed Scipio Africanus the Elder, had to give way in the Senate before the attacks of practical men like Cato, who hated the Greeks. Cato and his followers controlled the situation during the next war with Macedon and dictated the terms of settlement after the battle of Pydna, 167 B.C.

But even Cato was unable to hold in check the passions and desires which his policy had encouraged. He wished to punish and retire, just as Scipio wished to protect and retire. A third group included those who were eager to punish, to conquer, and to remain in conquered territory that they might exploit it. It was this group which added to Cato's policy of blood and iron elements of frightfulness, terrorism, insult, and robbery. Their growing influence is illustrated in the events of the period from 167 to 133 B.C.

The years 167 to 133 B.C.

Incompetence and cruelty are the mildest terms with which to describe Rome's foreign policy. After the defeat of Macedon in 167 B.C., the Romans punished friend and foe alike. They divided the kingdom of Macedon into four republics and retired, leaving

only a few observers to report the results of this preposterous experiment. A pretender aroused the king-loving Macedonians to revolt. Rome intervened, crushed the rebellion, and organized the kingdom into a province (146 B.C.). Throughout the period the cities of the Achaean League (friends and allies of Rome) were increasingly restless. One thousand of their leading men had been summoned to Rome in 167 B.C., accused of treachery, but had never been brought to trial. In 150 B.C., the return of the three hundred survivors resulted in war. Rome was once more successful, proving her mastery by the capture, sack, and utter destruction of Corinth. Greece then became a Roman protectorate of isolated cities. Another ally of Rome, the king of Pergamum, was suspected of treachery because he had attempted mediation between Rome and Macedon. Deprived of territory and insulted, he was at least permitted to retain his throne until his death. The brother who succeeded him, recognizing the inevitable, bequeathed his kingdom to Rome upon his death in 133 B.C. Syria, weakened by dynastic quarrels and rebellious subjects, was subjected to interference and intervention, which she resented but was forced to endure. Rome also intervened in Egypt with the intention of profiting by Egyptian weakness, and with the result of destroying what little power was left to the last of the Ptolemies.

Throughout the long struggle with Philip of Macedon, Antiochus of Syria, and Perseus of Macedon, the West occupied a secondary position in Roman thought. The natural desire of Rome to control the entire peninsula of Spain met with an equally natural desire for freedom on the part of the natives. The resultant wars were interrupted by the demands for military concentration in the East and became more inhuman in conformity with the changing character of the Roman people. A long sustained resistance in the center of Spain, from 153–133 B.C., ended with the capture of Numantia. At that date the Romans controlled about two-thirds of the peninsula. The peace which followed brought a measure of comfort to the inhabitants, but many decades were to elapse before the memory of past wrongs was replaced with the benefits of good government. *The West, 200–133 B.C.*

Carthage recovered from the severe losses of the Second Punic War with remarkable speed, thanks to the administrative ability of Hannibal, but Roman fear led to intervention before which Hannibal fled. A long series of persecutions followed. They provoked the Carthaginians into a violation of the treaty of 202 B.C., a violation accepted by Rome as an excuse for war. Carthage met the same fate as that of Corinth, and her territory was added to the list of

Rome's provinces, although Rome's ally and cat's-paw, the king of Numidia, had hoped to receive it as a reward.

It is customary to comment somewhat regretfully upon the domination of the Mediterranean world by Rome. The regret arises from a consideration of Roman weakness rather than of Eastern strength. A glance at the respective offerings of East and West may clarify this statement. The East had little to offer along political and military lines. Its contribution to the new era lay concentrated in defenseless Athens. The former greatness of Athens on the sea and in diplomacy had vanished. None of the earlier civic activities of the Athenians remained to attract their interest, and thus we find the people of Athens turning their attention to music, athletics, and art. Philosophy and religion also played an important role in Athenian life. The humanitarian spirit, the other ethical features of Hellenistic philosophy and Hellenistic cults, the refinements of life, nicety of thought, clarity of expression, and a general urbanity were the positive contributions. But the Romans found in Athens, and throughout the East, greed, luxury, and an undue emphasis upon the right of the individual to self-realization. These evils they either fought against in vain or surrendered to with little effort.

On the other hand, the Roman state represented the best in Occidental life in the third century B.C. The development of the Romans in agriculture had not passed the primitive stage, their industrial life was in its infancy, their religion was simple, and their institutions in general immature, but they did have certain elements which were worth while—the strict discipline of family life, the sober judgment of honest, practical, hard-working men, and a contempt for effeminacy. The ideal combination of the best of the two offerings was not realized. The period from 220 to 167 B.C. was a time of decline, of failure, and of survival of the worst in Hellenism, as it was a period of increasing growth of the disease of empire in Rome. Rome was strong enough to destroy the armies of the East, but she was too weak to withstand the counteroffensive of a decadent sophisticated culture.

After a century and a half of conquest, Roman society had greatly changed. The social groups were headed by a senatorial class, ambitious, jealous of power, and, to a great extent, zealous in the pursuit of happiness through vice. Almost equal in prominence was a capitalist group of bankers, landlords, and investors. Many of them remained in Rome, but a large number were seeking a quick and easy road to wealth in the provinces. The veterans of the frequent wars formed a large body of semi-professional sol-

diers, corrupted, increasingly unruly, and eager for campaigns which promised loot rather than glory. The Roman populace, composed of landless freemen and emancipated slaves, was little better than an unruly and selfish mob. Beneath all these and affecting the lives of all above them, were the slaves, drawn from every quarter of the empire, many of them catering to the vices of their masters and depriving the honest poor of the means of livelihood. Romans of the old school were still to be found on the farms of central and north Italy, but the spread of the plantation system was steadily reducing their numbers. The few owners of small farms followed the lead of the great landlords, and substituted olives and vines for cereals. Textbooks and skilled slaves increased the quantity and improved the quality of these new products. For grain the Roman people depended more and more upon Sicily, Africa, and southern Spain. The slave gangs of the great estates were mercilessly driven. The result was a violent outburst in Sicily, in 134 B.C. This was only the first of a series of revolts. But the number of slaves was constantly replenished by wars and by the activities of Roman slave-dealers at Delos. The latter resorted to wholesale kidnapping when the supply of war captives was inadequate. Aside from this lucrative trade, the Romans refrained from commercial ventures. Commerce and industry were left largely to provincials and allies. Roman capital was invested in agriculture, money-lending, and in tax-farming contracts.

In oratory, history, poetry, and drama the Romans continued to *Cultural* follow the guidance of their Hellenistic teachers. Greek rhetoricians *changes* attracted and yet dismayed them with their subtleties. Those who could afford it sent their sons to sit at the feet of Greek sophists, and to get a smattering of Hellenistic philosophy. The rationalism and agnosticism of eastern visitors aroused a vigorous but unavailing protest from conservative Romans. The attacks of sceptics and the competition of the eastern mystery-cults undermined Roman faith in Roman gods. The results of the impact of new ideas upon Roman simplicity were often amusing, generally tragic. A cultivated gentleman like Aemilius Paulus supervised the education of his sons, taught them the pleasures of hunting in the preserves of the Macedonian kings, conducted them through the ruins of ancient Athens, and guided them in their study of Greek philosophy. But the untutored consul who destroyed Corinth could give orders that those who were transporting the masterpieces of Corinthian art must replace lost articles with duplicates in subject, size, and colors. Another official, offering a musical contest to amuse the Roman populace, suggested that the competitors play different

numbers at the same time, and thought that a fitting climax had been reached when the musicians began a free-for-all fight. Only a few had a true appreciation of Hellenistic culture, but all were influenced. Even Cato, the staunch opponent of Hellenism, erected a Greek structure for his banking colleagues and mastered the language of the hated Greeks before he died.

Political and administrative changes
The general decline in morals and morale affected politics. The Senate clung to its authority, opposing all efforts of outsiders to obtain membership in its body, and thwarting the ambition of those senators who sought to rise above its average mediocrity. Senatorial control of the Assembly was maintained through bribery and expenditure on public entertainment. Machine tactics kept unacceptable candidates out of the lower magistracies, and a law of 180 B.C. established a fixed order in which all magistracies were to be held.

The general contempt for slaves was extended to the successful individuals who had obtained freedom. Freedmen were useful as business agents and estate foremen, but their economic and political rights were limited. The freedman could not hold office, nor could he enroll as a soldier. Even though he had purchased his freedom by savings, he was frequently bound to contribute a share of his earnings, after emancipation, to his former owner. His foreign blood, his taint of servitude, and even his superiority to the poorer Roman freeman were the reasons or excuses for despising him. The Roman attitude of superiority was gradually widened to include the Latin and Italian Allies. With privileges diminished and duties increased, the allies were being reduced to the status of provincial subjects. The latter were the victims of a poor system manned by selfish individuals. The provincial governor was given absolute control for his term of office. His subordinates were, with one exception, chosen by and responsible to him. The officer in charge of collection and disbursement of funds, the quaestor, was a senatorial appointee, but his power to check an evil governor was limited and rarely exercised. Even the Senate seldom intervened between a governor and his subjects. This extreme centralization of power offered unlimited opportunities for oppression by needy and greedy officials. Unoffending neighbors were wantonly attacked by triumph-hunting governors, and the provincials were mercilessly oppressed. The results were administratively and politically unsound. The future welfare of the provinces was sacrificed to the incessant demands of governors and their retinues, to the tax collectors and money lenders, and to the investing public of Rome. At the same time, the political and moral integrity of the Romans was

undermined by the waves of unearned wealth pouring into the capital.

The great influence of corruption is demonstrated by the hopeless anxiety which it aroused in the uncontaminated minority. The leader of this group, Scipio Aemilianus, had maintained Rome's record of victory by destroying Carthage in 146 B.C. and blotting out Numantia, the Spanish revolt-center, in 133 B.C. But it was Scipio who ended his censorship in 142 B.C. with a prayer not that Rome might be greater but that she might be safe. Son of Aemilius Paulus but adopted by a childless Scipio, Aemilianus was an ardent phil-Hellenist. But it was he who threatened the Greek freedmen in Rome, the "step-children of Italy," with fresh chains. Trained to think clearly, and knowing well the forces which were undermining the strength of Rome, he lacked the fortitude to apply the remedies of reform. That task was left to others.

Thoughtful citizens of Rome realized that in spite of victories, wealth, and power, the security of the state was threatened from many sides. Within the city walls was an increasing number of poor, unprovided for and uncontrolled. In Italy, the census figures showed a steady decline in the numbers of the citizen agricultural middle class. There was also growing unrest among the Latin and Italian Allies. Beyond Italy were the provinces, subjected to a government pitiless, inefficient, and without plan. The frontiers of the empire were without a permanent military guard; the Mediterranean was unpoliced. It was evident that the old constitution must be revised in order to meet the demands of a world empire.

For one hundred and two years the Romans experimented with their constitution. The first among the leaders of reform was Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. He was the son of a famous plebeian statesman of the same name, grandson of the patrician Scipio Africanus, and brother-in-law of Scipio Aemilianus, the destroyer of Carthage. He was trained by his patrician mother, Cornelia, by a Greek rhetorician and a Greek philosopher of the Stoic school. He was advised by the best legal talent of Rome and by the greatest Roman orator of the age. His program was not one of unrestrained idealism, nor was it the unpatriotic plan of an insincere politician. Its purpose was to restore to its former proportion the number of the agricultural middle class and to reduce the number of the urban poor.

Upon seeking election to the tribunate, Tiberius announced that he would, if elected, present a bill calling for the enforcement of a law already on the statute books. This law limited each individual possessor of public land to a total of five hundred iugera (about

Tiberius Gracchus, reformer

three hundred ten acres). In spite of this law many individuals had occupied larger portions of the public land. It was the wish of Tiberius that land held in excess of the legal total be reclaimed by the state, in order that it might be allotted in thirty-iugera (eighteen-acre) farms to landless Romans of the urban populace. The right to present such a bill was not questioned by anyone, but the propriety of presenting it was doubted by those who had seized public land, and the advisability of distributing it to the poor was questioned by many conservatives. Tiberius, however, was so convinced of the soundness of his plan that he resorted to unusual and extreme steps in order to insure its passage and enforcement.

His first unusual step was to override the Senate's refusal to consider his bill and to present it to the Assembly without senatorial action. In the Assembly the senators hostile to him found a tribune willing to interpose his veto, which prevented a vote on the bill. Tiberius then introduced another unusual measure, the recall of the tribune whose veto blocked progress. These unusual acts lost for Tiberius the support of the liberal group in the Senate, but his position was still constitutionally sound, and his bill became a law. Fearing that his work would be undone by the tribunes of the following year, Tiberius then violated the constitution by standing for re-election. This gave excuse to the senatorial mob, which killed him with bludgeons.

Results of tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus

The work of Tiberius Gracchus had permanent results. The possibility of independent legislation by the Assembly had been demonstrated. Senatorial control of Assembly legislation by tribunician veto had been definitely challenged by the recall of the obstructing tribune. The Senate was confronted with the unwelcome truth that its authority in the state could be maintained only by assassination. The death of Tiberius could not destroy, it could only postpone, reform.

A decade of domestic peace

The next ten years were marked by a return to normal procedure. The Senate continued its control of provincial and foreign affairs. The kingdom of Pergamum, bequeathed to Rome in 133 B.C., was organized as the province of Asia in 129 B.C. Minor wars in Illyria, the Alps, and the Balearic Islands were waged under senatorial supervision. In Italy the policy of degrading the Allies was continued. Suggestions of liberal senators that citizenship be extended to Latin and Italian Allies were ridiculed, and the subsequent revolt of one city, Fregellae, was crushed. In Rome the Senate acted with discretion. The land law of Tiberius was not repealed, although obstructions effectively put an end to the process of redistribution.

The fate of Tiberius Gracchus kept other reformers quiet, but in 123 B.C. the struggle was renewed when Gaius Gracchus was elected to the office which his older brother had held. Memories of the first conflict still lingered, and the tactical errors then committed were avoided. Thus the Senate gave no occasion for the use of the recall. Gaius Gracchus, on the other hand, sought, through a more elaborate program, stronger and wider political support. Not only was the land law restored to efficiency, but bills were presented to and passed by the Assembly, which pledged the state to sell grain at half price to the citizen poor of Rome, and to furnish equipment to the citizen troops, thereby strengthening Gaius's hold on the Assembly. Gaius also allied to himself the knights (equites) by a law which gave the capitalists of Rome a practical monopoly on the contracts for collecting the taxes of the rich province of Asia. Another law assigned to this group alone the right to serve on juries chosen to pass judgment on provincial officials accused of extortionate practices.

Gaius Gracchus, Tribune of the Plebs, 123–121 B.C.

With the support of populace and knights, Gaius was more than a match for the ultra-conservatives in the Senate. The management of Rome, the government of Italy, the administration of the provinces, all were in his hands. For a year the entire empire of Rome was directed by Gaius Gracchus, the unofficial dictator of the state. His re-election to the tribunate had been made possible by a law of 124 B.C. His decline came with an attempt to distribute favors to those who had little or no voting power. A bill authorizing the foundation of colonies for the benefit of the urban middle class was passed by a bare majority of eighteen to seventeen. The populace found little advantage to themselves in this bill and rejected flatly a proposal to extend citizenship to the Latins and Italians. Gaius was still a man of influence, but after his failure to obtain a third term his senatorial enemies felt strong enough to attack him. Under the authority of a senatorial decree of martial law (*senatus consultum ultimum*), an armed force put to death Gaius Gracchus and three thousand of his followers.

For the second time the Senate emerged victor. Control of affairs had been wrested from the Assembly, but the reforms authorized by Assembly legislation were not abrogated. The knights retained their jury panel, the populace their cheap grain, and the homesteaders their allotments. The significant change in government was the substitution of selfish factional policies for the all-embracing policy of Gaius Gracchus. Laws were presented and passed under the direction of a middle-class coalition of senatorial moderates and equites. The legislation made the Gracchan allotments alienable,

Reaction, 121–111

throttled the activities of the land commission, and finally guaranteed in their possession those who held an illegal amount of land. The logical conclusion came in 111 B.C., when possessors of public land were given complete ownership by law. Colonies at Aquae Sextiae and Narbo, in southern France, compensated populace and knights for their potential losses with respect to the public lands of Italy. This victory of the moderate conservatives in the Senate was not the result of senatorial strength; it was rather the outcome of a leaderless opposition. For a time, the activity of foreign enemies preserved leadership of the moderates, but mismanagement of foreign affairs eventually weakened the Senate and made effective the challenge of a third champion of the people.

Gaius Marius, general   The ambition of Jugurtha, a prince of Numidia and an ally of Rome, was the first source of trouble. The Senate, reluctant to change of any sort, was forced into war by the ruthless acts of Jugurtha. Senatorial inefficiency in the conduct of the war brought to the consulship a new popular leader, Gaius Marius. His success in terminating the war made him the hero of the hour. In that position he was called to ward off a far greater menace to the security of the state. The Teutons and Cimbri, vanguard of the great Teutonic migrations, had already defeated five Roman armies. While these land-hungry wanderers journeyed through Gaul to Spain and back again towards Italy, Marius, in violation of law, was re-elected to the consulship four times. His destruction of the Teutons and Cimbri at Aquae Sextiae and Vercellae (102 and 101 B.C.) won for him a sixth consulship for the year 100 B.C.

His reforms   The name of Marius should be included among the list of reformers not because of his leadership in the Senate or the Assembly, for he was not a skillful politician, but because of his reorganization of the army. Compelled, or perhaps inclined, to the enrollment of landless men in the legions, Marius abandoned the former requirement of landownership for citizen soldiers. With the exception of a small cavalry group, all Roman citizens were enrolled as heavy infantry and all armed alike. Cavalry and light-armed troops were furnished by those allies especially fitted for these varieties of service. It is possible that under Marius the size of a legion was raised from four to six thousand men, and probable that he was responsible for the shift from the maniple to the cohort (six hundred men) as the tactical unit. By giving each man a knapsack, and by enforcing the strictest discipline, Marius produced an army equal in power to those which had defeated Philip V, Antiochus III, and the wild tribes of Spain. If not under his order, at least with his encouragement, the legionary eagle came to have for the

Roman soldiers the same significance possessed by the flag of today. The soldier began his service as one enters a profession. Sixteen years was the usual term of enlistment, and at the close each soldier expected a land allotment as a sort of pension. This was true only of Roman-citizen soldiers. For the Allies, there was no hope of reward, although Marius is credited with having bestowed citizenship upon certain of his more faithful auxiliary troops. The results of these reforms of Marius were (1) the democratization of the army, (2) the substitution of loyalty to the general for state loy-
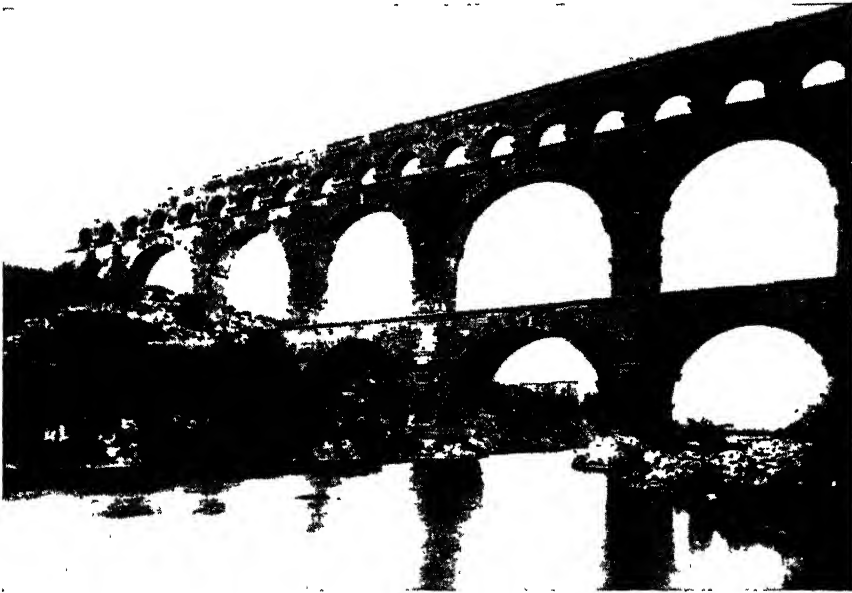
PONT DU GARD: A ROMAN AQUEDUCT

alty, and (3) the development of a military class or caste, with its religion centering on the standard of the legion, with its ideas and ideals different from those of the civilian group, and with a political program of expansion and aggressive imperialism.

The brilliant military achievement of Marius was followed by *His fall* a juvenile performance of the great general as a politician. He was driven from power by his senatorial opponents, and the Senate once again assumed control. Less than ten years of political bickering passed before the Romans were forced to forget their political differences and to fight for the very existence of Rome against the infuriated Latin and Italian Allies.

For a long time the Allies had sought by peaceable means to ob-

tain a position of equality with the Romans. Probably the social and economic factors of equality were of greater interest to the Allies than the political. Still, one of the earliest attempts to secure equality was political in its character. A proposal was made by a Roman senator to grant to each Latin city representation in the Roman Senate. Although the proposal was rejected by the Senate, the non-Romans in Italy continued to hope for equality, but it was not until 133 B.C. that they found in Tiberius Gracchus a champion in Rome ready to present their offer in the form of a bill. His desire to extend citizenship to the people of Italy found no favor and was not even formally presented to the Assembly. In the year 125 B.C. a consul of liberal tendencies announced his intention of presenting a similar bill to the Senate, but his intention was never carried out, and the only result was the vain revolt of Fregellae. In 122 B.C. Gaius Gracchus spoke for a bill enfranchising the Latins and Italians. In the accounts of his speeches as they have come down to us, there are references to the cruel treatment of the Latins and Italians by the Romans. The rejection of the bill by the Assembly and the death of Gracchus ended all agitation in favor of non-Romans in Italy. Senatorial opposition to the Latins and Italians was indicated in a decree of the year 95 B.C. which demanded the return to their original homes of all Latins and Italians residing in Rome. The decree was looked upon by the Allies as an insult and was probably one of the causes for the war which broke out in 90 B.C. The act which brought on war, however, was the murder of Livius Drusus.

Livius Drusus, wealthy and cultivated aristocrat, son of the man who had been the strongest enemy of Gaius Gracchus, was selected by the senatorial aristocracy as its champion in a campaign for the restoration of jury authority to the Senate. His program and his methods were too radical to suit senatorial taste. When the united efforts of his opponents threatened the success of his plans, Drusus turned to the Allies for support: Roman citizenship was to be their reward. His assassination was the signal for revolt.

The organization of the Allied forces was little more than an adaptation of the Roman plan. A senate chosen from the constituent cities was more representative than that of Rome. In other respects the Roman model was closely followed. Roman citizenship was to the Allies an ideal status. They sought independence only as a substitute for the ideal which could not be attained. When citizenship was extended, in 89 B.C., to those who had remained loyal, it was accepted. When it was offered to those who would desert to Rome, in 88 B.C., the rebellion lost its reason for

existence. Roman laws rather than Roman legions ended the War of the Allies, but a heavy price was paid for the delay in legislation. Three hundred thousand men were lost, and the fields of Italy suffered devastation from which they did not recover in antiquity.

In the midst of this life-and-death struggle with the Allies, there came to Rome news of a general and terrifying outbreak in the East. Mithradates VI, the ambitious king of Pontus, was the leader of the anti-Roman movement. Supported by all who hated and feared the Romans, he quickly overran the client kingdom of Bithynia, the province of Asia, and the islands of the Aegean. The Greeks rose against the Romans, and an army of Mithradates was sent to support them. *The Eastern peril*

The man chosen by the Senate to attempt the reconquest of Rome's Eastern provinces was L. Cornelius Sulla, one of the consuls of the year 89 B.C. When the Assembly attempted to nullify the Senate's action by giving command in the East to Marius, civil war was added to the war against the Allies and that against Mithradates, for Sulla, delayed in departure by the siege of an allied city in Campania, led his army to Rome and drove the Marian faction into exile. There followed two terrible blood purges in Rome. The Marians, rallying after Sulla's departure, took possession of Rome and massacred all of his available followers. Then, in 84 B.C., when Sulla returned victorious from the East, a systematic proscription took the lives of the democratic leaders. *Leads to civil war*

The regime ushered in by the Sullan proscriptions was revolutionary. A senatorial decree conferred on Sulla the title *dictator* and gave him unlimited authority. The new dictatorship included the right to make laws, to put citizens to death, to found colonies; in short, the right to control every phase of government. It resembled the office of earlier centuries only in name, being much more closely related to the unauthorized autocratic rule of Gaius Gracchus. The reorganization effected by the new dictator was designed to make the Assembly impotent and the Senate a powerful successor to himself. The plebeian tribunate was stripped of all its powers, and the Assembly itself terrorized by the presence of ten thousand newly manumitted slaves. The Senate was strengthened by an increase of three hundred members chosen from the knights, and the jury panel for trials on the charge of extortion was returned to it. Control of magistrates was secured by legislation which reaffirmed the regular order in which magistracies must be held. The quaestorships, of which there were twenty, must precede the praetorships, of which there were eight. Praetorship must precede consulship. The year of office was to be spent in Rome in *And to dictatorship*

civilian tasks. In the year immediately following domestic service, each magistrate was assigned to provincial duty. These and many other changes formed a structure designed to perpetuate the rule of a conservative aristocracy. For at least two reasons the plan lasted less than ten years. Sulla could give the Senate power, but he could not make it strong. He could make laws, but could not restore respect for law. Then, too, he failed to give to the new constitution elasticity sufficient to cope with emergencies. The result was that emergencies, for which his acts were in part responsible, forced the Senate to violate the instrument forged to protect it.

The Senate fails again

A civil war in Spain, led by officers of Marius, took one of the two competent senatorial generals. Renewed war in the East took the other. A call from Spain for reinforcements and a serious slave-uprising in Italy compelled the Senate to grant military authority to two men who were ineligible under the Sullan constitution. One of them, Gnaeus Pompey, had held no office. The other, Marcus Crassus, had not completed the required preliminary service. When these two men returned with victorious armies and demanded triumphs and the right to stand for the consulship in the following year, 70 B.C., the Senate was too weak to deny their requests as unconstitutional.

The Roman state in 70 B.C.

Sixty-three years had passed since the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus. Many dangers to the state had been averted, but the impression of insecurity remained. The poor of Rome had been provided for by a series of grain laws which authorized the free distribution of corn, but no permanent success had been achieved in controlling the mob. The agricultural middle class of Italy, recruited by the Gracchi, continued to decline. Latins and Italians were now citizens. Their enfranchisement was the one great forward step of the period. Provincials were even more pitilessly oppressed than before. The army reforms of Marius had not been discarded, but the frontier remained unprotected and the Mediterranean unpoliced. One bitter lesson of these dreary years was the knowledge that without military force reform was impossible. Neither Senate nor Assembly was capable of assuming leadership. The only remaining implement was the magistracy, a magistracy held by a man possessing statesmanship and power. From 70 B.C. to the last days of the Republic, one may imagine the Roman world waiting for a man who would combine military leadership and reform program.

The approach to monarchy

The twenty-six years from 70 to 44 B.C. produced leaders of every political hue, from conservatives, like Lucullus, to radicals, like Catiline. The degree of success of each leader depended upon the amount of magisterial authority which he obtained and held. The

solution of Rome's problems was thus reached by an actual restoration of the kingship. But the road to monarchy was long and difficult.

The Senate took the first step when, in 74 B.C., it assigned to Lucullus extraordinary military authority in the provinces of Cilicia and Asia, with instructions to lead Rome's forces against Mithradates. This monarch had recovered from the defeat inflicted by Sulla and was again challenging Rome for the possession of Bithynia. The unusual feature of Lucullus's authority was that it was prolonged from year to year. In a series of masterly campaigns Lucullus forced Mithradates back, overran the kingdom of Pontus, and defeated the Armenian allies of the Pontine king. He might have put an end to Mithradates had he not been attacked in Rome by political enemies, some of whose agents were present in his camp. A mutiny of his troops in the winter of 69 B.C., the activity of Mithradates (once more in his own kingdom of Pontus), and the failure of the Senate to support him in Rome brought Lucullus's command to an inglorious end in 66 B.C. *Lucullus and Senate, 74–70 B.C.*

Lucullus was a ruler of a past age. His strict discipline, his phil-Hellenism, and his sense of justice remind one of the third century B.C., but new times demanded new and different qualities. The aristocracy had no man of the new type to take his place, hence leadership fell into the hands of those who had obtained control through their wealth: the Equites. Their candidates were Gnaeus Pompey and Marcus Licinius Crassus.

Crassus had earned the gratitude of Sulla by his military service and had been permitted to bid in many estates confiscated by Sulla in the days of the proscriptions. The Senate had turned to him in 71 B.C. as the only available soldier to put down a serious revolt of the gladiators and other slaves in Italy. His success in this task encouraged him to demand a triumph and the right to stand for the consulship. This was a direct violation of the Sullan constitution, but Sulla was dead and the Senate was unable to withstand the pressure applied not only by Crassus but also by Pompey. *Crassus, Pompey, and the Equites*

Gnaeus Pompey also made his first appearance in public life as a lieutenant of Sulla. He had fought against the followers of Marius in Italy, Africa, and Spain. On his return from Spain, he had destroyed the last group of rebellious slaves in north Italy and thereby obtained much of the credit for ending that peril. Far less wealthy than Crassus, he was much more popular with his troops. When the two men, with their armies behind them, made identical requests and agreed to unite against opposition, the Senate yielded.

The domestic and foreign policies of the equestrian order were

carried out to the letter by Pompey and Crassus. At home, the chief desire of the Equites was to reduce the power of the Senate. The powers of the plebeian tribunate, abolished by Sulla, were restored to that office, and the Assembly became once more the important legislative body of the Roman state. The coalition of knights and people reduced the Senate to impotence, as it had in the tribunate of Gaius Gracchus.

The foreign policy of the Equites was one of aggressive imperialism and exploitation. They wanted more territory subject to Rome, they wanted peace in the territory already under Roman sway, and they wanted complete freedom in their economic exploitation. Reduction of senatorial membership in the jury panel for cases of extortion gave the knights their desired freedom from control. The chief obstacle to peace at that time was the piracy which prevailed in every corner of the Mediterranean, even at the mouth of the Tiber. Through a law passed by the Assembly (the *Lex Gabinia*), Pompey was given supreme command for three years on the sea and control of the shores of the Mediterranean for a depth of fifty miles. He was able, in eighty-nine days, to clear the sea of pirates, to punish some, and to settle others in communities where they could be watched. Pompey's success in this operation made him the logical choice as conqueror of new territory. The Assembly acted again (*Lex Manilia*), making Pompey the successor of Lucullus and granting him extraordinary authority over the entire Roman East. Pompey's campaign was little more than a victorious march from one subject state to another. His reorganization of the war-ridden area was a real achievement, carefully planned, skillfully executed, and, in its main outlines, unchanged for more than three hundred years (see page 160 on client kingdoms). From the point of view of the knights, the expedition was a complete success.

In fact, Pompey's success had been too great to be completely satisfactory. His power, his prestige, and his popularity were so overwhelming that absolute control of the state was his for the asking. Political leaders of all groups feared him, but no concerted action was possible because each man feared and hated even those who joined him in fearing and hating Pompey. However, two men endeavored to form coalitions which would bring some order into the chaotic political arena. One of them, Gaius Julius Caesar (c. 100–44 B.C.), tried to unite the enemies of Pompey. Using his own popularity with the masses, the money of Crassus, and the discontent of many ruined aristocrats, Caesar evolved a program revolutionary in tone. Caesar's chief opponent, M. Tullius Cicero (106–43 B.C.), owed his prominence in politics to his oratorical

abilities. As one of the consuls for the year 63 B.C., Cicero defeated Caesar's legislative program and unearthed a conspiracy planned by the most desperate of Caesar's colleagues, the notorious Catiline. The orator, too, had a coalition in mind. He would have the respectable members of the two orders, senatorial and equestrian, resume their former co-operative activities and accept Pompey as a prominent member of the group. Cicero's plan failed for two reasons. He could not bring himself to resign leadership in favor of Pompey and thereby lost Pompey's confidence. Then, too, Pompey himself spoiled the plan; by disbanding his army at Brundisium on his return, he gave renewed confidence to his enemies.

The solution was finally reached by Caesar. It was a coalition of *The first Tri-* Pompey, Crassus, and himself, the First (unofficial) Triumvirate *umvirate* (60 B.C.). Pompey was promised the ratification of his eastern settlement, which he could not secure from a hostile Senate, and land allotment for his veterans, which he had failed to obtain from a hostile Assembly. Crassus was promised a revision of the excessive amount bid by the *publicani* for the right to farm the revenues of Asia. In order to secure the required legislation, Caesar was to be elected to the consulship for the year 59 B.C. The coalition was a complete success. The money of Crassus, the veterans of Pompey, and the political skill of Caesar were irresistible. The bids for farming the revenues of the province of Asia were reduced by one third; Pompey's settlement of the East was ratified, and his veterans received the lands promised them. The Senate was crippled by a law requiring the publication of its proceedings, and the chief opponent of the Triumvirate, Cicero, was driven into exile.

The strength of the Triumvirate had been demonstrated. It re- *Its perma-* mained to secure the permanence of the coalition. Matrimonial al- *nence* liances bound the three leaders more securely, and political manipulation secured their control of the machinery of government. Caesar's reward was the governorship of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum for five years, to which the Senate added Transalpine Gaul. The jealousy of Pompey and Crassus was renewed in Caesar's absence, and the enemies of the Three-Headed Monster, as Cicero described the Triumvirate, sought to destroy it. A conference at Luca in the year 56 B.C. restored unity to the coalition. The new agreement included an extension of Caesar's government in Gaul for another five years. Pompey was to be governor of Spain, with the right to govern his provinces from Rome. Crassus was granted the governorship of Syria, in order that he, too, might gain military glory in a campaign against the Parthians.

The defeat and death of Crassus in 54 B.C. destroyed the nice bal-

Its destruction ance of power among the three rulers of Rome and led directly
and end of to a struggle between the two survivors. Out of that struggle Caesar
the Republic emerged victorious. Victory went to the better general. It went
to the man who preferred facts to fancies, who substituted honesty
for deception, who recognized the weaknesses of the state and did
not hesitate to eradicate them. The death knell of the Roman Re-
public was tolled when Caesar crossed the Rubicon. Sulla, in 88
B.C., and Caesar, in 49 B.C., claimed to be champions of the con-
stitution. But Sulla's march from the south and Caesar's march
from the north were respectively the beginning and the end of a
revolution.

Constitutional The new state of Caesar could not be developed in more than
position of outline form. His campaigns against Pompey and the Pompeians
Caesar left him less than seventeen scattered months for peaceful work.
Within that time he established himself in a position based on a
cumulation of offices and magisterial powers. With these offices and
powers he controlled a Senate of nine hundred members, a sort of
imperial advisory council. The power of a tribune of the plebs gave
him authority over the Assembly. As dictator, he dominated the
officials. King in all but name, he then inaugurated a program of
reform.

Economic The construction of parks, public buildings, and roads gave work
reforms to many of the poor in Rome. An elaborate scheme of colonization
in Italy and in the provinces satisfied his veterans and still further
reduced the number of unemployed in the capital. Debtors were re-
lieved by the application of interest already paid to the capital sum
of their indebtedness. Those who were land-poor were permitted
to offer their property in payment of debt, as a pre-war valuation.
Capitalists were encouraged to invest in Italian land, and land-
owners were required to hire one free laborer for every two slaves.
One striking result of these measures was the reduction of the
"bread line" in Rome from 320,000 to 150,000. Another was the
restoration of hope to debtors and of confidence to creditors.

Imperial The distinctive merit of Caesar as reformer and state-builder
policy was derived from his ability to see the empire as a whole. His sole
predecessor in this breadth of vision was Gaius Gracchus. Gaius
Gracchus, the one man who might have saved the Roman state
from monarchy had he been loyally supported, was the model of
the first of the Caesars. If one adds to these two the unknown man,
or men, who in 338 B.C. had proposed the extension of Roman
citizenship to non-Romans, the three founders of Rome's great-
ness are joined.

Caesar's imperial policy may be stated briefly. The system of cen-

tralized administration put into effect by him, and carried out by his successors, was the chief cause of the continued dominance of Rome in the Mediterranean world. Through his policy of uniformity in administration, in municipal charters, for example, Caesar laid the foundations for justice and equality before the law throughout the empire. The generous extension of citizenship to provincials and the representation of provincials in the Roman Senate were important steps in the equalization of individuals within the boundaries of the empire.

The reaction of Hellenistic civilization upon Rome is no more *Hellenism of* clearly illustrated in any individual in Rome's history than in *Caesar* Caesar. The cultural ideas of the East he derived from Greek tutors and from his university training in Rhodes. The military ideals of the East, personal leadership, generalship, and the ability to handle troops, were Caesar's. The legal ideas of the East, especially that of uniformity in practice, were carried out by Caesar. The religion of the East, in so far as it related to state religion, the worship of a god-king, had absorbed Caesar. Individualism, the keynote of Hellenistic civilization, found complete expression in Caesar, the extreme individualist.

From another point of view Caesar may be looked upon as the *His reform* heir to all the experiments of the reformers, from the Gracchi to *spirit* his own day. His land policy was that of Gaius Gracchus; his tribunician power gave him similar leadership of the people. His military authority was equal to that of Marius or of Sulla. He controlled the Senate, as had Sulla, with dictatorial power. He controlled the magistrates, and made them responsible to him by law, just as they had been responsible to Pompey without formal legal action. He controlled the provinces from Rome, as Pompey had done. The list might be continued with every forward step taken from 133 B.C., and it would be found that each of them had been included, with improvements, in Caesar's system. And yet the system was not perfect, nor was the education of the Romans completed. The assassination of Caesar proved little more than the weariness of the teacher. The seventeen years of civil war proved the ignorance of the pupils.

There are as many interpretations of the character and career of Caesar as there have been scholars who have made a study of his life. From the superman described by Mommsen to the archdestroyer criticized by Ferrero there are many steps. A saner estimate probably lies somewhere between the extremes. Only a god incarnate could have plotted a course so devious, and held to it. Yet Caesar was mortal. Opportunist he may have been, but he made

the most of his opportunities and replaced what he destroyed. He was a strong man, accepting or seizing a position of great eminence and finding in it far more responsibility than he had dreamed it could hold. The responsibility, with all of its perils, he welcomed and deserved.

The assassination of Caesar was not followed by the rejection of Hellenistic monarchy and the restoration of the Republic. In fact, the Senate was maneuvered into formal approval of the dictator's acts and even of his plans. This unexpected legislation was climaxed by a vote which deified Caesar. Senatorial concession was not accepted, however, by Caesar's friends, who finally took up arms to avenge their lost leader. The ensuing civil war developed into a contest for power by advocates of different types of monarchy. Marcus Antonius (Mark Antony), Caesar's political successor, fought for a Hellenistic kingship, with himself as divine ruler. Cicero, the acknowledged leader of the Senate, made a valiant effort to restore that body to a position of dignity and to lay the foundations for a constitutional monarchy, in which the ruler would act as arbiter. Other motives obscured but could not destroy this deeper reason for conflict. The conspirators had expected to be lionized, but were forced to defeat and death by those whom they had "saved" from tyranny. Octavius, grandnephew, heir, and adopted son of Caesar, at first joined the Senate in order that his posthumous adoption might be legalized. He then allied himself with Antonius that he might punish those who murdered his "father." In a proscription more sweeping than that of Sulla, these two men destroyed all who opposed them. The long duel which followed between Antonius and Octavius (now Caesar Octavianus) was much more than a personal quarrel of rivals for supreme power. It was a revival of the original cause of civil war. The victory of Octavian at the battle of Actium in 31 B.C. was a victory of and for the West. It was a triumph of the ideal which Cicero's oratory had been unable to bring into being.

A prominent, perhaps the dominant, characteristic of the period 200–31 B.C. is the submergence of Roman thought in the stream of Hellenistic culture. This cultural conquest was so rapid and so complete that it is difficult to see anything but wholesale adoption without adaptation. Rome's ability to conquer was granted. Even in the midst of civil war she could defeat powerful enemies. But what defense was opposed to new ideas? What old institutions remained unchanged?

Advance did continue along one old line, namely, the extension of the rights of citizenship. It is true that the plebeians had won

their civic rights in a long struggle. It is true that the Latins looked with some suspicion upon a free grant of citizenship. It is also true that the Italian allies obtained citizenship only after a bitter war. But the fact remains that in 88 B.C. every free man in Italy was or might become a Roman citizen. Even before that date small groups of provincials had been granted citizenship for exceptional military service. Pompey, Caesar, and others had been more generous in Spain and in Transalpine Gaul. Caesar had included all men south of the Po in the citizen body and contemplated the inclusion of *Gallia Transpadana*. In these grants lay the promise of suffrage to all free men of the empire, a unique contribution of Rome to the art of government.

In other aspects of government Hellenistic precedent was followed. Scipio Africanus first ruled as monarch in distant Spain and coyly refused to admit or deny his close relationship with Jupiter. Many a Roman general in the East was honored as a god—and liked it. Divine king, archic man, or Magistrate supreme, what was the difference? Sextus Pompey, Julius Caesar, and Marcus Antonius could see none and placed their likenesses on coins to prove their godhead.

Stoicism was one of the most acceptable offerings of the conquered *Stoicism* East to Rome. Its insistence upon the performance of duties as the path to virtue and happiness was familiar to the Romans, and it was only natural that Stoic doctrines should affect political practices. The brotherhood of man was the theoretical basis of the Gracchan reforms. Stoicism colored the political idea of Cicero that sovereignty rested with the people. Again it was Stoic teaching which urged Brutus on to the assassination of Caesar.

Other schools of philosophy lacked the attraction of Stoicism. Lucretius, the lone champion of Epicurianism, had no followers of consequence. Even Stoicism was strong meat for all but a very few. The Senate on more than one occasion banished philosophers. Along with them were sent the champions of dialectic—the sophists or rhetors.

Expulsion, however, could not check the tide. The armies sent out to conquer Hellenistic states and later to protect Roman provinces brought back more than their equipment; the tax collectors and money-lenders returned with more than statements of account; students no matter how playful or incompetent did not come back empty-headed. It was a tide of techniques and skills, as well as of ideas. The simplest way to build a new house or a new temple was to import a Greek architect, possibly a Greek sculptor or two. When Aemilius Paulus wanted his victory illustrated, he

ordered the best Greek painters to prepare the canvases which would be carried in his triumphal procession. It was a Greek of Alexandria who reformed the calendar at the request of Caesar. Artists and craftsmen were there in numbers, completely trained and ready to work. In fact many skilled workers faced with starvation at home preferred to accept slavery in Rome.

Discussions of this period generally close with a note of regret that the simple, noble Roman should have succumbed to the more subtle and less noble Greek. It may be said that in many respects the phil-Hellenist Scipio Africanus was superior to his opponent, Cato the Hellenophobe. Caesar and the younger Cato may be compared in like manner. Hellenistic life and thought did not ruin everyone touched by them. Furthermore, Hellenistic values did not completely destroy Roman values. Any account of the first two centuries of the Christian era describes in great detail the Romanization of the West and contrasts with that the Hellenization of the East acknowledged and maintained by Rome.
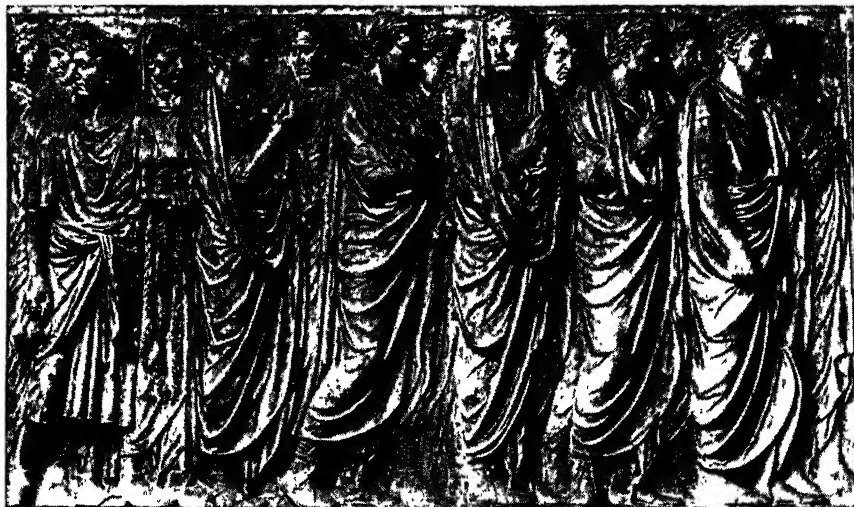
The Bettmann Archive

ROMAN SENATORS IN PROCESSION
(From the *Ara Pacis Augustae*)

COLLATERAL READING

T. R. Holmes, *The Roman Republic and the Founder of the Empire,* 1923.

F. B. Marsh, *A History of the Roman World from 146 to 30 B.C.,* 1935.

F. G. Moore, *The Roman's World,* 1936.

M. Radin, *Epicurus, My Master,* 1949.

R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution,* 1939.

See also Homo, *Primitive Italy,* 1927 and *Roman Political Institutions,* 1929; Frank, *An Economic History of Rome,* 1927 and *Life and Letters in the Roman Republic,* 1930; Jolowicz, *Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law,* 1932; and Scullard, *History of the Roman World from 753 to 146 B.C.,* 1935.

HADRIAN

The Roman Principate
(31 B.C.–A.D. 180)

Octavian the reformer

OCTAVIAN (63 B.C.–A.D. 14) was as much a part of the Revolution as was Julius Caesar. Both had obtained power by bribery, theft, murder, and all other dishonorable means. Both had executed a quick about-face when all opposition had been crushed. But that which bound Octavian most firmly with the past was the fact that the materials which he proposed to reform were legacies of the Revolution. Men and institutions had not been completely changed by a single battle or even by the prolonged civil war. In fact, with but one exception, the problems of 133 B.C. confronted the reformer of 31 B.C. The Latin and Italian Allies had won Roman citizenship, but the city, the peninsula, the provinces, and the frontiers were still in urgent need of stable organization. Although the reforms of Octavian were only the last of a series, the organization established by him has been granted a distinctive title, the Principate of Augustus, because it endured for centuries.

Augustus Princeps

Peace, justice, law, and order were the rewards granted to those who accepted him as *Princeps*, or First Citizen. The title *Augustus*, conferred by the Senate in 27 B.C., he explained when he wrote, ". . . I stood before all others in prestige, but of actual power I possessed no more than my colleagues in each several magistracy." The principate may be defined as a constitutional, or limited, monarchy. Some scholars have maintained that Augustus restored the old republic. His own statement is that he "restored to liberty the Commonwealth which had been overcome by the tyranny of

156

a faction." Others, noting that this formal restoration in 27 B.C. was immediately followed by a senatorial grant of supreme power, have declared that Augustus was an absolute monarch, and a hypocrite as well. Mommsen invented the word *dyarchy* to describe a dual government, that of Augustus and the Senate. Kornemann concluded that the results of government and not the form were of primary importance to the people of the empire; he believed also that Augustus's claim to be the restorer of liberty was accepted because he gave the Roman world peace and justice. It is certain that he restored law and order, that he found both Assembly and Senate unable or unwilling to assume the responsibilities of governing, and that he became a monarch in fact if not in name. Had there been willingness and ability in the survivors of the civil wars, the ideal of Cicero might have been realized. But the ingredients of constitutional monarchy did not exist. A real autocracy was established in 27 B.C.

In 31 B.C. Augustus derived his military power from the office of Triumvir, even though that office, renewed in 37 B.C., had been limited to a five-year period. His civil authority came from the consulship, to which he was re-elected from 31 to 27 B.C. When he formally restored the Commonwealth to liberty, the Senate voted him a superior (*maius*) imperium in the provinces for ten years. His consulships continued to 23 B.C. At this date the consulship was replaced by a life grant of the power of a tribune, and the superior imperium was voted him for life. Many other powers and privileges were granted Augustus, but upon these two, the *maius imperium* and the tribunician power, he based his rule. *The powers of Augustus*

The character of the new leader was clearly reflected in the administrative reorganization of the empire. A realist, without enthusiasms, cautious and yet thorough, Augustus proceeded slowly but surely to the establishment of a sound and lasting state. There was worked out in painstaking detail a business administration on a social basis. At the head was Augustus, so powerful and so beneficent that he was respected and honored as the son of the deified Julius. Below him was an hereditary nobility, the senatorial order. Its members were given the most important military and administrative positions. Next in line of precedence was the equestrian order. It was not easy to advance from this group into the first, or senatorial, class, but any Roman citizen who was financially successful might be enrolled as an eques. The equites filled the second class of offices. An imitation of this socio-administrative division was found in the provincial cities, where the local senates were composed of the "best" men of the city and were given the responsibili- *Administration of Augustus*

ties of municipal government. At this point, the line was drawn. Below the line were the governed; above it, the governing. With few exceptions, in Rome or in the provinces, no man crossed the line.

Taxation

On the basis of a complete census-inventory, an equitable assessment of taxes was made. The provinces, as the spoils of war, provided the major portion of the taxes. A provincial land-tax, usually a tithe, or tenth, of the cereal-crop return, was levied on the large public domains. Other property taxes and a poll tax on noncitizens swelled the returns. Roman citizens were subject to an inheritance tax of five per cent and a sales tax of two per cent. Customs duties and port and harbor dues were also levied.

The treasuries

The income from each province was considered as a separate fund, a *fiscus*. Those of the frontier provinces, Augustus administered as the authorized official. The entire revenues coming from Egypt (p. 159–160) were his, as were the returns from his personal property. The total was so great that Augustus obtained the privilege of minting all of the gold and silver coins of the state. Under a later emperor, Claudius, the official income of the princeps was centralized in an imperial treasury, which bore the old name, *fiscus*. The Senate controlled the income of the pacified provinces, and with it supported with difficulty the old Republican treasury (*aerarium*). Coinage of copper was the business of the Senate. Augustus was, from the beginning, the financial head of the state.

Municipal administration of Rome

The difficulty of keeping up even a pretence of dual government is nowhere more clearly illustrated than in the administration of the Imperial City. Augustus wished, as had his adoptive father, that Rome might become a safe, comfortable, and beautiful city. Water, food, shelter, and peace were prime necessities. But the regularly elected magistrates failed in their municipal duties. Attempts to improve matters by the appointment of senatorial commissions also failed. Then Augustus, using his tribunician power, appointed individuals, responsible to him, for the effective completion of various tasks (*curae*). These men secured an adequate and constant water-supply, administered the arrival and distribution of grain for the two hundred thousand men of Rome's "bread line," and undertook the policing of the city streets with a force of seven thousand men. A fire department and an ordinance restricting buildings to a height of seventy feet contributed to the security of Rome's tenement dwellers. The numerous public buildings erected by Augustus, or at his suggestion, contributed to the beauty of the city. They formed solid proofs of his boast that he had found a city of brick and left one of marble.

The administration of Italy was the immediate responsibility of *Administra-* the Senate. But here, too, Augustus intervened. In order to relieve *tion of Italy* the *aerarium* of a heavy burden, the care of public roads was taken over by the princeps, who assigned procurators for this duty. The reforms of Caesar in Italy and in Cisalpine Gaul had been so thorough that no great changes were deemed necessary. An unsuccessful effort was made to interest Italians in Roman city-elections. The list sent out from Rome of candidates to be voted upon in advance of the elections attracted no attention, since it consisted of names selected by Augustus. Local elections were real contests and absorbed the political interest of the inhabitants.

The distinction between frontier and pacified provinces, be- *Provincial* tween those governed directly by the princeps and those under the *administra-* supervision of the Senate, was not a vital one. The hand of Augustus *tion* was felt in all of them. The census had been directed by him in all parts of the Empire. Colonies of veterans were settled in senatorial and imperial provinces. The republican beginnings of a road system were improved and added to by Augustus, without reference to provincial boundaries. Governors of senatorial provinces did not escape his supervision, since he controlled the judicial machinery in the capital. In fact, the judicial machinery of all the provinces was subject to his intervention, and the "appeal to Caesar" could be made by Roman citizens from any part of the empire.

A real distinction was that between East and West. No effort was made to make Romans out of provincials in either section, since Augustus was extremely illiberal in the extension of citizenship. But in the vast townless areas of the West, the language, law, and customs of the Romans were more readily received than in the urbanized and cultivated East. Thus, under Augustus, a gradual and voluntary Romanization of the West developed, while, in the East, with but few changes, and those in externals only, Hellenistic culture continued. The contributions to both sections by Augustus were justice and economic encouragement.

Another real distinction was that between land assigned to municipalities and land administered directly by the princeps. The normal administrative unit in antiquity was the municipality with its adjacent territory. But the Roman state owned much land not assigned to municipalities. The gold mines of northwestern Spain and the "crown lands" of conquered kings are types of this extra-municipal land. Augustus assumed personal control of this important division, administering it through his own freedmen. The richest of all these possessions was Egypt. The Nile valley had been,

for millennia, the private estate of the ruler, a legacy which Augustus accepted with all its implications. The owner had always been considered a god, and Augustus, too, was a god in Egypt. The tillers of the soil had been serfs; Augustus kept them in that status. Although worthy of a senatorial governor, Egypt was made forbidden ground for any senator by an express order of its owner and god.

Client king-doms   Many of the kingdoms conquered by Rome were permitted to retain a shadow of independence in a status like that of the Italian Allies in the early Roman federation. The East, as reorganized by Pompey, for example, included more client kingdoms than provinces. Augustus, too, used this inexpensive form of frontier protection and applied it in Armenia, at least to the extent of selecting the Armenian king. The sons of client kings were educated or entertained at Rome, and a peaceful penetration of Roman or Hellenistic culture was encouraged. The client kingdom was a compromise between independent state and province. It was possibly this element of compromise which made client kingdoms acceptable to Augustus.

The army of the Principate   At the close of the civil war between Antony and Octavian, there were more than fifty legions under arms. The victor settled thousands of veterans on lands in Italy and in the provinces. He then regrouped the remainder into about twenty-five legions of five thousand men each. Adding to them an equal number of auxiliary troops, he established the first standing army of Rome. An imperial bodyguard, the praetorian cohorts, of nine thousand men; some three thousand soldiers of the urban cohorts; and the seven thousand police of the capital completed the land forces. To them were added two strong naval squadrons, concentrated at Ravenna and Misenum, with smaller detachments at other strategic points. The auxiliaries, provincials or aliens, served for twenty-five years when they were discharged with citizenship as their reward. The reward of citizenship probably dates from Claudius. Twenty years of service was required of soldiers of the legion and of the urban cohorts, whereas sixteen years were required of the praetorians. At the close of his rule, the three hundred thousand soldiers of Augustus were distributed among the frontier provinces in the following manner: Eight legions protected the Rhine frontier; the Danubian provinces (including Dalmatia) had seven; the Euphrates frontier needed only three. Three each were assigned to Egypt and to northwest Spain, and Proconsular Africa received one.

Foreign policy of Augustus   The military plans of Caesar were unwelcome to his successor. Augustus was not a soldier and sought to avoid or to end war. Popular clamor for a war against the Parthians was answered by a

diplomatic mission, which returned with the standards captured by the Parthian kings, and a treaty of peace. A long series of campaigns advanced the northern frontier from a dangerous proximity to Italy, to the Danube river. Two severe campaigns in the north-western mountainous districts completed the pacification of the Spanish peninsular. Prolonged efforts to shorten the northern frontier by advancing from the Rhine to the Elbe were thwarted by the defeat and loss of three legions under the notorious Varus. Two expeditions from Egypt appear to have been private enterprises of the princeps rather than parts of a general Roman plan. Augustus's policy was not one of aggressive imperialism. The man who increased the area of the Empire by one half was at all times an advocate of peace.

Rectification of frontiers formed a strange but intelligible background to the development of peace propaganda in Rome. The fourth eclogue of Vergil heralds the return of a golden age of happiness and peace. Augustus boasts of the fact that there was, on at least three occasions, peace at home and on the frontiers. The most elaborate of all his many religious ceremonies was the celebration of the secular games, climaxed by a hymn to Apollo, the god of peace. The masterpiece of Roman architectural sculpture was the Altar of Peace. And it was on the prevalent sentiment for peace that Augustus based the imperial cult. *The Pax Romana*

Caesarism, the worship of the princeps, gave provincials an opportunity to express their feeling of loyalty to the prince of peace, the restorer of liberty. At home this loyalty to the ruler and to Rome was not so easily secured. Augustus tried many devices to obtain it. Vergil (70–19 B.C.) was encouraged in the creation of an epic, which glorified the distant past of Rome and justified Rome as ruler of mankind. The history of Livy (59 B.C.–A.D. 17), although it criticized the principate, was given official approval, because it urged its readers to emulate the piety and uprightness of their forefathers. Literature was supported by law. Laws against immorality and against luxury in food, dress, and building were passed. A series of laws penalized celibacy and encouraged marriage and the raising of families. Old temples were rebuilt, old priesthoods restored, and ceremonies long forgotten were resuscitated. *Patriotism through piety*

The campaign of reform aroused opposition in Rome. The profligate life of Julia, the only child of Augustus, and the beautiful but immoral verse of Ovid illustrate the "corruption" which the princeps sought to eradicate. Genial Horace could smile at human weakness and still assert confidence in the future of Rome; but the morose phrases of Livy breathe despair. The tide of criticism *Estimates of the Principate*

was continued in the pages of Suetonius, the scandalmonger, and of the patrician Tacitus, who hated life because he was not allowed to dictate the terms upon which he and his fellows should live. None of these men thought or wrote about the provincials. For their history, we must turn to the inscriptions. It is a fragmentary story, but the fragments do not echo despair or hardship. Many of the sepulchral inscriptions exhibit real sorrow, a sorrow so deep and unaffected that they show what happiness must have been in the home which death had entered. Others mention the numerous fraternal organizations of men engaged in crafts and trades. The monthly dinner, the annual feast, and the funeral benefits indicate an active and sympathetic social intercourse in leisure hours. There were games, theaters, temples, public baths, and holidays to be spent in enjoying them. For all of these they gave credit to Augustus and his subordinates. The principate gave them peace, justice, and prosperity. This estimate by the provincials forms the basis of modern estimates.

The problem of succession
The principate was not a perfect organization. One weakness that the Romans themselves recognized but were unable to correct was that of succession. Augustus was at his best in compromise. Although he apparently wished to make the office of princeps hereditary, he never challenged the right of the Senate to elect his successor. A grim fate marked with death one after another of those whom he selected. Finally he chose his stepson Tiberius, adopted him, and had the Senate confer upon him some of the manifold powers which had been assigned to the princeps alone. This policy of adoption and designation was not complete. No one was entitled to all the authority which went with the titles *Princeps* and *Augustus* until the Senate had so voted.

The Julio-Claudian principes
A.D. *14–68*
All the successors of the first Augustus had three important policies to formulate. One was the policy of the princeps towards the Senate, a constitutional question. The second was the policy towards the provincials, an administrative question. The third was the policy towards the peoples beyond the frontiers, a combined military and diplomatic question. The life of the Roman Empire depended upon the wise formulation of these policies and upon the ability of the princeps to put them into effect.

Princeps and Senate
Tiberius, able general and conscientious administrator, embittered by his forced marriage to the wanton Julia, abhorring pretence and sham, undertook the burden of governing, with reluctance. Through a sense of duty, he recommended the formal deification of Augustus, although he refused any worship of himself. His efforts to make the principate a real dyarchy were met with sus-

picion by the Senate. In spite of this rebuff, he gave the Senate the right to elect the magistrates. Almost all legislative power was granted to that body, but the inefficiency and servility of the senators soon turned Tiberius against them. The city prefecture, a temporary office under Augustus, was made permanent, and its incumbent became the real administrator of the capital. Placing his trust in this officer and in the prefect of the praetorian guards, Tiberius withdrew from Rome. His departure heralded an outburst of court intrigue, in which his trusted praetorian prefect played the most important role. The exposure and death of the prefect, Sejanus, merely encouraged the lesser intriguers. The death of Tiberius six years later, in A.D. 37, closed a chapter of plots, murders, and judicial execution. Any hope of restoring the Republic was quickly banished by the praetorian guards, who presented Gaius (Caligula), nephew and heir of Tiberius, to the Senate as the third princeps.

The first few months of Caligula's rule were filled with promise. *Caligula* But the absolutist policy of the princeps soon antagonized the Senate, and his cruelty alienated all his supporters. He was killed after a four-year rule by the soldiers who had supported him.

Once more the praetorians found a candidate whom the Senate *Claudius* was compelled to accept. Claudius, uncle of Caligula, was a strange figure. His physical defects made him the butt of practical jokers. Erratic in thought, as in speech and walk, he did not impress the Senate with his dignity. His weak will was usually controlled by opponents of the Senate, whereas few of the reforms which he advocated so stubbornly favored that body. A love of that which was old led him to revive the legislative power of the Assembly and to restore the censorship. Both changes weakened senatorial prestige. But the unforgivable insult was the inclusion in the Senate's membership of some Gallic provincials. When senators found that the favor of the princeps could be obtained only through the intervention of the powerful and trusted freedmen of the imperial household, their disgust was strengthened. The control of the Senate by Claudius lasted for thirteen years. It was with pleasure that the Senate welcomed another praetorian candidate, Nero.

Nero was not yet eighteen when Claudius died. Imperial author- *Nero* ity was exercised by his mother, Agrippina the Younger, by his praetorian prefect, Burrus, and by his tutor, Seneca. Under the guidance of Seneca, himself a senator, friendly co-operation of Senate and Princeps was secured and maintained. Nero was given opportunity to cultivate his intense interest in Hellenistic culture. But autocratic son soon clashed with autocratic mother. The mur-

der of Agrippina by Nero's orders was condoned by the Senate and permitted by his advisers. A natural death saved Burrus from the fury which matricide unloosed. Seneca and many other senators escaped execution only by suicide. The end was hastened by the desertion of the praetorians. In the fourteenth year of his rule Nero himself committed suicide, bringing to a close the career of a family which had been prominent for more than a thousand years.

Princeps and provinces

The system of provincial administration established by Augustus was not greatly changed by the principes of the Claudian house. Tiberius remained a good administrator to the end. The tenure of good governors was extended. Bad governors were removed from office and punished. The tradition of justice and efficiency was so firmly established that the subordinates of Caligula and of Nero did not lower the standards. Imperial-domain lands increased in size. Additions came through bequests to the emperors and through the ruthless confiscations of Nero. A nascent administrative bureaucracy appeared under Claudius, headed by imperial freedmen, who divided among themselves the tasks of government. The judicial, financial, administrative, and secretarial work of governing the army, the imperial provinces, and the imperial domains was thus distributed among bureau heads. But it is significant that the heads of departments were responsible to the princeps and formed the nucleus of a monarchical government.

Claudius reverted to the precedent set by Caesar in a liberal extension of the Roman franchise to provincials in the West, particularly in Gaul. Steady progress in road building and repair, growth in the number of Roman veteran colonies, and the long years of peace were incentives to Romanization.

The weight of taxation was not great. Tiberius and Claudius spent wisely and liberally but left full treasuries. The extravagances of Caligula and Nero left the state bankrupt in spite of increased taxation and extortion of private capital. Yet the growth of industry and commerce and the great increase in population show that the state had a sound economic basis. There were real weaknesses in the Augustan system, but they did not become apparent before the second century of the principate.

Princeps and frontier

Augustus had advised Tiberius to hold to the frontiers which he inherited. Two years of punitive campaigns across the Rhine quieted the Roman jingoists and convinced Tiberius that the territory between Rhine and Elbe could not economically be added to the Empire. An expedition of Caligula accomplished nothing. Probably no gain was sought, the expedition being a blind for the real motive of crushing a conspiracy which had spread from Rome

to legionary headquarters on the Rhine. The acquisition of south-eastern Britain by Claudius completed two aims. One was to render Britain an unsafe place for rebellious Gallic refugees. The other was to obtain for Rome the rich tin deposits of Cornwall.

Peace along the eastern (the Euphrates) frontier could not be secured. This was in part a result of the restlessness of the Parthians, in part the result of Rome's ambition to hold the trade terminals at the eastern end of the Black Sea. It was this which led Augustus to make Armenia a quasi client kingdom. But if a Parthian Armenia was a menace to Rome, a Roman Armenia was a menace to Parthia. Thus, on two occasions, Tiberius was forced to intervene in Armenian affairs. Under Nero, Rome waged two separate wars in order to retain the Augustan settlement.

The suicide of Nero was followed by a civil war, in the course of which four military leaders were dutifully granted imperial power by a bewildered Senate. Galba, candidate of the legions of Spain, Otho, candidate of the praetorians, Vitellius, candidate of the Rhine legions, and Vespasian, candidate of the Syrian legions, followed one another in rapid succession. The last victor, a plebeian by birth, looked first to his own security. Rewards and favors were granted to his faithful soldiers and to the equites, the members of his own class. The Senate granted him the name *Caesar,* thereby recognizing him as the heir of Nero and owner of the vast private possessions of that emperor. In A.D. 73, as censor, Vespasian filled the ranks of the Senate, which had been reduced to one half its size by the civil war. The new members, grateful to him and in sympathy with his purposes, made the dyarchy once more a reality. This happy condition ended in A.D. 81 with the death of Vespasian's older son, Titus; the younger son, Domitian, was an absolutist at heart. Armed with the office of perpetual censor and backed by the armed forces of the state, Domitian waged unrelenting war on a Senate which refused to acknowledge his supreme authority. His victory was dearly won, since it cost him his life at the hands of assassins after fifteen years of rule. *The Flavians A.D. 81–96*

An enormous deficit, estimated at two billion sesterces (about fifty million dollars), had confronted Vespasian at the beginning of his principate. Increases in taxation and the inclusion of a number of cities and states hitherto exempted, soon changed the deficit into a surplus. The princeps quieted complaints in Rome by lavish entertainment of the populace and the construction of the Colosseum. To the provincials of the West he was liberal in the extension of citizenship. Many groups received all the rights of Roman citizens. Others received citizenship without the suffrage, *Provincial administration*

the so-called Latin right (see p. 124). This Latin right (*ius Latinium*) was granted all free men in Spain. The scanty record indicates that the careful and just administration of the father was continued by both Titus and Domitian.

The frontiers   One reason for the steady recovery of the empire under the Flavians was the fact that military expenditures were low. Extensive additions to Roman holdings in Britain and the inclusion of the Tithe Lands (*Agri decumates*) between the Rhine and the Danube were the only changes made by Vespasian. Domitian prudently checked expansion in Britain and strengthened the hold of Rome on the Tithe Lands. Peace and security were threatened, however, by the severe raids of the Dacians into Pannonia. Domitian's efforts to secure peace through subsidies to the Dacians were successful, even though they added disgust to the hatred which was felt for him in Rome.

The constitutional trend of the first Christian century had been from dyarchy towards monarchy. The increasing control of government by the principes was based not so much on the acquisition of more "paper" authority as on the exercise of power under the original grant. Vespasian's revival of the censorship, perpetual under Domitian, and his insistence upon hereditary succession had been decidedly monarchical. But he had also strengthened the Senate, the great opponent of monarchy. The death of Domitian without an heir was the golden opportunity of the Senate. Accordingly, with the consent of legions, praetorians, and people, the Senate elected Nerva, one of its number, as princeps and attempted to restore the dyarchy. Success was only partial. The four succeeding emperors took oath not to put a senator to death without conviction by a jury of his peers. Four emperors after Nerva were elected under the Augustan plan of designation and adoption. An attitude of friendship and respect generally prevailed between Senate and princeps, but the drift towards monarchy proved irresistible.

In addition to the oath, Nerva gave other evidence of his desire for a partnership with the Senate. He sought advice from a senatorial council and assigned to the praetors' courts (subject to Senate) cases in which the imperial treasury was involved. These concessions did not prevent a conspiracy against his life in which some senators were involved, nor did they gain him backing sufficient to withstand praetorian grumblings. Nerva was forced to turn to the legions. He adopted and obtained a partnership with himself for the commander of the legions of Upper Germany. Within a few months he died and was enrolled in the approved list of deified emperors.

Trajan was the first provincial-born Roman to be elected prin- *Trajan*
ceps. Born in Italica in southern Spain, he had followed the exam-
ple of his father in a successful military career. The Senate found
in him a democratic simplicity of manner, a friendly attitude, an
intense love of his profession, and an astonishing ability as an ad-
ministrator. It was in the field of administration that he encroached
upon senatorial prerogative. At the request of some cities in the
senatorial province of Bithynia, Trajan sent a personal representa-
tive to aid them in solving problems of municipal finance. The
man who was sent, Pliny the Younger, was a senator, and his mis-
sion aroused no unfavorable comment. But a general practice was
established upon this precedent, and the Senate thereby lost one
more sphere of authority.

The importance of the legions in the naming of principes was *Hadrian*
again illustrated at the death of Trajan. Hadrian, although he was
Trajan's ward, possibly his adopted son, and certainly the recipient
of Nerva's ring from the hands of the dying emperor, really owed
his accession to the acclamation of the soldiers. The harsh fact was
glossed over by a written apology to the Senate. The formal election
followed, and the Senate, reassured by Hadrian's oath, awaited
without fear the new princeps. Hadrian was the complete adminis-
trator. His guiding hand was felt in every department of the state,
including those sections hitherto reserved for senatorial control.
The Senate felt no loss in the emperor's regulation of traffic and
supervision of baths in Rome. It had long since been deprived of
municipal authority in the capital. But the appointment of four
imperial jurists to serve as appellate judges in Italy was a real blow.
Senatorial praetors were further restricted in their power to inter-
pret the law. The publication of the Perpetual Edict, a codification
of all preceding annual pronouncements, not only fixed the body
of Roman administrative law but also expressly limited the right
of interpretation and revision to the emperor. Even the army was
used for administrative work. Soldiers built the forts in which they
lived and the roads connecting them. They strengthened the Ger-
man frontier defense and built the Great Wall in North Britain.
They served as customs officers. Like Hadrian himself, the legion-
naires were provincials and submitted without complaint to these
prosaic tasks. But Hadrian's strict supervision of all provincial gov-
ernors, his inquisitorial wanderings through the provinces, and his
avowed admiration of Hellenistic culture combined to make him
unpopular with senators of the old tradition. Still there was no out-
ward expression of disapproval, and Hadrian's chosen successor
was welcomed.

It was characteristic of Hadrian to select a man whose training had been almost wholly administrative. Antoninus Pius ("Pius" because of his loyalty to Hadrian's memory) lacked the will power of his adoptive father. He withdrew the four jurists from Italy and exercised authority with a lenient hand. The Senate was too weak to rise above verbal criticism of the ruler. For twenty-three years the city enjoyed the happiness which leaves no annals. Fortunately for Rome the storms which broke over the empire after this interlude of calm were faced by a leader of devotion, energy, and skill.

Marcus Aurelius was the only one of the five Good Emperors who failed to swear that he would put no senator to death without trial. It was not for lack of sympathy for the Stoic doctrines of the senatorial opposition, since he was a devout disciple of that religious philosophy. A scholar and recluse by preference, he was forced to cope with flood, fire, earthquakes, and plague at home, and dangerous enemies on the frontiers. In the brief intervals of quiet he found time to re-establish the imperial appellate courts of Italy and to appoint, in each important city, a financial agent responsible to him alone. Constitutional questions, however, were forgotten while the Romans fought for existence. Marcus Aurelius saved the state, but he brought it once more to the brink of ruin by procuring the succession for his worthless son, Commodus.

The broad and systematic outlines of provincial administration drawn by Augustus and filled in by the principes of the first century were not greatly changed by the five Good Emperors. Justice and efficiency had been and remained the watchword. The instruments of administration remained, as before, the officials of the municipalities on the one hand and the imperial agents of the domain lands on the other. It is to the second century that we turn for an estimate of the strength and weakness of the system. In the towns there was little change from the industrial and commercial activity of the first century. The number of towns and probably the total population increased up to the time of Hadrian, especially in the West. But their financial incapacity is indicated by the imperial intervention under Trajan and his successors. Agriculture showed no technical advance. The increase in great estates, worked by share-crop tenants, was noted by Pliny the Elder (died A.D. 79) as a weakness. This principle of leasing and sub-leasing down to a share-crop tenant was a part of imperial-domain economy as well. Pliny the Younger found his tenants shiftless and listless. Hadrian, by liberal concessions, sought to curb this indifference on the imperial domains. His liberality is also mentioned in connection with regulations of the mines, where activity appeared to be sustained.

These symptoms were not alarming to contemporaries. They affected but slightly the volume of trade and not at all the imperial income.

The brighter side of the second century lies in the record of Romanization. By Romanization is meant the permissive attitude
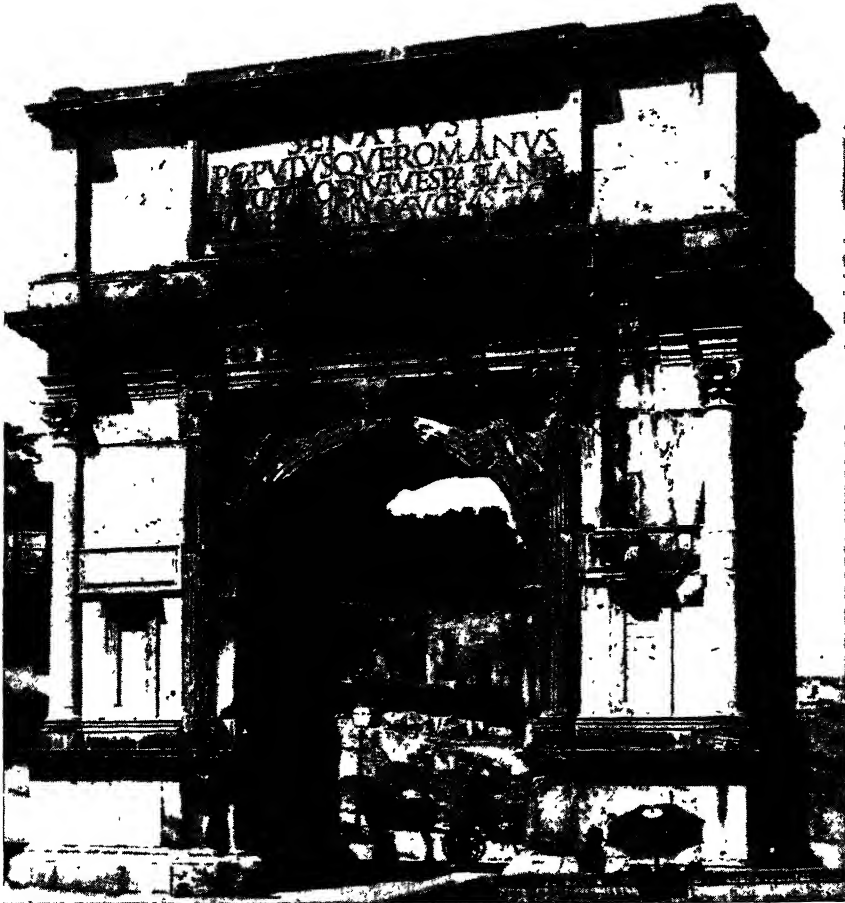
The Bettmann Archive

THE ARCH OF TITUS

of the Romans towards provincials rather than compulsion applied to them. In the second century Latin was the language of the street and the home in Gaul, Spain, and Britain, although the Punic dialect was still in use in Africa. Roman law was naturally universal. Local gods had given way before those of Rome, and the

worship of the deified emperors was popular. Roman manners and customs were accepted by the western provincials generally. In recognition of all this a large percentage of them had received Roman citizenship. In the East, Roman influence had been accepted only in externals. The natives were grateful for Roman roads, and the businessmen welcomed Roman coinage (excepting only the debased issues of Nero) as a universal medium of exchange. Latin shared its official position with Greek, since the emperors followed Augustus in recognizing and encouraging Hellenistic culture in the eastern provinces.

Economically, there was little if any difference in treatment of East and West. Great estates privately owned, and vast imperial domains were common to both. The central administrative bureaus at Rome governed both East and West. Centralization and bureaucracy were, in fact, the gifts of the Hellenistic world to Rome. In administration, as in economics, politics, and culture, Rome and the West were growing more and more Hellenized.

Frontiers, A.D. 96–180

The long years of peace on the Euphrates frontier were interrupted by a strong, ambitious Parthian king, Chosroës. His intervention in Armenia gave Trajan the opportunity to apply to the eastern frontier the aggressive policy which had been so successfully used on the Danube. His carefully planned campaign carried the Roman standards to the Persian gulf. The Parthians were not serious enemies for a watchful opponent. Their empire, stretched along the great trade route from India, lacked cohesion and defensible frontiers. Court intrigues and the absence of any constructive policy were additional weaknesses which made Trajan's conquest speedy. Hadrian gave it up with equal readiness, perceiving that the land and people could not be held to Roman allegiance. The opposition to Rome on the part of Parthians and their subjects alike was cultural. Weak as the Parthians were, they retained their hold on the country east of the Euphrates as champions of Orientalism against Hellenism. Armenia, essentially an Oriental state, was retained by Rome as a client kingdom for strategic reasons. It continued to be the victim of circumstance. Seized once more by the Parthians in A.D. 161, Armenia was regained at terrible cost. The Romans captured and destroyed the Parthian capital, Ctesiphon, but the victorious army returned to Rome with the plague. This "Parthian shot" caused more loss than all the others combined.

The century of the Good Emperors saw a great deal of activity on the frontiers. The political and military strength of the Germans was gradually increasing. Trajan was so occupied on the upper Rhine that he did not come to Rome for several months after his

accession to the principate. It was he who refused further subsidies to the Dacians, and who conquered them in two campaigns. The peace achieved by annihilation of the enemy extended the boundaries from the Danube to the Carpathians. The depopulated area, rich in agricultural and mineral resources, was organized as the province of Dacia, and its man power restored by a large number of colonists. Hadrian accepted the new province, which remained untroubled for the rest of the century. For the greater protection of the upper Danube, Hadrian strengthened the Limes, the line of fortification running from Mainz to Ratisbon. His efforts did not keep out the Marcomanni and their allies, who threatened Rome itself in the principate of Marcus Aurelius. The philosopher-emperor drove the invaders out of North Italy, back across the Danube. Again, an aggressive policy appeared to be the best defense. A series of brilliantly planned moves was just about to bring the Romans to the original objective of Augustus, the Elbe, when death came to Marcus Aurelius. Commodus abandoned the conquests, withdrew to the Rhine-Limes-Danube line, and hastened back to the pleasures awaiting him in Rome.

Two opposing frontier policies were followed in the second century. The aggressive imperialism of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius was offset by the pacific acts of the other Good Emperors. The walls of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius in Britain and the strengthening of the Limes were advertisements of peace and stability. Hadrian's settlement of the legions in permanent camps, his policy of local recruiting, and his use of troops as custom-collectors and road-builders were pacific in implication. It does not seem possible that these rulers should arrive at such contradictory conclusions using the same evidence. The Roman Empire appeared strong, but its weaknesses were well known to those in authority. Absence of initiative and lack of man power were so obvious that Marcus Aurelius imported large groups of barbarians to protect the frontier. It may be that both groups had the same ultimate desire, namely, permanent peace. To Trajan and to Marcus Aurelius it seemed that permanent peace could be secured only by driving on to frontiers which could be more easily and more lastingly defended. *Military contradictions of the second century*

In the year 29 a Carpenter and Teacher, known to his followers as Jesus of Nazareth, was condemned to death for blasphemy by the supreme judicial body of the Jewish Church and executed by the Roman governor of Judaea. The action was not uncommon in Roman administrative history. It was considered an unimportant incident in the preservation of the Roman Peace. The subsequent activities of the Disciples and Apostles were also considered officially *Christianity in the Roman Empire*

as disturbances of the peace, since they frequently led to mob violence.

To the orthodox Jews Christians were suspect because of their heretical views. The general pagan public objected to them because they were for the most part members of the favored and hence unpopular Jewish group. It was noted also that converts to Christianity from paganism were chiefly slaves and humbler free men, that they met in secret, and that those who accepted Christianity no longer visited the temples, sacrificed to the gods, or took part in the games and other celebrations in honor of pagan deities, including the emperor. Rumor included cannibalism and other horrible practices in the secret rites. This combination of social and economic prejudices enabled Nero to divert suspicion from himself to the Christians as the incendiaries of Rome in A.D. 64. It lay behind the attack upon Paul incited by the silversmiths of Ephesus (Acts xix). The anonymous accusation against the Christians presented to the Younger Pliny in Bithynia in A.D. 112 was probably composed by the breeders and caretakers of animals used in pagan sacrifices.

The number of converts, however, increased despite accusation and persecution. Four important changes contributed to the rapid growth in numbers. The first was the decision (about A.D. 50) to accept Gentiles as well as Jews into the faith. The second was the shift from the original Aramaic dialect of the Gospel story to the almost universal Greek tongue. The third was the writing of the Gospels. By A.D. 100 Christianity was a book religion, written in Greek and open to all human beings. In the meantime, the teaching had been made attractive to intellectuals by the logical interpretations of the Christian story in the sermons and letters of Paul, the Apostle.

Recognition of the Christians by the Roman administration as a separate group to be watched and controlled is not authentically reported before the close of the first century. Christians and Jews suffered together in the effort of Domitian to stamp out monotheism in Rome. But when Pliny the Younger was sent to Bithynia in A.D. 112, the difference had been established. Pliny knew that Christians had been tried by Roman magistrates but was uncertain whether the name of Christian or "the crimes inseparably connected with the name" formed the basis of conviction. He himself executed those who would not recant for their "obstinacy." Pliny's appeal to the emperor for guidance was made because "many of all ages, of every rank and even of both sexes are and will be called into danger." The reply of the emperor Trajan classified Christianity as

an illicit cult but refrained from ordering an official persecution. The crimes with which Christians might be charged and for which they were to be condemned were membership in an illicit cult and refusal to worship the image of the emperor. This measurably tolerant attitude of the government continued without much change to the close of the century.

The Christian community of the second century was a far different group from the crowd of peasants assembled at the Sea of Galilee. The membership was largely city dwellers. It included men of education, wealth, and high birth. The informal direction of converts by Disciples and missionary Apostles had been replaced by that of local leaders elected to the positions of elders, or overseers, and deacons. Before A.D. 200 each urban congregation had a single overseer or bishop in charge. These officials gradually acquired a leadership which strove for unity in doctrine and ritual, and united the faithful in a compact group. The greater importance of the larger cities, provincial capitals, and the like, gave the bishops a wider authority, an archepiscopal power. Unity in action and in doctrine was obtained through councils—regional, provincial and, later, empire-wide—which were composed of bishops or their representatives. Christians were still but a small percentage of the population, but they had a strong organization, a uniform policy, and an able body of defenders. The literature of the second century was one of defense and of interpretation. The interpretative works included some modifications of earlier conclusions. Christians no longer felt it necessary to withdraw completely from public life, military service was held compatible with the Christian faith, communistic ideas concerning property were softened, and the Church competed with its rivals in its appeal to the sense of beauty.

Compromise, however, did not touch the essential differences between the Christians and the state. The universal scope of Christianity which welcomed barbarians to the fold and the insistence upon an authority superior to that of the emperor were doctrines of treason. Pagan mobs and imperial authority combined under Decius (A.D. 251), Valerian (A.D. 257), and Diocletian (A.D. 304) in attempts to eradicate the faith. The failure of these efforts was admitted in the Edict of Toleration by Galerius (A.D. 311), and in Constantine's Edict of Milan (A.D. 313), which recognized Christianity as a legal cult.

The narrative of Roman development, so briefly and incompletely outlined in the last two chapters, has stressed the political, administrative, and military elements of success. These are the

The Roman legacy

foundations of Roman greatness. Without them, there would have been no growth from city-state to world empire. But there still remain unanswered questions concerning important phases of life and thought under Roman rule. What, for example, was the fate or fortune of ideas current in the Orient and in Greece before Roman conquest, and of the institutions which earlier Romans had bequeathed to their descendants? What is meant by Roman civilization? The answers will disclose a real contribution by the Romans. They will show that, although Hellenism triumphed, it was transformed in the process into something far different from the Hellenism of Alexander the Great. This transformation can be observed in the development of law and literature.

Roman law   In no other field were the Romans more independent of outside help than in law. Public law was in the hands of the priests at the beginning, and private law, an accumulation of customs, was in the hands of heads of families (*patres*). The heads of families had religious powers and duties as well as the priests, and both were inclined to conservatism. Thus, when in 450 B.C. existing regulations were inscribed upon Twelve Tables and called citizen-law (*iu. civile*), conservatism was not abandoned. The laws were strict and the letter of the law was enforced by the small group who administered it. Some Greek ideas were incorporated, but even these were made to conform to the rigidity and formalism of the Roman legal mind. Changing conditions, particularly the introduction of Greek allies in the Roman federation, and Greek (and barbarian) subjects in the Roman Empire, forced an expansion of what was primarily a farmer-law. The expansion was accomplished by interpretation of existing laws rather than by amendments or additions. The first interpreters, the priests (*pontifices*), gave way to the praetors, and their decisions were supplemented by the opinions of unofficial experts (*prudentes*). It might be expected that the interpreters would be influenced by Greek legal practice and legal ideas. But they, too, were conservative, and the change from a law of one people (*ius civile*) to a law of many peoples (*ius gentium*) was too gradual to alter the character of Roman law. In the golden age of Roman jurisprudence, the last century of the republic, the wholesale adoption of Hellenistic institutions did not seriously affect law. Roman jurists, with Greek teachers, Greek books, and Greek friends, were well acquainted with the legal theories of the East. They had read the assertions of Sophists and Stoics regarding the supreme power of natural law (*ius naturale*). But all these influences could not destroy the Roman legal system. The justice restored by Augustus and preserved for two centuries was Roman

justice, liberalized in its interpretation but unchanged in the letter of the law. It survived the attacks of absolutism and retained the respect of the great jurists of the third century, even though the latter were Syrian born or trained in the Syrian school at Berytus. In fact the final contributions to law as a living institution came from them. When codification was accomplished in the sixth century, more than half of the decisions and opinions quoted came from the scholars of Berytus. The old farmer-law retained its identity through the centuries, the one Roman institution which withstood successfully the might of Hellenism.

"Satire is wholly our own," wrote a Roman literary critic of the first century. In that type of literature, and that alone could the Romans claim originality. Greek influence on Roman writing was cheerfully admitted. The early Romans were hard-working, practical men who wrote down only the items which it seemed necessary to record. Calendars with their holy days, lists of officials, day books, which noted briefly the will of the gods and the deeds of men, maxims and laws were the chief written products. Farce and burlesque of Italian origin entertained the crowds on days of festivity. When continued success brought pride and interest in the past, the Romans accepted the literary efforts of Greeks and Hellenized Italians. Even for these writers there was no large Roman reading public. The first two Romans (close of third century B.C.) who composed histories of their city wrote in Greek. *Latin literature*

Hellenistic food, dress, education, religion, science, and art did not leave Hellenistic literature at home when they entered Rome in the second century B.C. The feeble beginnings of a native literature were overwhelmed with tidal waves of Hellenistic forms, thoughts, and standards. When the storm abated two elements of the antediluvian period remained, the Latin language and the Roman brain. Even though pupils were taught Greek grammar and rhetoric, they did not neglect Latin. The language had been spread through Italy by the armies and was firmly rooted even in the South by the veteran-colonies of Sulla. It was standardized by grammarians and molded into literary use. The Roman brain was a simple machine. It avoided subtlety and shunned the metaphysical. It could appreciate the simple, the practical, the real, and it followed the Greek models suitable to these varieties of thought in works which have themselves become models for later writers. The simplicity of the epic, the practicality of textbooks, and the reality of history are well represented in the literature of Republican Rome. The Roman contribution to tragedy, lyric poetry, and philosophy are generally pale reflections of Greek predecessors, al-

though one should except the work of Lucretius, Catullus, and Horace.

Throughout this period of development the influence of Greek literature upon Roman writers was profound. A greater degree of independence was shown by the authors of the Augustan Age. Just as the West triumphed under Augustus and an occidental reaction to Hellenistic monarchy was victorious, the writers of the Augustan Age produced works which were truly Roman in spirit. The poverty of Greek letters and the enthusiasm of the Romanized western provinces for Latin combined to keep Latin language and literature in first place for more than a century. But during that century the fires of inspiration slowly died. After the reign of Hadrian one has to search for brightness and warmth in prose or poetry, Latin or Greek.

Roman men of letters performed two great services to humanity. They built a language flexible and well tempered as a Toledo blade and in that language they preserved the ideas of their intellectual masters, the Greeks.

Much of the Roman legacy is like its literature, an heirloom of earlier seekers after truth and beauty. A little of it is like law, the product of its own striving. But who can say more of any people or of any generation? What really matters is the totality which they passed on to others. Western Europe is heir to all the past, but it was through Rome that the effective part of the legacy came. The process of that transmission we call Romanization, and in it should be included those traits of character which accounted for her success (p. 124). But the great gifts of Rome are these—one language, one religion, one law, one citizenship.

The Bettmann Archive

THE ROMAN FORUM DURING THE TIME OF THE EMPERORS

COLLATERAL READING

J. Buchan, *Augustus,* 1937.
M. P. Charlesworth, *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire,* 1926.
S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius,* 1928.
T. R. Glover, *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire,* 1930.
B. Henderson, *Five Roman Emperors,* 1927.
H. M. D. Parker, *A History of Rome from 138 to 337 A.D.,* 1935.
M. Rostovseff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire,* 1926.

The Bettmann Archive

JUSTINIAN

The End of Antiquity

The decline of Rome

DESPITE the manifold changes in institutions and in personnel, Rome had been for more than three centuries the capital of the Mediterranean. The republic had given way to a monarchy which gradually became more absolute. Uniformity had slowly blotted out the original distinction between Rome and the rest of the world. The leaders of state and army had been successively patrician, plebeian, and provincial. The army, which once had been predominantly Italian, was now wholly composed of provincial and barbarian units. But Rome was still the political, administrative, and military center of the Empire.

In the third century Rome lost her primacy. The residence of the emperor was the political center, but few emperors lived in Rome. New administrative centers were set up in more convenient locations. New military headquarters were established nearer the threatened frontiers. Rome remained the capital of Italy, but Italy was only one, and by no means the strongest, of the provinces. The final blow was not struck until the fourth century when a new Rome was created, equal if not superior to the old city in every respect.

The eclipse of the Senate

The reasons for this fall from prominence are as numerous as those which made the city great. None of them is perhaps more significant than the decline of that respected survivor of the old republic, the Roman Senate. Restricted in power as it had been, the Senate had drawn emperors to Rome if for no other reason than to prevent its renaissance. In that task the great emperor, Septimius Severus, was eminently successful. The misrule of Commodus (180–

192) was terminated by assassination. It was followed by a contest for power resembling that which the suicide of Nero had precipitated. Nominees of the Senate and the praetorians ruled for a brief time, to be succeeded by the commander of the Danubian army, Septimius Severus (193–211). The Senate disliked him because he was a soldier, because he was a provincial, actually of Punic descent, a second Hannibal entering Rome as a conqueror. The dislike was mutual, but while the Senate limited its activity to treasonable correspondence with two other military claimants, Severus launched a campaign designed to strip the Senate of its remaining vestiges of authority. He showered the army with favors and increased the sphere of equestrian participation in government. Judicial authority in Rome was given to the equestrian praetorian prefect, the tax levies of the empire were assigned to equestrian imperial procurators, and the important census work became an equestrian responsibility. The victory of Severus over his rivals was followed by the execution of twenty-nine senators. From that time the authority of the Senate was only a shadow.

The government established by Septimius Severus was clearly a *Military* military monarchy. A new praetorian guard recruited directly from *monarchy* the legions, as well as a newly formed legion stationed near Rome, was manifest proof to the Senate of the imminence of military power. That power was extended by the grant of equestrian status to all centurions. Men who had risen from the ranks became eligible for a career in Rome's imperial civil service. The army selected the emperor. It soon assumed the right to depose him by the simple but effective method of assassination.

The problem which confronted Septimius Severus was the government of a weakened state. The interference in municipal affairs by imperial officials had deprived the local governing bodies of their initiative. Imperial administrative machinery had been weakened by the worthless appointees of Commodus. The Senate was weak and untrustworthy. There remained but one willing and capable group in the empire. In the army Severus found the only signs of life and on it he based his state.

The reasons given for the military monarchy of the Severi are not altogether convincing. Septimius Severus had had a purely military career, but a similar career had not made a military monarch of Trajan. Severus had been made emperor by the army. Augustus and Vespasian had also owed their position to their armies, but they had not remained barrack emperors. The severity of Teutonic and Parthian attacks, it is claimed, forced the Severi into the hands of the military. But the attacks of former years had been equally

severe, and they became much more severe after the period of the military monarchy. The change in form of government should be ascribed to the character and attitude towards the state of the civilian population—a gradual development which was at least a century old.

There is no doubt of the peace and prosperity given to the Roman Empire by the principate. The rude and uncultivated West had been given ample opportunity to absorb the learning and the institutions of the East. At the same time the East had been protected from oriental and barbarian attack, and had been given opportunity to improve its learning and institutions. The results were disappointing. The West in A.D. 180 dressed, ate, lived, and, in many ways, thought like the Hellenistic East. Culture had been absorbed most dutifully, but nothing, or very little, had been done to add to or improve it. The East studied the past. Art, literature, and science remained as fixed as the North Star. It was this general intellectual indolence or lethargy which produced the military monarchy.

The terrible power of this monster created by Severus did not at once completely intimidate the Senate. Under his successors, on three separate occasions, the senators strove to break down the monopoly of military authority. Their efforts were effectually ended in an order issued by Gallienus (260–268), depriving senators of all military commands. The army was the only power sufficiently strong to break the army. Interesting proof of this occurred in 275, when the army petitioned insistently that the Senate select an emperor. But the senatorial candidate was rejected within a year.

Frontiers in the third century   Septimius Severus was strong enough to defeat his rivals and repel invaders. He actually extended the eastern boundary of the empire by including a district east of the Euphrates, the province Osroene. Under his successors, the brutal and greedy Caracalla (211–217), the effeminate mystic Elagabalus (218–222), and the well-meaning but ineffectual Severus Alexander (222–235), Teutonic raids increased. Saxons, Franks, Alemanni, Marcomanni, and Goths threatened the frontier from the north to the Black Sea. In the East the Parthians were replaced, in A.D. 226, by an aggressively imperialistic Persian state. Weakness at home and strength abroad were the factors which prolonged the military monarchy and produced the Barrack Emperors (235–284).

On the story of that half century of conflict it would be profitless to linger. The extent of the disasters may be estimated by noting that one emperor was killed in battle with the Goths and another

captured by the Persians. Of the twenty-six emperors chosen by the armies, only one escaped assassination, and he was a victim of the plague. A Frankish raid penetrated deep into Spain; the Tithe Lands were occupied by the Alemanni. Dacia was given up to the barbarians, and the Goths, taking to the sea, sacked Ephesus and attacked Athens.

In the midst of defeat and loss, there were occasional victories. The brilliant campaigns of Claudius (268–270) checked effectively the most dangerous of the Teutonic invaders. His successor, Aurelian (270–275), ended two great secession movements, restoring to the empire an independent state composed of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, as well as one including Syria and Egypt, which were being protected and ruled by the dynasts of the important Arabian trade-center, Palmyra.

It was Aurelian, however, who abandoned Dacia and ordered the construction of a wall around Rome. This loss of a province, even when combined with other territorial losses, was not irreparable. It was the spirit of futility and of defeat represented by the Aurelian wall which so clearly differentiated the empire of Aurelian from that of Marcus Aurelius. Invasion and civil wars had taken an enormous toll in men and property. The plague, imported a second time in A.D. 250, had contributed to weaken the moral and physical powers of the survivors. The percentage of barbarians in the army and on the land had enormously increased.

The immediate problem of the third-century emperors was to protect the state from its enemies. Those who had time and strength for more than military victories began attacks upon the more difficult problem of reconstruction. Their solutions were in general merely extreme applications of practices for which there was ample precedent. The increasing centralization of power in the first two centuries was transformed into the absolutism of the third century. This transformation is most evident in law, in religion, and in public administration.

The sources of law so numerous in the principate of Augustus *Absolutism in* (Senate, Assembly, edicts of provincial governors) had been sup- *law* planted by the word of the princeps. He and the select few who spoke in his name were the sole interpreters and the only sources of law. In the third century the actual work of formulating new laws and of interpreting the old was accomplished by a famous group of Syrian jurists. These men were sincere adherents of the doctrine that the emperor was both the source of law and above the law. Oriental theory and occidental practice were combined by them in a system of absolutist law.

Two religious trends were manifest in the third century. One was the substitution of a more militant faith for the peace sentiment upon which Augustus had founded the imperial cult. Apollo, bringer of peace, was replaced in favor by Jupiter, leader in war and stayer of rout. The militant cult of Mithras gained numerous converts. There were even some who reconciled Christianity and war. This new interpretation did not escape the notice of some of the military rulers who wished to encourage and to control it. It was they who inaugurated the second trend, that of reviving the worship of the emperor as the chief defender of the state. Aurelian was probably the most radical of the religious reformers. Brushing aside the custom which postponed formal apotheosis until after death, Aurelian declared himself god and master born (*"deus et dominus natus"*). The god whom he chose to represent on earth was the unconquered sun, supreme in the universe as the emperor was supreme on earth. No closer approach to religious absolutism would have been tolerated by the strong polytheistic tradition of his subjects.

The concentration of administrative authority in the hands of the emperor was completed in the third century. The power of the purse was his, since income and expenditure were controlled by imperial officials. The senatorial treasury was maintained only by the municipal revenues of the capital. All coinage, including that of copper, was a prerogative of the emperor. Sources of state income were so numerous that Septimius Severus deemed it advisable to set up a new treasury for his personal income, apart from that of the state; he retained control of both. Judicial authority was similarly monopolized by the emperor. Military and religious officials throughout the empire were appointed by and responsible to the chief administrator. Imperial appointees were given authoritative positions in the municipalities. By the close of the century all administration was organized in a single dictatorial system.

Absolutism obviously affected economic, social, and cultural life. Economic tendencies already noticeable in the second century were becoming chronic and acute throughout the empire. Apart from the imperial domains, cultivable soil was controlled, in the East as in the West, by a small minority of resident landlords who sought economic independence for their estates and power sufficient to protect themselves, even from imperial tax-collectors. Depreciation of the coinage, frequent interruptions of trade, loss of markets for manufactured articles, and the steadily increasing demands of the central government brought economic distress to many cities. The freedom from responsibility of the quasi-serfs (*coloni*) on the im-

perial domains attracted many hopeless city dwellers. Others found refuge in a similar serf-like relationship on the great estates of wealthy landowners. This drift of population from municipalities and from municipally controlled land was viewed with alarm by the government, since it was from the agricultural middle class that the army was recruited, and it was from the well-to-do members of the cities that the state received a large part of its income. Septimius Severus permitted his citizen soldiers to marry and live in homes outside the legionary camps. The children, raised on the frontiers, would naturally follow the profession of their fathers. Compulsory fixity in occupation for father and sons soon followed. Severus Alexander began with the subsistence industries, and by the close of the century all of the inhabitants were bound for life in occupation, and their children were forced to follow the work of their fathers.

In an economic and social framework rapidly approaching rigidity, creative thought perished. The literary products, both Greek and Latin, were but flaccid reminders of the masterpieces of old— quotations, epitomes, commentaries, which preserved and explained the past. In science, the findings of former investigators were accepted without criticism and without additions. The few exceptions merely accentuate and draw attention to a widespread mediocrity, to little minds burdened with an authoritative past. *Third-century culture*

The work of the great jurist and praetorian prefect, Papinian (fl. 205), exhibited originality in interpretations remarkable for their clarity and high ethical standards. His successors, even the famous Ulpian and Paulus, did little more than lay the foundations for a definitive codification. The History of Cassius Dio (150–235), written in Greek, was not improved by its rhetorical ornaments nor by the author's prejudices. It was, however, the work of a sincere if not a deep thinker and is far superior to the superficial anecdotal biographies of the emperors which were the chief Latin contributions to historiography. Men were, for the most part, as timid in thought as they were in living. Any deviation from established standards demanded an energy too great for their powers.

An exception to this intellectual passivity is found in Christian literature. Although Christians accepted guidance and authority, they found them in a Power above and beyond human genius and human institutions. Their faith gave them strength, and in the explanation of Christianity, in the interpretation of the Word, there were sincerity and power. Conflicts in interpretation among Christian writers furnished an additional stimulus. The enthusiasm of the African Tertullian carried him even beyond the limits of

orthodoxy. In his respect for tradition, his insistence upon absolute standards, Tertullian's Christianity was as Roman as the paganism of Cato the Elder. The writings of Lactantius (fl. 290), on the other hand, have, in general, a controlled passion, a willingness to compromise. His chief contribution lay in a fusion of pagan philosophy (the human search for truth) and Christianity (the divine revelation of truth). Lactantius wrote after the political vindication of his faith. Still, his work summarized a trend towards the development of a rational theology. His was the orthodox opinion, a blending of practical Roman and Greek speculative points of view.

The story of the fine arts may be quickly told. Architecture is represented by the massive and unbeautiful Baths of Caracalla and Diocletian; sculpture, by some extremely realistic statues. But technical and artistic ability was so conspicuously absent at the close of the century that Constantine stole from the arches of his predecessors in order to decorate his own.

The Dominate of Diocletian

A temporary halt to the rapid succession of imperial rulers was made by Diocletian (284–305). Although he rose to power from the ranks of the army which acclaimed him emperor, he was strong enough to control his troops and to rule the state for twenty years. Those years were filled with labors of reorganization. He replaced the principate with the dominate, substituting an absolute despotism for the compromise between monarchy and republic. The new government was new only in form. It was the completion of plans left unfinished by his predecessors, the culmination of tendencies long at work.

The ruler

The title *dominus* was not introduced by Diocletian. It had been accepted by Domitian and demanded by Aurelian. Other emperors had also adopted the title *deus*. (Precedent for the use of *Iovius* by Diocletian could be cited in the *Iupiter Iulius* of the first Caesar.) The novelty lay in the success with which Diocletian exercised the power which these titles implied. The use of the diadem and the insistence upon prostration in his presence only emphasized his absolute authority. It is possible that this display of absolutism in dress, ceremonial, and titulary was meant to demonstrate to the army that the emperor was not a military puppet. There is no doubt that Diocletian tried to discourage future election of emperors by the soldiers.

Colleagues in office

One of the first steps of the new ruler was to choose a colleague vested, as was he, with imperium and with the title "Augustus." These two, in turn, chose each a lieutenant, entitled *Caesar,* and to each one of the four was assigned a definite quarter of the Roman

world as a prefecture. The death of an Augustus would automatically promote one of the Caesars to the vacant position, and the new Augustus would select a Caesar. The advantages of the plan were that it would make revolution by assassination difficult, would hinder, if not abolish, the election of emperors by the army, and would divide the burdens of government among four capable rulers. The idea of a unified empire, for which Roman statesmen had labored through the centuries, was not given up. Imperial constitutions (that is, laws) were promulgated in the name of the two Augusti and were binding on the empire as a whole.

Additional safeguards were sought in minute division of authority exercised by subordinates and in the complete separation of civil and military power. The four administrative districts were subdivided into thirteen 'dioceses and, again, into about 116 provinces. The officials, military and civil, needed to man this elaborate machine constituted two great bureaucracies. *Administration*

The administrative system called for the creation of four central offices. To that extent it increased the expenses of administration, but there was some compensation in greater efficiency and more complete returns to the state. The basic tax, as in the days of Augustus, was a ground tax, payable in kind. It was applied to Italy, which had now sunk to the level of a province. A poll tax on slaves and probably on the serf-like tenants was collected from the masters of landlords. Artisans, municipal senators (decurions), and members of the Roman senatorial class had also their personal taxes to pay. The state was protected against loss by the device of collegiate responsibility. Thus, if the local senators, whose business it was to collect the land tax, failed to obtain the allotted sum, they had to make good the deficit from their own resources. This practice of collecting from groups was greatly facilitated by occupational fixity and by the old tendency, soon to be a legal requirement, of following one's father's occupation. The establishment of a caste system, with its predestination of occupation for unborn children, may be traced to many causative factors. The inertia of the governed made it possible, the precedent in Hellenistic Egypt could be cited, but, above all, the imperative need of funds for defense made it almost inevitable. *Taxation*

Wars, pestilence, famine, and earthquake had weakened and lessened the population of the empire, but the problem of defense remained the same. An enormous length of frontier had to be protected, and equipment for the protecting force had to be produced. Civil wars and the steady pressure upon the Teutons by Slavic migrants encouraged invasions. Diocletian's reply to the increasing ac- *Military reforms*

tivity of the Teutonic tribes and the crusading zeal of his Persian
foes was the addition of one fourth (or one third) to his army. The
growing number of barbarians in the army was noticeable. Pay,
loot, and adventure were not the only attractions, for the humblest
private might look forward to advance, through at least 59 inter-
mediate steps, to the highest military office.

The army of Diocletian was completely reorganized. In place of
the old praetorian cohorts stood the palace troops, the personal

The Bettmann Archive

SANTA SOPHIA

bodyguard of the sacred person of the Augustus. Below them in
privilege were the divisions of a new mobile army, concentrated
in strategic centers from which they might be led against the enemy
by the emperor or Caesar. Still below these was the stationary
frontier army.

The edict of prices

Possibly the most illuminating document of the new govern-
ment was the edict of 301, in which both prices and wages were
fixed for the entire empire. The pompous and grandiose language
of the introduction reflects the veneer of Oriental ceremony with
which the dominate decked itself, but beneath the surface lie the
directness and sincerity of the Illyrian peasant. Diocletian may have

wished to control his armies, but his will to protect them from civilian profiteers dictated the document. The method was simple. Every possible task and every object of trade was listed with a price affixed to each article and service. The penalty for deviation from the legal price was death. The inevitable failure to enforce the edict was the first real defeat of Diocletian.

In 304 Diocletian abdicated and secured the abdication of his *Reorganiza-* colleague. A second defeat was then administered, since his care- *tion and abdi-* fully planned program of succession was not followed. The desire *cation* to pass power on to favorite sons and the ambition of generals eligible to the position of Caesar led to civil strife, which ended with the triumph of Constantine, the restoration of the rule of one man. Constantine did retain the civil and military bureaucracies as well as the provincial and diocesan divisions of his predecessor. The four great administrative divisions were also retained, each of them governed by a prefect subordinate to the emperor.

This revision of Diocletian's reforms by Constantine is typical. So many plans of the former were completed or revised by his successor that it is difficult to determine the exact share of each man in the establishment of the dominate. In either case, it is clear that the Roman Empire of the fourth century was a completely Hellenized state. Centralization and absolutism, the political ideals of the Hellenistic period, were realized in the dominate.

The reign of Constantine included many important events. But its deeper significance lies in the emergence of a new attitude toward life. The end of antiquity and the beginning of the Middle Age are not absolute phrases. They are attempts to simplify, in language, a process of long duration. If they may be applied to Constantine's rule, it is because the emphasis appears to have shifted, at that time, from the old to the new. The foundation of a capital at Constantinople was new, although it was only the climax of an eastward call older than Augustus. The favors shown to the Christians were new, although the Christian faith was three centuries old. The two actions were revolutionary, but the men who lived through the change, including Constantine, were probably not aware of the change. Who could tell that the old way of life was doomed, almost at the instant when it seemed to have been restored by Diocletian?

The new way of life was by no means easy. This can be seen in *Christianity* the story of Christianity in the fourth century. The Edict of Milan *threatened by* made possible a great increase in the wealth of the Church, since *1. new Chris-* money and property could then be given openly to the recognized *tians* cult. It also increased the number of converts, which meant that the task of teaching and guiding the new members was more difficult.

Converts continued to be a larger group than those born of Christian parents until well after A.D. 500. So large a body could not well be assimilated overnight, and their training and experience were bound to affect at least the externals of faith. Many joined the Church for selfish reasons. Others, in all sincerity, advocated programs which were not approved by the old Christians. As the fourth century advanced, the favors of Christian emperors increased. Exemptions from military service and from some municipal duties were granted to the clergy. Persecution of pagans and confiscation of pagan temple property gave opportunity to settle old scores and to increase private fortunes. The Church fathers deplored and struggled against this peril, but it is certain that the morals of the Christians declined in the fourth century.

2. Paganism   The lack of harmony among the Christians made it more difficult to withstand attacks from the outside. Least dangerous were the desperate rallies of the old pagan cult followers. Their strength lay in the country, as the names pagan (a villager) and heathen (man of the heath) show. But there was still a strong pagan minority in Rome. That minority went down to defeat in the effort to preserve the altar and the cult of Victory in the Roman Senate chamber.

The influence of many third century religious teachers was widespread in the fourth. The idealism of Plato, as interpreted by Plotinus, produced a neo-Platonism which was extremely attractive to philosophic minds. A revival of the dualism of ancient Babylonia, the fight between light and darkness, between good and evil, was led by the Persian "messiah," Mani. The great Augustine was a Manichaean for a decade before his conversion to Christianity. The records of the Church councils prove that Judaism, too, was an active opponent throughout the century.

3. Heresy   Probably the greatest threat to Christianity came from within the fold in unorthodox teaching, heretical views. The most powerful of the many heresies was that of Arius. It was an honest answer to a question which, up to that time, had not been clearly answered. Are Father and Son absolute equals? The negative reply of Arius (A.D. 325) was definitely pronounced heretical in 381, but Arianism did not die until two more centuries had passed.

4. The State   Against heresy the Christians had turned for support to the state. Soon after his recognition of Christianity Constantine was asked to intervene in a doctrinal dispute in North Africa. That intervention involved not only the punishment of the party in error, but also, from Constantine's point of view, the emperor's decision as to orthodoxy versus heresy. A similar intervention was requested in the con-

troversy between Arius and his opponent, Athanasius. Constantine took the advice of the clergy in both cases, but he felt that final authority rested with him.

Constantine's acts were quite normal for a pagan emperor. As head of the state, he was also head of the Church. In his opinion, his decision was final, with or without the consent of the clergy. Herein lay a third danger to the Church. A proper relationship between Church and state had to be established. In the eyes of the clergy, the old combined headship of Church and state was wrong; to Constantine, any other organization was unthinkable. The separation of Church and state was a radical change, the greatest break between the past and the future.

The history of the dominate has few bright passages. From the abdication of Diocletian (A.D. 305) to the death of Justinian (A.D. 565) good and bad emperors struggled with about equal success against the forces of distintegration and decay. Imperial unity ceased to be a reality and became a dream, an ideal which would not come true and stay true. Constantine had rejected the divided authority established by Diocletian and gathered all power into his own hands. The enormous cost was wasted, since the emperor divided his empire among five heirs. Twenty-four years of civil war followed before unity was again achieved and again lost. The last man to hold a unified empire was the Spaniard, Theodosius the Great, but after his deathbed (A.D. 395) division between his two sons, the eastern and western halves of the empire were not reunited. The gradual dismemberment of the West began almost at once. The extent of failure can be seen in the situation which confronted Justinian, the last champion of unity. *Decline of Rome*

The boundaries no longer included the western provinces. Italy itself was ruled by a barbarian king. Justinian succeeded in reconquering Italy, Africa, and a beachhead in Spain. It was a costly and, in the end, a useless victory. It was useless because another barbarian king brought anarchy to Italy. It was costly because it wasted troops urgently needed to repel the attacks of more powerful and more aggressive foes. As a result, the successors of Justinian had to meet a combination of Persians and Slavs at the very gates of Constantinople. In short, Justinian's attempt to restore the old empire was a failure.

The restoration of political unity had been made more difficult by religious differences. A violent controversy arose over the nature of Christ. Was His a single nature or a dual (human and divine) nature? Justinian used the method of Constantine in his effort to secure religious unity, but the state was no longer supreme in mat-

ters of faith. The emperor's attempt to establish himself as caesar-pope was his second failure.

In one field, Justinian's antiquarianism was successful. His name will be remembered and revered while the Body of Civil Law remains. The *Corpus* represents the best in Roman legal thought of seven centuries. But even in this great contribution to European civilization there lies a proof of the end of unity, a confession of failure. The new laws, the *Novellae,* were not to be read and obeyed by Briton, Gaul, Spaniard, and Italian. They were written in Greek.

The publication of Justinian's codification was the final gift of Rome to Europe. The date, A.D. 534, is, in many respects, a better one for the fall of Rome than 476, the death of the last emperor of the West, or 410, the sack of Rome by a barbarian army. Rome meant more than an emperor or a city; it meant a civilizing power, an active force which united men and gave them prosperity and peace. Any date for the fall is misleading, for the power which made Rome great weakened gradually and never died.

Reasons for Many causes for the decline of this civilizing force have been ad-
Rome's failure vanced; many more will be advanced. It is doubtful whether the correct series and the accurate evaluation of each cause will ever be determined. For the laws governing the rise and fall of civilizations have not been discovered. Two general statements, however, may serve as bases of criticism of the long list which grows as the years go by. Each generation stresses those causes which are connected with its predominant interest. Each country stresses the causes upon which it looks with the greatest disfavor. Thus a puritan generation emphasizes moral decline, an industrial generation points out the economic weaknesses, while citizens of a democracy criticize the autocratic features of Rome's organization.

In the earlier summaries of the causes for the fall of Rome, it was customary to give weight to moral failings. The luxury and vice of the Romans were noted. The immorality of pagan society and the social evils of slavery were asserted. The evidence of inscriptions and papyri weakened, if they did not contradict, these assertions. It pictured a sound middle class and a large lower class too poor and too busy to be evil. There were some who granted the immorality, but who looked upon it as a symptom rather than a cause. Otto Seeck believed that the moral fiber of the people had been weakened by the loss of the best men in war, proscription, and persecution. Tenney Frank offered race mixture, the unfortunate result of the wholesale emancipation of slaves, as the cause.

Ellsworth Huntington attributed the low moral standards to hunger, which was in turn the result of climatic change.

Plague, earthquake, and famine have been cited as contributory causes. To them, economists have added soil deterioration. Consideration of the evils of the plantation system are as old as Tiberius Gracchus. Debasement of coinage is another charge brought by economists. In general one may say that the Romans stand guilty of having violated, through ignorance, many of the fundamental economic laws.

Students of government present a long list of administrative errors. The unjust distribution of taxes, the weight of taxation, poor methods of collection, corruption among tax officials, inadequate control of administrative officers, the caste system, and the inflexibility of a·complicated bureaucracy have been included.

A closer examination of the cities of the empire has produced new interpretations of Rome's fall. It is said that the disappearance of the middle class, the heart of municipal life, was a fatal blow. Certainly the absence of any effective unit between the municipality and the imperial state was unfortunate. It made imperial control of the cities too easy. Imperial intervention, no matter how well meant and efficient, as it was in the case of Trajan, deadened local initiative.

Arnold Toynbee's intensive study concerns itself with the How *Rome's* rather than the Why of human failure to create a lasting civiliza- *achievement* tion. A sort of ineluctible rhythm has dragged all to destruction. Be that as it may, Mommsen's thought still remains unchallenged,

The Bettmann Archive

THE GOOD SHEPHERD: EARLY CHRISTIAN MURAL

namely, that no people before or after their time has given happiness to so many human beings for so long a time as did the Romans.

COLLATERAL READING

R. F. Arragon, *The Transition from the Ancient to the Medieval World,* 1936.
C. Bailey, Ed., *The Legacy of Rome,* 1940.
W. C. Greene, *The Achievement of Rome,* 1933.
F. Lot, *The End of the Ancient World,* 1931.

.

The Rise of the Papacy:
The Origin and Spread
of Monasticism: The
Conversion of
England

STATUE OF POPE GREGORY
(Begun by Michelangelo and completed by Nicholas Cordier)

AS soon as Christianity became the state religion of the Later Roman Empire the Church became an important ecclesiastical, political, economic, and social institution. Two particular developments exerted an enormous influence upon medieval history. These are the rise of the papacy, and the origin and spread of monasticism. Although historically distinct movements, these two great institutions became intimately associated.

In order to understand the rise of the papacy one must go back *Early Church* to the development of the episcopal organization of the Church. In the Apostolic Age, that is, the first century, the organization of the Church was of the simplest sort. The earliest congregations were clusters of pious villagers, one of whom was the presbyter or priest—sometimes described in the Gospels and Pauline Epistles as "elder" or "pastor"; each village formed a parish.[1] These Christians usually met in private houses, although, as toleration or indifference toward the new belief increased, churches were sometimes erected in the larger cities.

Christianity, however, soon expanded along the lines of trade *Urban influ-* and the military roads of the Roman Empire, and it became an urban *ence on Chris-* not a rural movement. In Antioch "they were first called Chris- *tianity* tians," as the Book of Acts relates. With the exception of the Epistle to the Galatians and those to individuals such as Titus and Tim-

[1] From the Greek word *paroikia,* a collection of houses or a village; the word "parochial" is also derived from it.

193

othy, all of St. Paul's epistles are addressed to city congregations. In a large city there would be several churches and several parishes. This increase of the number of churches and congregations raised the importance of the presbyter, or priest, and at the same time induced supervision and centralization. The government of the Church began to be systematized. In this change the Church quite naturally, perhaps unconsciously, imitated the imperial administration. All the churches and parishes in a given territory, sometimes a whole province, sometimes part of a province, were administratively united under a bishop,[1] who had jurisdiction over every priest and congregation within the area, which was called a *diocese.*[2]

Rise of bishops

Originally the bishop of the chief city of each of the civil dioceses into which Diocletian had divided the Roman Empire was theoretically independent of and equal to each of the rest. But this could not last. In the Thracian diocese Constantinople took the place of Heraclea, and in the Illyrian diocese Rome took the place of Thessalonica. By degrees Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, and Caesarea emerged from the other metropolitan sees *(seats)* as superior in power. Soon Ephesus and Caesarea disappeared from the higher rank, an appeal from all the dioceses having been granted by the Fourth Oecumenical Council to Constantinople, and Jerusalem being elevated by a decree of the same council and by an ordinance of Theodosius II over Caesarea. Then a process of elimination took place, and when the three southern patriarchates were ravaged by the Arabs in the seventh century there remained only two rivals, Old Rome and New Rome (Constantinople), one representing the West, the other the East.

Heresy and apostolic succession

Simultaneously with this process of ecclesiastical centralization of the Church went another development of a very different nature. This was the growth of the religious authority of the bishops. As heretical beliefs multiplied and the number of heretical sects increased, the Church feared that the truth of Christ's teaching would be perverted or destroyed. Excommunication of these dissidents from the fold was without effect, for the heretics questioned: How do you know that what we believe is wrong, and that what you believe is right? What is "the truth in Jesus"? For answer, the

[1] The word is derived from Greek *episcopos* or overseer, whence Latin *episcopus* and English *bishop.*

[2] From the Greek word *diocesis,* signifying a cutting through, i.e., an administrative division. Diocletian's reforms introduced the secular diocese, but the official over it was called a *vicar.* The Church borrowed both these terms but used them in a different sense.

Church formulated the doctrine of apostolic succession, according to which every bishop was the direct successor of one of the twelve apostles whom Jesus had consecrated to preach His Teaching, so that the truth of Christ's teaching had descended generation after generation to the bishops only, who spoke with His authority. This meant that the whole body of bishops, the collective episcopate, constituted *the* Church, and that all other claimants to ecclesiastical authority were deceived or deceivers. Heretics were not of His fold. The introduction of this *principle of authority* within the Church is the cornerstone of its doctrine and its power, and at the Council of Nicaea in 325 it was conceded by the Emperor Constantine and asserted and formulated in the Nicene Creed. Thus authority and dogma were correlative principles.

The next great change in the history of the Church was the development of the papacy. Until the fourth century all bishops were *Rise of papacy* legally equal in the constitution of the Church, although naturally the bishops of the great sees like Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople in the East, and Rome and Carthage in the West were shown greater deference and were usually abler men than the bishops in small or rural sees. These bishops were called *patriarchs* and their bishoprics *patriarchal sees*. They were simply recognized as more influential. But once the principle of authority was introduced and admitted, it was inevitable that the bishop of Rome— he cannot yet be denominated *pope*—would soon lay claim to supreme authority over the Church, for if the principle of apostolic succession be admitted, then the bishop of Rome could make this claim to supremacy. According to the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, Jesus gave to Peter precedence over the other apostles, endowed him with the "power of the keys," appointed him His vicar on earth and declared him to be the "rock" on which the Church was founded. And since the Church was founded for all time, it follows that the powers conferred upon Peter did not lapse with his death but passed on to his successors, that is, to the popes. The fundamental nature of this doctrine stands or falls with the authority of the scriptural texts upon which it is based. The most important of these texts and the cornerstone of the whole papal edifice is the passage in Matthew XVI, 13–19:

Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven.

There is no evidence in the New Testament that St. Peter was ever in Rome, but according to a very old and very strong tradition Peter was bishop of Rome for twenty-five years and was martyred in A.D. 67. If the phrase, "Thou art Peter, etc.," be a Roman interpolation, as some have contended, in order to increase the prerogative of the papacy, it must have been because St. Peter already had been historically connected with the Church in Rome.

Whether he had been or not, during the centuries the power of the bishops of Rome grew, while that of the emperors declined. Leo I (440–461) boldly asserted to the Emperor Marcian in 452 that "the basis of things secular is one thing, and the basis of things divine is another." It was, in fact, the fast approaching dissolution of the Roman Empire that made Leo I's claims possible. Other circumstances facilitated the growth of papal prerogative. The Monophysite controversy (over the dual nature of Christ) which rent the Church from the Council of Chalcedon in 451 to the accession of Justinian in 527 weakened the sees of Antioch and Alexandria and discredited Constantinople, Rome's only serious rival. Thus favored, the bishops of Rome claimed ecclesiastical supremacy, the right to regulate belief and to enforce laws in the whole Church.

While the doctrine of Petrine supremacy has undoubtedly been the greatest single force in the elevation of the papacy—from 451 on the bishop of Rome may, without hesitation, be called *pope*—there were many other factors in its growth. The first of these was the tradition attached to Rome itself.

Influence of
city of Rome
It is a commonplace of history that the removal of the imperial capital from Rome to the Bosphorus had a great influence in establishing the rule of the papacy over western Europe. It was impossible for Constantine to transfer the tradition, the prestige, the memories of the Eternal City to the New Rome, and what remained behind accrued to the authority and dignity of the popes. The magic influence which the Eternal City had over men's minds was so great that, even after the Roman Empire had disappeared, Rome morally and ecclesiastically still exerted authority. Moreover, Catholic Rome to some degree preserved the continuity between Pagan and Christian Rome. The pope adopted the ancient Roman title *Pontifex Maximus,* the language of Church services was Latin, pagan festivals were adapted to Christian celebrations, the gestures and the dress of the clergy were in many ways continuations of pagan forms; for centuries the popes dated their official documents according to imperial chronology and not according to Christian chronology. The proprietary wealth and political rule over the city of Rome and much of the surrounding territory after Honorius re-

moved the capital to Ravenna in 402 enhanced the growth of papal political power in the peninsula.

The factor of the personality of some of the early popes must also be taken into account. The Roman Church had the fortunate faculty of drawing able men to St. Peter's chair. Clement I, Cornelius, Sylvester I, Damascus I, Leo I, Gelasius I, all were born leaders of men. As Arian Visigoths, Vandals, and Burgundians established their kingdoms, the Church in these kingdoms clung closely to Rome, and the papal jurisdiction over these churches was enlarged. The papal correspondence with all the western bishops was voluminous and constant. The management and control of Church property were left absolutely in the hands of the clergy until a law of Odoacer prohibited all alienations of ecclesiastical property.

Definitive papal authority over the Church may be said to have been achieved by Gregory I, the Great (590–604), one of the great heroes of medieval Christendom. He came from one of the noble families of ancient Rome and had for seven years been papal legate at the court of the emperor in Constantinople. There he acquired an intense distaste for everything Greek, a prejudice which affected the decline of the Greek language and literature in the West. *Gregory the Great*

Gregory faced a difficult political situation. The most important event in Italy in the sixth century was the invasion of the Lombards in 568; they spread over the whole valley of the Po, where they made Pavia their capital, and drove much of the population of the near-coast towns like Aquileia, Padua, and Bologna to find refuge in the islands of the lagoons from which Venice later was to arise. The exarch at Ravenna and the pope, whose resources aided the exarch when the emperor could not support his viceroy with men and money, saved central Italy from Lombard conquest; but the Lombards managed to pierce through, nevertheless, and to found two duchies south of Rome—Benevento and Spoleto—so that Rome and all central Italy were between the jaws of a Lombard vise. *Lombard invasion*

The strain put upon Gregory I by these events was prodigious. Thousands of men and women thronged to Rome and its vicinity for refuge; they had to be fed and clothed and housed. All the papal patrimony in North Italy was lost. The Lombards, like most German invaders, were not heathen but Arian, and, instead of tolerating the Catholics, they drove out their priests and seized their churches. The Lombard conquest was much more drastic than the occupation of the other Germanic nations. Instead of leaving the native population some portion of the land, as the Goths and Burgundians and Franks and even the Vandals had done, the Lombards despoiled the entire Italian population, reducing freemen and even

nobles to serfdom, often upon their own lands where a Lombard would establish himself as a proprietary noble.

Lombards fail to unite Italy   Lombard political organizations included both centralized kingships and independent dukes; not all of them had yet abandoned the practice of a roving, predatory horde. In the north, at Pavia and Monza, they were beginning to build churches; but in central and southern Italy their bands were still marauding, wasting farms, looting towns, taking captives, "ravening like dogs almost under the walls of Rome," wrote the pope, perhaps with some exaggeration (A.D. 592 and 595). The exarch was not strong enough to repel the Lombards, and the latter were not sufficiently powerful to oust the exarch from Ravenna or the ill-paid and mutinous imperial garrison from Rome. These Lombard bands established themselves in the center of the peninsula, at Spoleto and in the south at Benevento. Gregory the Great's cry over the ruin and desolation of the "Lady of the World" (*Mundi Domina*) and "the confusion of tribulation which we suffer in this land" (*Homilies on Ezekiel ii, 6, 22–24*) will strike the ear of every one who reads his letters. Yet amid the "immense vastness of mortality" (Epistle xiii, 42) the brave pope kept his faith and his courage.

If the Lombards had been a great German group instead of the smallest which entered the Roman Empire, they might in course of time have subjugated and united all Italy. Their failure to do this was not due to their lack of ability but to the paucity of their numbers and the political skill of popes like Gregory the Great. In spite of their dislike of the Greek emperors in the East, the popes realized their dependence upon the imperial government for military protection and managed to get along with them until 717, when the breach between pope and emperor, as will be shown later, revolutionized Italian politics.

Gregory's writings   There is a wide difference between Gregory I and St. Augustine, but he ranks with St. Augustine as a teacher of the Middle Ages. His works—the *Dialogues,* the *Moralia,* the *Homilies,* the *Pastoral Care*—stand second only to the works of the great African father on medieval library shelves. Gregory's allegories are sometimes very singular. For example, Job's seven sons typified the twelve apostles, for seven is made up of three and four, and whether you multiply three by four, or four by three, seven is converted into twelve. The apostles were twelve in number because they had to preach the Three Persons of the Trinity to the four points of the compass.

Pope as landlord   Among the many anxieties and strains imposed upon Gregory the Great was the management of the property of the Church of Rome. The pope was landlord of vast estates not only in and around

Rome but spread over much of the Italian peninsula, and even in Gaul, Dalmatia, Sicily, Africa, and the islands. These properties were managed by local agents and by semi-ecclesiastical officers, subdeacons sent from Rome; the *massae* or great farms with the tenants and laboring peasants attached to them were leased to *conductores* who were responsible for the rents in money or in produce. Gregory once complained: "Whoever occupies my pastorate is so overwhelmed with business as often to doubt whether he is a bishop or an earthly prince." Even before the Donation of Pepin in 756, when the temporal power of the papacy was historically established, the popes were virtually temporal rulers.

Gregory I was above all things a Roman of the Romans. He was *Gregory's* sprung from a rich and noble family. He believed that the world *character* had never produced so great a people as the Romans, and now that in God's providence Rome had become a Christian city, it was destined to greater and higher achievements under the rule of the pope than it had attained under the Caesars. He was "the last of the ancient Romans" and the "first medieval man." He was a Roman in his sternness and determination, but an Italian in his tenderness, his humor, his love of music, and simple pastimes. In a tired hour he could be amused by a wandering minstrel with his flute and trained monkey. He had a sense for the grotesque and a vein of pleasantry. "The horse which you lately sent," he writes to the steward of one of the papal farms, "I cannot ride because he is such a hack. The five donkeys which you also sent are good animals, but I cannot ride them because they are donkeys." (Ep. ii, 32.) He could be sarcastic, too. He said of John the Faster, the Patriarch of Constantinople: "He carries his abstinence so far as to feel bound to abstain from telling the truth." He was an old-fashioned Roman in his dislike of anything Greek. Although he was for seven years the papal legate in Constantinople, he never tried to learn Greek and indeed was proud of his ignorance of the language. He once refused to see a noble Roman matron because she had written to him in Greek. He had never heard of so famous a heretic as Eudoxius. He knew nothing of the Greek Church historians and apparently had not read or would not read Cassiodorus's *Historia Tripartita*, a translation into Latin of the three Greek ecclesiastical historians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoretos.

Gregory I was the first monk to become pope, and the first pope to initiate the great missionary movement for conversion of the pagan Germans, which was begun with the mission of Augustine to England in 596 and did not terminate until the conversion of the Saxons in the reign of Charlemagne, two centuries later. For

nearly one hundred and fifty years before 596, Britain had almost disappeared from the records of history; knowledge of it reached the continent only through Irish and Welsh channels. Other countries in western Europe were Roman Christian before the rise of the papacy, but Anglo-Saxon England owed its Christian faith and Christo-Latin civilization and culture directly to Rome.

The Origin and Spread of Monasticism

*Rise of
monasticism*
Monasticism, as a form of religious life, was of eastern and pre-Christian origin, for similar ascetic communities were known in antiquity, notably in ancient India. One source of early monasticism may be found in the tendency to asceticism which sprang up under the combined influence of Judaism and Platonic philosophy. By degrees asceticism became the distinctive attribute of a class.

The first evidences of monastic ideals and practices appeared in Egypt late in the third and early in the fourth century among the "Saints of the Desert." The natural result of persecution in driving Christians from the cities to remote retreats in the desert was intensified by "something in the climate and associations of Egypt which predisposed men to abdicate the duties and responsibilities relating to active life."

The reasons why Egypt was the cradle of Christian monasticism are various. Situated near the head of the Red Sea, from time immemorial Egypt had had intimate commercial relations with India and the Far East, and Alexandria was a cosmopolitan city where the peoples of the East and West met. Oriental peoples, languages, customs, and religions were naturalized in Egypt even before the Christian era. The Oriental religious ideals of asceticism and isolation took root among some of the Christian population of Egypt and could be readily practiced there. Beyond the broad ribbon of soil fertilized by the annual inundations of the Nile the desert spread on either hand, rising into low hills filled with caverns and holes in the rock, inhabited only by hyenas with here and there visible the ruins of ancient tombs. The first devotees of monasticism had need only of a jug of water and a bag of dates or millet to find isolation and asceticism within a day's tramp of the teeming populace of Egypt.

The probable origins of monasticism in Egypt are to be found in the Decian persecution in A.D. 250. It is certain that then many Christians fled to the desert, but it is more than likely that their intention was to return when the storm blew over. Yet there is ground to believe that at least one refugee became fascinated by solitary life. This was Paul of Thebes, then sixteen years old, and the first person

to whom the word "monk" can be applied with reasonable certainty.[1] The new kind of Christian life needed a new name.

Twenty years afterward a more famous man, St. Anthony, whom *St. Anthony* Athanasius immortalized, plunged into the desert. Paul was ahead of his age, but Anthony caught the imagination of the time and monasticism became popular. The Nitrian and Scetic deserts soon became filled with these singular recluses, who earned their living by weaving

The Bettmann Archive

MONTE CASSINO MONASTERY: A VIEW OF THE PRIOR'S CLOISTER

rush-mats and making baskets of reeds but who spent most of their time in prayer and meditation. Crowds resorted to these men, whose words were regarded as oracular. These self-refugees fared on a meager diet of dates, beans, and millet.

These pioneers were not monks—for monks live in communities— but hermits or anchorites, many of whom were passionate extremists in self-starvation and in the indulgence of revolting practices for the mortification of the flesh, such as scourging and voluntary living in filth and among vermin. Yet not all these desert monks were unbal-

---

[1] Hitherto the word *monos* had been an adjective, first used by Aristotle in his *Metaphysics*.

anced ascetics. "To drink wine with reason," said one of them, "is better than to drink water with pride." The bishops looked askance upon this movement, thinking it might be a new and eccentric form of heresy. They grew still more suspicious when criminals, fugitives from justice, tax evaders, deserters from the army, vagabonds, and prostitutes joined the motley population in the desert for anything but religious motives. The Egyptian police and the Egyptian clergy endeavored to restrain the movement without effect. It had to be reformed from within itself.

Beginning of monastic living

Anchoritism had to be regulated and reformed or it would bring scandal into the Church. In the first half of the fourth century, a former soldier and a Christian, named Pachomius, saved the situation. With a few friends of like mind, he established a tiny community upon an island in the Nile where they worshipped in common, lived in common, labored together daily in tillage or weaving or pottery-making (which banished idleness), ate together in common refectory, and slept together in common dormitory. Each had his cell for some hours of study and devotion every day. Pachomius drew up a few simple rules for the regulation of the little community, eliminated the worst features of anchoritism, and struck a balance between the necessity which all men must have for companionship and the extremes of asceticism and isolation. He substituted cloistered life for hermit life and was the inventor, so to speak, of monasticism. Henceforth every monastic order had its *Regula,* or *Rule,* and monks came to be known as regular clergy, as distinguished from the historically older secular clergy (bishops, deacons, priests) who live among men.[1]

Monasticism spread rapidly from Egypt through the countries of the Graeco-Oriental world. Cappadocia in Asia Minor, from the mountainous and isolated nature of the country, soon became a favorite home of Greek monks. St. Basil (died 379) took vigorous measures to put these communities under discipline and, for their regulation, compiled a series of articles which, with many amendments, is now a code known as the Basilian Rule. It is the constitution of the monasteries of the Greek Church today.

Naturally monasticism spread to the West. There were isolated monasteries around Carthage, where St. Augustine restrained its excesses, in Provence and on the islands off the Riviera coast of Italy and France, and in the valley of the Loire (modern Touraine) where the climate was mild and cells could be easily hollowed out of the chalk bluffs of the river. Here the famous St. Martin of

---

[1] Literally, "secular" signifies "of the time or age," from Latin *saeculum,* an age or period.

Tours founded (about 400) a community of monks who dwelt like swallows in a clay bank.

Some of these Gallic monks found their way to Roman Britain St. *Patrick* before the legions were withdrawn from it, and some others probably went to Ireland. St. Patrick was neither the first Christian nor the first monk to visit Ireland, but he is the earliest person with whom the larger history of Ireland began. Ireland never had been a part of the Roman Empire—a unique fact—but it nevertheless had trade relations with Britain and Gaul through which some knowledge of Christianity and Christian culture had entered Ireland. The German invasions of Gaul in the fifth century, especially that of the Vandals, seem to have driven numerous Gallo-Romans, some of them highly educated, to Ireland for refuge.

Ireland then was a wild land, and the Irish a wild people for the most part, in constant intertribal warfare, a pastoral and piratical rather than an agricultural people. This piracy was destined to have profound influence on Irish history, for St. Patrick was the most distinguished victim and hero of that piracy. He was born about the year 400 in South Wales, and was the son of a British decurion in the Roman army in Britain; his grandfather was a Christian priest. These were the last years of Roman domination in Britain. Carried off by Irish pirates in a raid "which made havoc of the place where I was born," he has written, he was sold into slavery to an Irish master in Antrim. To the end of his life he was as proud of his Roman citizenship as was St. Paul.

Like many other religious seers, he had visions and heard voices commanding him to go forth to Gaul, there to learn more of the Christian faith and then to return to Ireland for its conversion. He escaped on a trading brig and, after wide wandering and much hardship, found himself among the monastic communities in the islands of the Tyrrhene Sea, perhaps at Lérins. There he studied for some time, and later made a long stay at Auxerre with St. Germanus. The latter in 429 had been sent by Pope Celestine to Britain to deal with the Pelagian [1] heresy, and two years afterwards the pope dispatched Palladius, the deacon, as bishop "to the Scots that believed in Christ." This information is highly interesting. It is evidence of Church relations between Gaul and Britain even during the invasions and, further, of Christian relations between Gaul and Ireland, for Scotia was the name for Ireland at this time. Evidently there was some Christianity in Ireland when Patrick was a slave there. Probably in Auxerre, Patrick became a monk and

---

[1] Pelagius, in opposition to St. Augustine, insisted on man's free will.

adopted the name by which he has come down in history.[1] He returned to "the nation which once took me captive," so he writes in his wonderful autobiography. "I, Patrick the sinner, a slave in Christ," resolved to devote his life to the conversion of the Irish people. This was in 432, and he died in 461.

He began his mission in Strangford Lough in County Down. Legend and romance have embroidered the achievements of St. Patrick, but there is no doubt of his success. He was not the first to introduce Christianity into Ireland, but he made Ireland Christian. The Church in Ireland which St. Patrick established, however, was very different in structure from that on the continent, for it was powerfully molded by the Irish tribal or clan system. Each clan occupied a certain territory and was ruled by its chief, over whom the High King at Tara was suzerain rather than sovereign.

The ability of the Church to adapt itself to local customs and local conditions has always been remarkable. In the greater part of western Europe the Church adapted itself to Roman conditions and was organized on a Roman pattern. In Ireland it was engrafted on the Irish tribal system. Each tribe probably had one bishop, who was nominated by the tribal chief and there was an extraordinary number of priests.

Early Irish Church

The early Irish Church was neither parochial, nor—in the Roman sense—episcopal, for the "bishops" were without sees and their office was merely for consecration and ordination. The real form of the Irish Church was monastic. "The normal Irish monastery was connected with a single tribe, and acknowledged no ecclesiastical superior capable of controlling its abbot." Aside from this peculiar nature of the bishop's office, Irish Christianity differed from Rome in the dating of Easter and the form of tonsure, variations far from trivial in that time. The most celebrated monastery was at Bangor in Ulster.

The new Irish-Christian culture flowered like a spilling rose. Irish monks revived a knowledge of classical literature, even the Greek, which had almost perished in western Europe. Students from England and Frankish Gaul thronged across the sea to learn in Irish schools. The Irish ornamentation of manuscripts, for example, the *Book of Kells*, was never exceeded for beauty of design and technical execution. But the most wonderful manifestation of Irish Christianity was the expansive energy of its missionary spirit. Remnants of British Christianity still survived in far northern Britain (Caledonia) among the Picts and there were newer monastic houses which may have been founded by monks from St. Martin's

---

[1] Patrick's original name was Sucath.

at Tours; contact between Ireland and Caledonia was natural.

So great and so rapid was the influx of Irish monks into Cale- *St. Columba*
donia in the sixth century that the name *Scotia* in time lost its sig-
nificance in Ireland and became attached to northern Britain,
where *Scotia* or Scotland supplanted Caledonia, while in Ireland
the name *Hibernia* or *Erin*, originally a small northern county,
gradually spread over the whole island. The most influential of
these Irish missionaries to New Scotland was St. Columba (the
Dove, his monkish name). Far from being the pink-and-white, ven-
erable looking, and pious saint of legend, Columba, although he
could be gentle to the weak and was fond of animals, was a type of
the aristocratic fighting prelate who might have been, but for his
priesthood, High King of Ireland. As a politician, he was called
"the Fox" by his enemies. When the High King Diarmaid banished
him, not without reason, he called out his clan like a Highland
chieftain, but, although he won the battle, his conscience troubled
him and he resolved to pass the rest of his days abroad. He founded
a monastery on the lonely and tiny islet of Iona in the Irish Sea
which became the station for the expansion of Irish missions in
Scotland, especially in what is now Argyll. Here the people were
Christians, since they still had the tradition of St. Patrick, some of
whose followers had anticipated Columba; St. Brendan had founded
Irish churches in Tiree and Bute twenty years before Columba's
arrival. It does not detract from Columba's glory that many Irish
missionaries had preceded him in Scotland, the greatest of whom
was St. Ninian, a Gaul who had preached among the Picts two hun-
dred years before St: Columba. Columba sowed his seed in many
places on ground already half-prepared.

Roman monasticism developed more than a century after that *St. Benedict*
of Gaul and Ireland. St. Martin of Tours died in 397, and the
career of St. Benedict, the founder of the first monastic order of
the Roman Church, did not begin until the first quarter of the sixth
century. Benedict was born around 480, of noble parentage in a
hamlet in an isolated valley of the Apennines some eighty miles
from Rome, and was a boy when Theodoric established the Ostro-
gothic kingdom. When he was sent to Rome for his education, he
was shocked by the worldliness and wickedness of the city and fled
to the hills to escape temptation. In the Alban hills the old villas
of the Roman nobility were now in ruins. At Subiaco, forty-four
miles from Rome, Nero had erected a sumptuous summer palace
in a gorge of the little river Anio and constructed an artificial lake.
The country roundabout was almost without inhabitants except
for rude shepherds pasturing their flocks. In Subiaco, Benedict,

with a handful of volunteer monks, founded a monastery, which grew so rapidly that a second house was soon built not far away.

The fame of the community spread, and Benedict "found himself no longer a recluse but the centre of a great system of administration, his name a battle-cry, himself the leader of a party." In search of a more isolated site, Benedict removed his little community of monks to Monte Cassino, halfway between Rome and Naples in the old Roman province of Campania. It was an epoch-making event; Monte Cassino, which still survives as a great and noble institution, is the mother-monastery of Benedictinism. For the government of the community, St. Benedict drew up a Rule—the Benedictine Rule—which minutely regulated the daily life of the monks from hour to hour. Prayer, worship, and labor absorbed all their waking hours; Benedict firmly believed that idleness was a sin in itself and often led to vice. Accordingly every monk had his daily task in household work, or out of doors in garden, field, and orchard, or ditching and draining swamp land, or felling timber and clearing forest. A medieval monastery was the center of a great farm or farms, inhabited by hundreds of villagers as serfs. Every monastery was, then, a religious, economic, and social unit.

Cassiodorus   St. Benedict shares with another Roman noble of the same time the honor of founding Catholic—as distinguished from Gallican and Irish—monasticism. This was Cassiodorus, who had been Latin secretary of Theodoric. During the war which the Emperor Justinian waged for the conquest of Italy, he retired to private life and established a monastic community which he called *Vivarium,* or Fish Pond, on his ancestral lands in southern Italy. Vivarium never sent out off-shoots as Monte Cassino did, but it exerted an important influence upon monasticism. St. Benedict, for example, hated classical literature as of pagan authorship, fearing lest it would contaminate his monks; hence nothing except the Bible, patristic writings, sermons, etc., were allowed in the Benedictine houses. Cassiodorus, on the other hand, was wiser and more liberal; he collected a rich library of classical literature—it was not "profane" to him—along with "sacred" books. He recognized the necessity for his monks to know classical literature, not only for its better Latin but for its cultural value. Gregory I shared St. Benedict's view and also condemned the classics. It is fortunate that this prejudice soon passed away and that Benedictine monasticism followed Cassiodorus's instead of Benedict's example. Ancient literature thus was saved from almost certain destruction, and the monasteries in the seventh century and for centuries thereafter became the great schools of the Middle Ages.

THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND

The earliest clear proof of Christian influence in England is seen *St. Augustine* in the effects of St. Augustine's mission there. The Roman Christian religion and form of Church government was introduced into England along with continental culture. The rapidity with which England was Christianized is amazing. Augustine fixed his archiepiscopal seat at Canterbury in 602; in 603 he held two conferences with British bishops, hoping to reconcile the British Church (then confined to Wales) with Rome; in 604 the sees of London and Rochester were established; in 625 the (arch)bishopric of York was founded in Northumbria; East Anglia began to be Christianized in 632; the conversion of Wessex started in 634; only Mercia stubbornly stayed heathen until 655. The increase in and organization of new bishoprics proceeded apace. Much of the Christian success was due to Theodore of Tarsus, a Greek, who came out from Rome to be Archbishop of Canterbury in 668.

The first dioceses in England were co-extensive with the kingdoms. Later as Christianity grew and expanded these great bishoprics were broken up into smaller ones which usually followed the tribal demarcations within each kingdom. The development of the parish came later.

In the meanwhile a momentous intellectual change took place— *Aldhelm* the entrance of Irish and Scottish monks in Anglo-Saxon England. In 634 Aidan, a Scot, founded a monastery at Lindisfarne on the Northumbrian coast, which grew into Weremouth; Jarrow in the same place soon followed; soon some Irish monks founded Malmesbury in Wessex near the Welsh border. Both houses became seats of English learning, for although not of Anglo-Saxon foundation they were filled with English monks. The light of Lindisfarne was Benedict Biscop (d. 690) who made nine journeys to Rome whence he brought back books and sacred pictures for the chapel and the school. In Malmesbury at the same time was Aldhelm (d. 690), nobly born and kin to the royal house of Wessex, who later studied at Canterbury under Theodore of Tarsus (from whom he learned Greek) and his successor Hadrian. Aldhelm was the first great English-born scholar. Thus there sprang up in England a rich religious, intellectual, and aesthetic culture formed of the fusion of Irish, Scottish, and Roman sources with the native Anglo-Saxon element. Nothing so variegated yet integrated, nothing so original and vital, existed anywhere else in western Europe.

Even before the end of the seventh century, Irish and Frankish *The Vener-* students were crossing the seas to attend English schools. The great- *able Bede*

ANGLO SAXON ENGLAND ABOUT 800

est of these schools were the twin monasteries of Weremouth and Jarrow, and the greatest teacher and scholar there was Bede the Venerable, who died in 735. Although Bede never went abroad and hardly even left the confines of his abbey, he carried on a European correspondence, borrowed books from Italy, the Frankish land, Ireland, and Scotland, and even from Spain, and wrote invaluable works, the greatest being the *Ecclesiastical History of England*, extending from Roman Britain to his own times. It is a mine of information on the barbarian epoch, and its accuracy is astonishing. The scholarship which Bede established, as we shall see later on, was the source of the intellectual revival in the reign of Charlemagne, known as the Carolingian Renaissance. In this reconstruction the Benedictine monasteries rendered great service.

The Frankish kingdom had abounded with Irish monasteries from late in the sixth century, before the Benedictines began to arrive from Italy. First and greatest of these Irish missionary monks was St. Columban, who came to the continent in 585 with twelve companions and founded Bobbio at the foot of the Italian Alps. Greatest of all the Irish foundations was St. Gall (named after Columban's greatest disciple) on Lake Zurich. The rapid growth of the Irish foundations, with their wide differences from the Roman church soon provoked the opposition of the Catholic bishops, and by the eighth century all the Irish foundations had been either suppressed or replaced by Benedictine monks. Nevertheless, in spite of the brief period of its existence on the continent, Irish monasticism made an indelible mark upon European culture. It brought the learning of Irish scholarship to Frankish Gaul and Germany in a time when higher culture had almost perished in those countries, and shamed the Benedictines into doing as well as they had done and continuing what they had begun for the promotion of education and the cause of learning.

In the Benedictine victory and reform of the Irish monasteries *St. Boniface* on the continent, no one was more important than St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, greatest of the English missionaries. English Benedictinism ever since Gregory the Great's mission to England in 596 had been distinguished for its missionary zeal, and English monks, now that England was converted, turned to the continent for new fields of activity. The Irish monks had converted the Alpine lands, but Frisia, Hesse, and Saxony were heathen. Wilbrord, one of the last of Bede's pupils, who had also studied in Ireland, was the first apostle to the Frisians (722) and was made first bishop of Utrecht in 722, after Charles Martel's subjugation of the Frisians. In 723 Boniface—his real name was Winfred—began

preaching in Hesse and Thuringia, but first he went to Rome to get the pope's approval for his undertaking. There was always a close relationship between Benedictine missions and the papacy. Boniface labored for thirty years in Germany; he founded twelve monasteries of which Fulda was the greatest, reorganized Church government, established new bishoprics, and himself became the first Archbishop of Mainz, the premier see of Germany. Between these labors, Boniface made frequent trips to Rome and to the Frankish court where Charles Martel and Pepin were kept informed of what was passing east of the Rhine and in Rome.

St. Boniface was more successful than any of his predecessors because he secured the direct sanction both of the pope in Rome and of the ruler of the Franks. Their joint sponsorship of his work helped to bring them closer together at a time when Western civilization was in desperate need of their united assistance if it were to survive.[1]

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. BONIFACE
(After the fresco by Carl Hesse)

[1] He lived to see the coronation of Pepin but died in 755, the year before Pepin's Italian campaign. In his old age St. Boniface turned towards the dream of his young manhood. Again he would be a missionary and so he set out with a few companions for the wilds of Frisia. There he and his disciples were murdered in 755 by some heathen Frisians; the chests of books and vessels for worship and priestly vestures were half destroyed and thrown into the swamp. These articles were later recovered and there are three manuscript books today in the library at Fulda in Germany, founded by Boniface, which may have belonged to him. One of these has been slashed across as by a sword, which is interesting because when years afterwards Bishop Radbod of Utrecht wrote the *Life of St. Boniface* he found an old Frisian woman "who asserted under oath that she was present when the soldier of Christ was beheaded, and said that when he was smitten by the sword he covered his head with a copy of the Holy Gospels in order that beneath it he might receive the stroke of the murderer, and that he might have its defence in death as he had loved its words in life."

COLLATERAL READING

St. Benedict, *Rule*. Translated by F. H. Gasquet, 1908.

C. H. Dawson, *The Making of Europe*, 1932.

F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great*, 1905, 2 volumes.

E. Emerton, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, 1916.

A. Harnack, *Monasticism*, 1901.

M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500–900*, 1931.

F. Lot, *The End of the Ancient World and the Beginning of the Middle Ages*, 1905.

C. Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, 1896, 6 volumes.

E. K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages*, 1928.

Willibald, *Life of St. Boniface*. Translated by G. W. Robinson, 1916.

CHARLEMAGNE

The Empire of Charlemagne

CHARLEMAGNE stands alone in history as the creator and founder of a new order of civilization. He, gave some semblance of unity to a divided and broken western Europe and molded the mixed elements of Roman, German, and Christian institutions, while they were yet plastic, into a composite but integrated civilization. The German elements were essentially Frankish, and Charlemagne's reign crowned a long period of Frankish achievement which began with the great Merovingian king, Clovis (481–511).

The Franks were the last German nation which invaded Gaul (481). Clovis defeated the last Roman commander at Soissons in 486 and rapidly expanded his rule over the Visigothic and Burgundian kingdoms in Gaul. Unlike all the other Germans who had entered the Roman Empire, the Franks were not Arians but heathen Germans. Both for the Gallo-Romans, whom they conquered, and for themselves, this was fortunate; as has been shown, intense hatred existed between the Catholic Roman population and their German rulers in Gothic Spain, Gothic Italy, and Burgundian Gaul. But in northern Gaul the Catholic population had little or no resentment against the Franks, because of Clovis's clement policy. There was little or no spoliation of the civilian population.

From the first the Catholic clergy in Gaul had high hopes of converting Clovis to Christianity and they were not disappointed. St. Remi, the (Arch)bishop of Rheims, became his counsellor in the difficult problem of governing his new subjects, for the Franks, unlike the other Germans, had little understanding of the working of Roman institutions. Clovis's marriage with Clotilda, the Bur-

gundian king's niece who became a Catholic and was expelled from her country by the angry king, paved the way for Clovis's public profession of the Catholic religion in 496.[1] The king's conversion created a virtual alliance between the Frankish monarchy, the Catholic Church, and the papacy. It reconciled the Roman population of Gaul to Frankish domination, and it threw the whole force of the Catholic Church and the power of the bishops in support of the Frankish monarchy; the Catholic population in the other Arian kingdoms took heart, and the bishops there openly encouraged Clovis's conquests of the Visigoths and Burgundians.

The nature of the Frankish movement was the second important factor in the formation and power of the Frankish kingship; unlike previous German movements, this was an expansion and not a migration. The Goths, the Vandals, and the Burgundians had trekked out of Germany and had finally settled down and established kingdoms in Gaul, Spain, Italy, and Africa, where they were completely out of contact with the mother-land. They gradually lost much of their German nature and became Romanized, as the tribal codes of law show. This Romanization, coming in a period when Roman institutions had already lost their strength, doomed the Goths, the Burgundians, and the Vandals to a weakness from which the Franks were preserved. The Franks did not abandon their territory in Germany in the Lower Rhinelands when they conquered Gaul; they merely annexed Roman territory to their original land. The Frankish kingdom was thus a unique phenomenon, geographically half-German and half-Roman, a union of German with Roman territory.

Frankish expansion

The Frankish monarchy, as no other German kingship, was based upon two old and firm historical foundations—Roman imperial organization and the Church. For more than four centuries Gaul had been under Roman rule and it was completely Romanized. Roman institutions, Roman law, Roman civilization, and the Latin language reigned supreme. The race remained Celtic, but it was Latin in its life.

The Merovingian monarchy was an imitation of the Roman Empire in Gaul. The clergy had preserved the imperial tradition. It was they who taught the Frankish kings that they were the continuators of the imperial tradition, who produced around them

Frankish monarchy

---

[1] One may doubt the tale that before his battle with the Allemanni in this year Clovis declared that if he was victorious he would give the credit to the Christians' God, but if the battle were lost, he would adhere to the worship of Woden. Since Woden was the German war-god, it would seem that consistency would require him to stay heathen if he won.

EXPANSION OF THE
FRANKS

Extent of territory in 481
Conquests, 481 to 768
Conquests of Charlemagne, 768–814
Owing tribute to Charlemagne

Scale of Miles
0   100   200   300

DANES

BALTIC SEA

ABODRITES
WILZIANS
Elbe R.
Oder R.
V'istula R.

SAXONS

SORBS

BOHEMIANS

MORAVIANS

SAXONS

AUSTRASIA
Cologne
Treves

Ratisbon

THURINGIA

BAVARIA

Danube

AVARS

BRITTANY

Paris
Orleans

NEUSTRIA

Rhine R.

Rhone R.

AQUITAINE
Lyon
Bordeaux

Pavia   Venice
Po R.

CROATS

SERBIANS

GASCONY

SEPTIMANIA

PROVENCE
Marseille

LOMBARDS

ADRIATIC SEA

SPANISH
MARCH

CORSICA

Rome

Barcelona

MEDITERRANEAN   SEA

KINGDOM   OF   THE   FRANKS
Lyon

Milan   Verona
Pavia   Venice

LOMBARD

Ravenna

Marseille   Genoa   Florence

ITALY
AFTER THE
LOMBARD INVASION

Lombard territory
Territories of the
East Roman Empire

Scale of Miles
0   50   100   150   200

Perugia

ADRIATIC SEA

CORSICA

Spoleto

KINGDOM

Rome

Benevento

SARDINIA

Naples

EAST   ROMAN   EMPIRE

MEDITERRANEAN

Reggio

SICILY

Carthage

Syracuse

SEA

MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO.,INC.,N.Y.

the illusion of a Roman rule. Thus the purpose and practice of Clovis and his successors were not to conquer the Roman Empire, not to substitute a German polity for a Roman one, but to continue the imperial tradition and re-establish its authority under the Frankish kings.

The Franks conquered the rest of Germany—Allemanni (496), Thuringians (532), Bavarians (552), Frisians (719), and finally the Saxons after a long war which endured for more than thirty years (772–804). The importance of this eastward expansion of the Franks cannot be exaggerated. For five centuries the German nations had been streaming out of the homeland into the Roman Empire, and as fast as they vacated the country the Slavs in many tribes had flowed in and occupied the abandoned territory. Now the Frankish conquest of Germany compelled the Allemanni, the Bavarians, and perhaps even the Thuringians and Saxons to remain in Germany. The southern and western tribes in Germany almost certainly would have migrated if they had not been arrested by Frankish conquest. The Frankish subjugation of Germany saved the German nation from trickling away as the previous German peoples had done, losing themselves in the Roman Empire. If the Franks had not stopped Germany from continuing to pour out its peoples like an overturned vessel, the country might have been emptied and the Slavs might gradually have occupied the whole of it. *Frankish conquest of Germany*

Unfortunately Clovis and his successors regarded the kingdom which he had won as a piece of property to be parceled among his heirs. Before he died in 511, Clovis divided his realm into four kingdoms among his four sons. It is true that these were not arbitrary divisions; they did correspond to territories which reflected actual historical differences. Austracsa (the root *Austr* signifies East as in *Ostro*-Goth) embraced the old Frankish territory in the Lower Rhineland and modern Belgium, together with Clovis's first conquests in 486 and 496; Neustria was Neu-Austrasia or New Austrasia, the territory between the Seine and the Loire; Burgundy, of course, was the former Burgundian kingdom; Aquitaine was the former Visigothic kingdom in Gaul between the Loire, the Rhone, and the Pyrenees.[1] All four kingdoms were reunited in 558 under Chlotair I, as the result of the death of his brothers without issue, but three years later were again distributed among his four sons.

The civil war which broke out in 573 superficially seems to have

---

[1] It is not without significance that it preserved the name of one of the three grand divisions of Celtic Gaul which Caesar had distinguished, and did not have a German name.

been a fratricidal conflict; in reality the kings were mere pawns on a chessboard. The war was a struggle of the great proprietary nobles —some Roman, some Frank, and many great landed bishops— against the kings whom they were eager to deprive of power and to despoil of their vast crown lands. The weaker of the royal brothers yielded and even sided with this aristocracy; the stronger struggled in vain to retain possession of their heritage. The nobles demanded that they have the countships and other administrative offices and that they be given great grants out of the fisc or crown lands, as well as judicial and taxing rights in the regions in which they lived. This clearly foreshadows feudalism in spirit and practice, for feudalism was that process by which private claims usurped the rights and prerogatives of government, leaving government the attributes of authority—the husk, as it were—and stealing the substance.

In this strife, the main objective of the nobles, as well as many of the bishops, was to seize the crown lands. These were scattered all over the kingdom and in their totality formed a huge fortune, the management of which had given rise to the most important office of the Frankish administration, the mayor of the palace. Living at court and always with the king, the mayor of the palace was superintendent of the whole body of crown lands, each of which was managed by a steward or local mayor responsible to him.

After years of appalling civil war, the aristocracy finally triumphed. By the Pact of Paris in 613 King Chlotair II not only legalized all past seizures of the crown lands but made substantial new allotments from them to the nobles. More important still, the leader of the victorious nobles was made mayor of the palace, which by now amounted to the actual rulership of the kingdom. This leader was Pepin of Landen, the richest lord-proprietor in Gaul. His power, if not his title, was that of king. Henceforward the Frankish kings might reign, but they did not govern. They were shadows, lean and solemn phantoms.

The mayoralty became hereditary in the house of Pepin and grew stronger with the years. Another civil war was precipitated in 673 by the jealous nobility, but finally Pepin of Heristal was completely victorious at Tertry (near St. Quentin) in 687. From then until his death in 714 Pepin Heristal ruled the Frankish kingdom with power and ability. The hereditary kings were nonentities. He began to reconstruct the torn and ruined realm and to reconquer the border tribes, who had escaped from Frankish control during the civil war.

When Pepin of Heristal died in 714, his son Charles Martel, that

is, the "Hammer," succeeded him. He was even abler than his father, and it was well for him that he was, for the Mohammedans, having conquered Spain in 711,[1] soon circled both ends of the Pyrenees and ravaged Aquitaine. The monasteries especially suffered, since the Saracens were not long in finding out that much money and plate and precious jewels were in their treasuries. In 732, having combed Aquitaine until little treasure was left in the monasteries there, Abd-er-Rahman, the Saracen commander, advanced into Poitou to plunder the great abbey of St. Martin of Tours, the oldest and richest monastery in Frankish Gaul. In the flat plain between Poitiers and Tours, Charles Martel met and defeated the invaders. But it was a narrow victory. The Saracen army was composed of mounted soldiery, while the Frankish army was mainly made up of foot forces; only the nobles were mounted. Foreseeing that he could not successfully meet the foe in the open field, Charles Martel built a trenched and staked camp in which he sturdily held his men. The Saracen horsemen again and again futilely charged this formidable redoubt. The horses could not leap the trench and many of them were impaled upon the sharp stakes which not only fenced the edge of the trenches but also bristled in serried ranks along the front of the redoubt. Meanwhile the Franks rained arrows and javelins upon the Saracens. At the end of five days Abd-er-Rahman was compelled to retreat with the remnants of his badly battered army. Then only did Charles Martel release his impatient soldiery to harry the rear of the retiring and scattered host.

Battle of Tours (732)

Charles Martel knew well that, although he had won this battle, more battles were to come; that the Saracens would return and it might be years before Gaul could be made safe from their forays. He perceived, too, that the Frankish army would have to be mounted as the Saracens were, and that infantry would be of little avail against cavalry. This revolutionary change in the art of war would require thousands of horses, and thousands of men would have to be trained to a new manual of arms and to learn to fight on horseback. History shows that every new and important military or naval invention is very costly. It was so now. Land was almost the sole form of wealth. Who could furnish sufficient land to accomplish this change? Obviously the land would have to come from the land-holding classes—of the nobles and the clergy—and of these the latter were far the richer. It has been estimated that in the eighth century the Frankish Church possessed at least one-third, perhaps as much as one-half, of the arable land in the whole kingdom.

[1] The rise and expansion of Islam will be found in a subsequent chapter.

Charles Martel appealed to the Frankish clergy voluntarily to give up part of their lands that he might distribute them among the nobles. Although many of the nobles were great proprietors able to bear the new military burden, many others were not rich enough to sustain the expense without aid from the government. The clergy, however, refused to surrender any of its lands, in spite of the fact that the Church had a religious as well as a material interest in protecting Gaul from renewed Saracen invasion, since bishoprics and abbeys were the first objective of the invaders. In this emergency, Charles Martel acted with both adroitness and courage. He took by force sufficient ecclesiastical lands to effect the necessary change in equipment of the Frankish army and distributed the confiscated lands among the nobles as *benefices,* or military grants. Recipients of these benefices were bound to do military service and to contribute a body of armed and mounted retainers who were nobles of lower degree. The contract was of a double nature, property use and personal service being combined together in a single obligation. Hitherto there had been quasi-feudal conditions and practices in the Frankish administration, but Charles Martel by this action moved much closer to organized and lawful feudalism. In the course of time, the benefice grew into the feudal fief, the beneficed noble into a vassal, and the lesser noble retainer into a subvassal.

By the middle of the ninth century the Frankish army was wholly composed of cavalry, who *ipso facto,* because they were a landed and mounted gentry, were at least of knightly rank.[1] Foot forces had wholly disappeared, and most of the free class were sinking into serfdom. With this newly constituted army Charles Martel spent most of the last years of his life (732–741) in the south of Gaul fighting the Saracens, who time and again invaded the country. Twice the Saracens reached as far as Provence where they terribly devastated the towns in the Rhone valley and were only driven out with the aid of Luitprand, the Lombard king.

The Merovingian kings under the great mayor were a sorry lot, so weak indeed that Charles once ruled for four years without a king at all. His son Pepin the Short (741–768) believed that the time was nearly ripe for the mayor to cease to be a king-maker and to become king himself. But there were serious obstacles in the way of this ambition. In spite of the weakness of the Merovingian sovereigns, a certain sort of awe protected them. The hereditability of the dynasty of Clovis had only once been challenged (in 656), and that attempt had failed dismally. Moreover, ever since Clovis

---

[1] The word *chevalier,* or knight, is derived from the word *cheval,* a horse.

had recognized Christianity and been crowned by St. Remi, all the kings had been consecrated by the Church. The coronation ceremony conferred a right upon the Church. Could the king be deposed unless the Church consented to it? Could the king, in fact, be deposed at all? Moreover, would the Frankish clergy consent to the king's deposition? Charles Martel had grievously offended them when he had seized ecclesiastical lands for military use.

Pepin the Short began by endeavoring to conciliate the bishops and to that end he summoned two synods, one in Neustria, the other in Austrasia, in 742. A great show of Church reform was made, and some of the confiscated land was restored. Even then Pepin perceived that he could not be certain of the support of the Frankish bishops, and, consequently, he turned to the monks. Here he was successful; in St. Boniface, he found a rare combination of religious zeal with practical wisdom. Advised by St. Boniface, he sought to overcome any opposition of the Frankish bishops to his assumption of the crown by appealing to the higher authority of the pope. Pope Zacharias might well be expected to further Pepin the Short's ambition since he had hard need of powerful protection against the Lombards—and from whom could more powerful protection come than from the great Frankish mayor? *Pepin and the bishops*

Ever since their invasion in 568 the Lombard ambition to subjugate the rest of Italy had menaced both the Eastern Empire and the papacy. The imperial exarch in Italy was ill-supported by the Byzantine government, which was hard pressed by the Avars, Bulgars, and Serbs in Europe. In Asia and Africa the hosts of Islam had conquered all the former countries possessed by the Eastern Roman Empire, except Asia Minor. Egypt, Tripolitan and Carthaginian Africa, and the islands of Cyprus and Rhodes, the latter two naval stations for the formidable Mohammedan fleet, were also under Moslem rule. Constantinople was four times assailed in four years (654–658); was attacked again in 667 and 672–673, and even more formidably in 717. Even if Emperor Leo III the Isaurian (717–741) had been so inclined, he was unable to give his exarch and the pope in Italy assistance against the Lombards, and any hope the pope might have had of help from the eastern emperor came to an end when they sharply opposed each other in the iconoclastic controversy. Leo III—dubbed an "iconoclast" by his enemies—instituted drastic Church reforms, among them removal of sacred statuary and pictures from all the churches, and imposed severe restrictions upon the monasteries which connived with rich landholders and assisted them in evading taxes and military service. In 731 Pope Gregory III excommunicated him as a heretic. In *Breach between emperor and pope*

THE LOMBARD KINGS IN ITALY

1. ALBOIN
(568-72)
———
2. CLEPHO
(572-3)

Garibald, Duke of
Bavaria

3. AUTHARI = Theodelinda = 4. AGILULF   Gundoald
(583-90)   (590-615)

5 ADALOALD   Gundiberga = 6. ARIOALD   9. ARIBERT
(615-25)   (625-36)   (653-62)

10. GODEBERT   12. BERTHARI   A daughter = 11. GRIMOALD
(662)   (672-88)   (662-71)

Reginbert, Duke of   13. CUNIBERT   Garibald
Turin   (688-700)

15. ARIBERT II   14. LIUTBERT
(701-11)   (700-1)
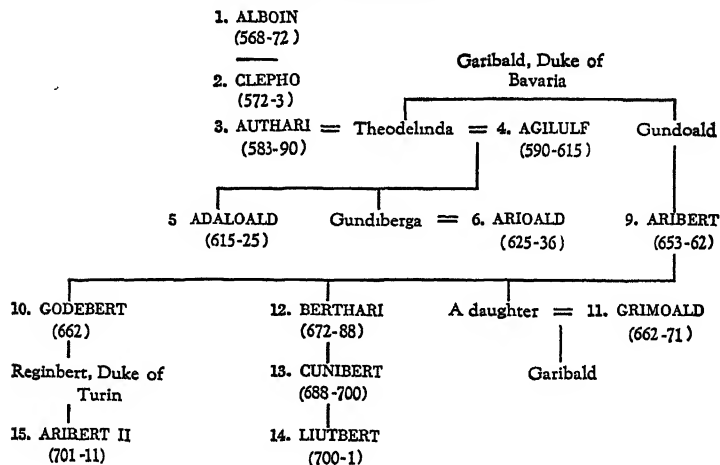
Kings not connected with this house were (7) Rothari, 636-52; (8) Rodoald, 652-3; (16) Ansprand, 712; (17) Liutprand 712-44; (18) Hildebrand, 744; (19) Ratchis, 744-9; (20) Aistulf, 749-56; (21) Desiderius, 756-74

THE GREAT MAYORS OF THE PALACE

St.Arnulf, Bp. of   PEPIN the Elder; Mayor
Metz, died 641   of Austrasia, died 639

ANSEGISEL, mayor = Begga   GRIMWALD, mayor of
of Austrasia   Austrasia, died 656
(632-8)

Plectrudis = PEPIN of Herstal, mayor = Alphaida
             of Austrasia, Neustria, and
             Burgundy, died 714

GRIMWALD,   Drogo,   CHARLES MARTEL, mayor
mayor of   died 708   of Austrasia 717, of all the
Neustria   Kingdoms 719. died 741
died 714

Theudoald   CARLOMAN,   PEPIN the Short,   Grifo   Bernhard
             mayor of   mayor of Neustria
             Austrasia,   741, King of the
             died 754   Franks 752

             CHARLES the   CARLOMAN   Adalhard   Wala
             Great

retaliation Emperor Leo III confiscated the papal patrimony in South Italy and Sicily, separated the bishoprics there from papal authority, and put them under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople.

These were the years of Lombard strength under one of their *Lombards and* ablest kings, Luitprand (719–744), who hoped to unite the whole *the papacy* Italian peninsula under his rule. The king's plan meant the conquest of Rome and the papal patrimony, the two Lombard duchies of Benevento and Spoleto in Central Italy, and the Greek provinces of the far south, Apulia and Calabria. In the face of this menace the popes had appealed in vain to Charles Martel, for Luitprand had assisted Charles in expelling the Saracens from Provence. The sudden death of Luitprand did save the papal territory and the rest of Italy from immediate subjugation, but the advance of the Lombards was soon renewed, Rome again was endangered, and the pope was in great need of military assistance. The emperor was indifferent, even an enemy. To whom could the pope look for support except to the powerful Frankish mayor, Pepin the Short? Thus it came to pass in 751 that a papal embassy to the land of the Franks crossed an embassy from Pepin to Rome to solicit the pope's approval of the deposition of Childeric III.

The years 744–774 are the turning point in the history of Italy —the crisis which determined that Italy was not to become a national kingdom. The ruin of the Lombards begins at the moment of their greatest triumph. In 751 Aistulf, an energetic king, drove the Byzantines out of Ravenna and ruled the whole of north and north-central Italy. In the next year he started out to complete his triumph by the conquest of Rome, which was nominally under the overlordship of the emperor at Constantinople. In the face of the Lombard approach towards Rome, it was not from his heretical overlord that Pope Stephen II sought assistance but from Pepin the Frank, who had just superseded the deposed Merovingian king in Frankish Gaul, with the pope's consent.

Pepin now reversed his father's policy of alliance with the Lom- *Donation of* bards and paid the political debt he owed to the pope for sanc- *Pepin* tioning his seizure of the Frankish throne. To discharge it, he came over the Alps with an army, compelled Aistulf to evacuate his recent conquests, and in a formal donation bestowed the territory which the Lombards had lately won from the Greeks upon the papacy. Thus were created the States of the Church—the temporal power of the papacy, which has lasted for more than a thousand years.

From this time, the days of the Lombard kingdom were num-

bered. Since their conversion to orthodoxy in the previous century the Lombards, king and people alike, had become devoted to Catholicism. They were among the most liberal founders of churches and monasteries in the West, and their legislation abounds with clauses in favor of religion. Yet in spite of this, they were always opposed by the popes, who regarded themselves as the legitimate heirs of the imperial dominions in Italy, and any Lombard encroachment on imperial territory was resented as an attack upon the Roman Church.

Pepin's coronation and his Donation to the papacy are only the highlights of a reign that was notable along many lines. He made three campaigns against the Saxons, the only heathen Germans remaining after the conversion of the Frisians, but the south of Gaul gave him much more concern. Here the Gascon duke Waifar desperately fought to liberate the territory from Frankish rule, and seven expeditions were required to reduce him to subjection. The most substantial single achievement of Pepin in the long war of Aquitaine was the capture of Narbonne at the east end of the Pyrenees in 759, which thenceforth became a bulwark against Spanish Islam.

CHARLEMAGNE

At his death in 768 Pepin had followed Merovingian precedent and divided the kingdom between his two sons, Charles and Carloman. The two brothers had never been on good terms, and the situation grew much worse when the duke of Gascony revolted against Charles, and Carloman refused his aid in putting down the rebellion. The queen-mother, Bertrada, was so alarmed at the prospect of civil war that she conceived the unsound idea of having her two hostile sons marry two of the daughters of the Lombard king, Desiderius. Instead of bringing peace to the family, the double marriage added to the complications. In 771 Carloman died, leaving two children who were the legal heirs to their father's half of the Frankish kingdom. Charles ignored their rights and united his deceased brother's share of the realm with his own. Carloman's widow indignantly returned to Pavia with her two little children, and when her sister protested against Charles's disinheritance of his nephews, Charles packed her off to Lombardy and found another wife.

From 771 to 814 [1] Charles was sole ruler of the Franks, and in the course of his long reign he attained supreme distinction. He

---

[1] 768–771, in association with Carloman.

earned title to Charlemagne, Charles the Great, equally great as conqueror, as emperor, and as patron of learning.

Charlemagne is one of the great conquerors of history. War had been, of course, a powerful factor in the growth of Frankish power and expansion in the Merovingian period, and it was even more so in the reign of Charles. In all, he waged forty-eight campaigns, or more than one for every year of his reign. All of them, except the two against the Avars, were offensive wars, unless his two against the Lombards in defense of the papacy are termed defensive. The ruling motives in them were the imposition of Frankish domination, and with it Frankish civilization, and the expansion of Christianity over the pagan peoples in central Europe.

The first conquest was the Lombard kingdom. There had been strained relations between the Frankish and Lombard courts ever since Carloman's death, the flight of his widow and sons to Pavia, and the divorce of Charles's Lombard queen, but war did not follow at once. In 772 when Charles was in North Germany, fighting the Saxons, a messenger from Pope Hadrian I brought him word that Desiderius had invaded the papal territory. Once more the pope begged for Frankish protection. At first Charles hesitated, since he was loath to abandon the Saxon campaign. When, however, a second messenger brought information that the Lombard king was also supporting the pretensions of his grandchildren to Carloman's half of the Frankish kingdom, Charles could hesitate no longer. Although winter was approaching, two Frankish armies poured over the Alps, in 774, one by the Great St. Bernard Pass, the other by the Mount Cenis Pass. Pavia, the Lombard capital, withstood a long siege, during which time Charles visited Rome. Meantime Frankish forces had overrun all Lombardy, and when Pavia fell the Lombard king, Desiderius, was deposed and immured in a monastery for the rest of his life. Carloman's widow with her two children escaped to Constantinople.

Conquest of Lombard kingdom

Charles assumed the Lombard crown, and Frankish domination was imposed upon northern and central Italy; even the two independent Lombard duchies in the south, Benevento and Spoleto, were compelled to recognize Frankish overlordship. On the whole, the fate of the Lombards under Charles the Great was not as heavy as might have been expected. It was a political necessity for him to supplant the local Lombard dukes with Frankish officials, but the nobility was almost the sole class which suffered. Charles made no attempt until after a rebellion in 776 to impose Frankish institutions upon Italy, and even then he did not abolish the kingdom and absorb it within a greater Frankish realm. He called himself King of

the Franks *and* Lombards, thus ruling a dual monarchy. The fact that later he made his third son, Pepin, king of Italy indicates that he intended to let that country have a certain degree of autonomy. The conquest of Italy brought the Frankish monarchy into intimate relation with the papacy, and it seriously involved Charles with the Eastern Roman Empire at Constantinople.

Once the Lombards were conquered Charles the Great was free to pursue the war against the Saxons—the longest and most important of the many wars which he waged. All of Germany except Saxony had been subjugated in Merovingian times, and it was inevitable that the Saxons, too, must succumb to Frankish domination. At this time the Saxons had formed a loose agglomeration of kindred tribes and were not yet the compact nation which they afterwards became when the long warfare with the Franks hammered them into a united nation. The most important parts of Saxony were Westphalia and Eastphalia, which the Weser River divided, and Nordalbingia, north of the lower Elbe, which touched the territory of the Danes. This vast territory, greater than any other single area in Germany, was bounded on the north by the sea, on the east by the Elbe, on the south by Thuringia, and on the west by the Yssel, which separated the Saxons from Frisia and modern Holland.

Apart from the fact that the Franks tended to unite all the Germanic peoples on the continent, Catholic Christianity demanded the abolition of heathenism among the Saxons, the only German tribe which still worshipped Woden and Thor. The missionary spirit of the Church was not content with benevolent preaching; it demanded Frankish political and military protection of its monk missionaries. Border strife between the Saxons and the Franks was an old story. It became more acute when St. Boniface initiated his energetic missionary movement in north Germany and made the monastery of Fulda (744) the base of operations for the conversion of the heathen Germans. The Saxons clearly saw that the preservation of their liberty and their ancestral religion hung together.

It required sixteen campaigns and thirty-two years to reduce the Saxons. In this long period we may distinguish three stages: from 772 to 782; from 782 to 794; from 794 to 804. In the first, Charles wore down the resistance of the Saxons by campaigns almost every summer, which scorched the land with fire and drenched it with blood, so that in 780 it seemed possible to establish the ecclesiastical system in Saxony. Bishoprics were set up at Münster, Paderborn, Halberstadt, Minden, Verden and Hildesheim, and the rudiments of a parish system begun. Heathen practices were declared abolished, and drastic penalties threatened the Saxons for violation

of the new Frankish laws imposed upon them. All public assemblies and all native political institutions were suppressed.

Outwardly the subjugated Saxons sullenly complied, but in 782 they rebelled. Charles's punishment was terrible. In a single day at Verden he slaughtered 4500 Saxon warriors who had been taken captives. This ferocious act, however, instead of subduing the Saxons, drove them to renewed revolt, the leader of which was the Saxon chief, Widukind, under whom the Saxons became a united nation. But in 794 the weight of Frankish arms proved irresistible, and Widukind and his people surrendered and professed the Christian religion. The bishoprics were re-established, and monasteries began to be erected in the conquered territory. In this period, Charles instituted a new policy; to prevent a renewal of war he deported thousands of young Saxon warriors with their families and settled them elsewhere.[1] Nordalbingia, the seat of last resistance, was subjugated between 798 and 804.

The conquest of Nordalbingia brought the frontier of the Frankish state hard up against the territory of the fierce heathen Danes, *Dane-Mark* who fearful of being next conquered by the Franks had given Widukind support. For two years (808–810) there was war on this border, but Charles was growing old and tired of war. Accordingly he did not attempt to reduce the Danes but was satisfied to fence their country off from interference in Saxony by establishing a mark or militarized border province across the Danish isthmus. This was known as the Dane-Mark, from which the Danes later, when they became Christian in the time of King Canute the Great (1000–1035), took the name of their kingdom.[2] Already years before this, Charles had erected a Mark along the eastern boundary of Saxony called the Nord Mark to protect the border from the Slavic tribes in the valley of the lower Elbe, such as the Polaben (the "along-the-Elbe" people), the Wilzi and the Wenidi.[3]

In 789 a great campaign was made against the Wilzi, but the real

[1] The most important of these colonies was established on the Main, across the river from Frankfort, which still preserves its ancient name of Sachsenstadt. Another Saxon colony was founded on the lower Seine below Paris.

[2] The linguistic boundary across the peninsula of Schleswig-Holstein has not varied over a day's walk in either direction in eleven centuries from the line adopted as the political and religious frontier between Danish paganism and German Christendom in 810. The religious frontier lasted for 150 years, and the linguistic division exists today in the German and the Danish languages.

[3] The Franks called all of the tribes of the lower Elbe *Wenden* or *Wends,* from the Wenidi. The word was used precisely as the English used the word *Welsh* to describe the Cymri. In the German language this word is spelled *Walsch* and literally signifies a foreigner, and outlander, usually with a hostile intent.

conflict between Germans and Slavs came in the ninth century. The long period of the Saxon wars was punctuated by many other wars. In 777, when Charles was in the depths of Saxony, he was astonished when a deputation of ambassadors from Mohammedan Spain appeared in his camp. Civil war at this time was rending the Caliphate of Cordova, and these ambassadors had been sent by some of the revolted emirs, or governors of provinces, imploring Frankish intervention in their behalf. At first Charles hesitated, but some of the bishops pointed out to him that it was a heaven-sent opportunity to come to the aid of the Christian population in Spain. Visigoths who had fled north after the fall of their kingdom in 711 had been fighting in the Pyrenees against the Moslems for more than half a century

In the spring of 778 a Frankish force crossed the Pyrenees through the Pass of Roncesvalles. Pampeluna, the little capital of the diminutive Christian kingdom of Navarre—this is the earliest mention of it—was recaptured from the Saracens, but the siege of Saragossa, lower down the Ebro River, failed and the Franks were compelled to retreat. What followed is famous in history and romance. The western end of the Pyrenean country was peopled by the Basques, the remnant of a strange, prehistoric race of whose origin and nature history knows nothing. Their language, which still survives, has no affinity with any other known language. They were, and still remain, a hardy mountaineer people and capable fighters, jealous of their liberty. The Basques had deeply resented the progress of the Frankish army through the gorge of Roncesvalles as an invasion of their own country and an immediate threat of Frankish conquest. They manned the heights of the mountain pass and sullenly watched the army laboring through it, often compelled to wade through the ice-cold water of the Nive River flowing along the floor of the gorge, until only the rearguard was left in the deep defile, the van being miles in advance. Then the Basques rolled great rocks and boulders down upon the heads of the rearguard and, when it was almost annihilated, closed in fierce combat with the survivors under command of Roland, the count of the Mark of Brittany. The rearguard was slain to the last man. The day was August 15, 778, as we know from an inscription set up soon after the event. In military and political history this reverse to the Frankish arms was not serious, for within a few years Charles conquered and annexed the whole territory between the Pyrenees and the Ebro and erected it into the Spanish Mark. But the story of Roland and the rearguard's heroic resistance lived in popular memory, perhaps preserved in the form of ballads, and when the

Spanish reconquest began in earnest in the eleventh century, the most famous epic in medieval French literature emerged, the *Song of Roland* (*Chanson de Roland*).

In the last decade of the eighth century, when the conquest of Saxony was in its last stage and when the northeast had been protected by the Nord-Mark, a new danger imperiled Southeastern Germany beyond Bavaria. This was the appearance of the Avars in the Middle Danube valley (modern Hungary). The Avars, like the Huns before them, were of the Tartar race and a nomadic, predatory people. At the end of the sixth century they were pressing in on the lower course of the Danube, which marked the frontier of the Byzantine Empire in Europe. The Bulgars were subjected to them but finally escaped by alliance with the Eastern Empire in the reign of Heraclius (610–641), and were permitted to settle in Moesia and Thrace, where their descendants are found to this day. The Avars pressed farther up the Danube, and the migration of the Lombards in 568 out of what is now Hungary gave room for the Avars to settle there in their turn. From their kingdom in the Hungarian plain they spread the terror of their name and their barbaric power over many of the Slavic tribes between the Carpathians and the Elbe, through Bohemia, Moravia, and Galicia well into central Europe. For more than two hundred years nothing had checked their advance or arrested their predatory operations. When, however, after reducing the countries which they had conquered to the bareness of a threshing-floor, the Avars began to fall upon the Germans in Bavaria, the situation changed.

In 791 Charles started his first campaign against the Avars, advanced over the territory between the Enns and the Leitha Rivers, *Avar wars* organized it as the Ost-Mark or East-Mark, and began to colonize it with Bavarian and even Frankish settlers. This new mark was a dependency of the duchy of Bavaria, but centuries later (1142) it was separated from Bavaria and erected into the independent duchy of Austria, just as in the same year the Nord-Mark was severed from dependency on Saxony and became the Margraviate of Brandenburg. Prevented by the new East Mark from invading Bavaria, the Avars turned their raids upon north Italy. Hence in 795 Charles was compelled to establish another mark, Friuli (named from the old Roman Forum Julii) around the head of the Adriatic. In the next year a gigantic expedition was organized for the extermination of the Avars. A flotilla of boats brought a great army of men, horses, and supplies down the Danube into the heart of the Avar country. The famous Avar Ring, a rude timber-built town surrounded by a triple palisade, was stormed and taken. The Avar

nation was broken and scattered, and its remnants were absorbed by its neighbors. If we are to believe the chroniclers, the booty found in the great Ring was enormous, the loot of two hundred years of systematic depredations.

Restoration of Roman Empire

All these conquests served to bring Charles to the central event of his reign, the restoration of the (Roman) Empire in 800. His
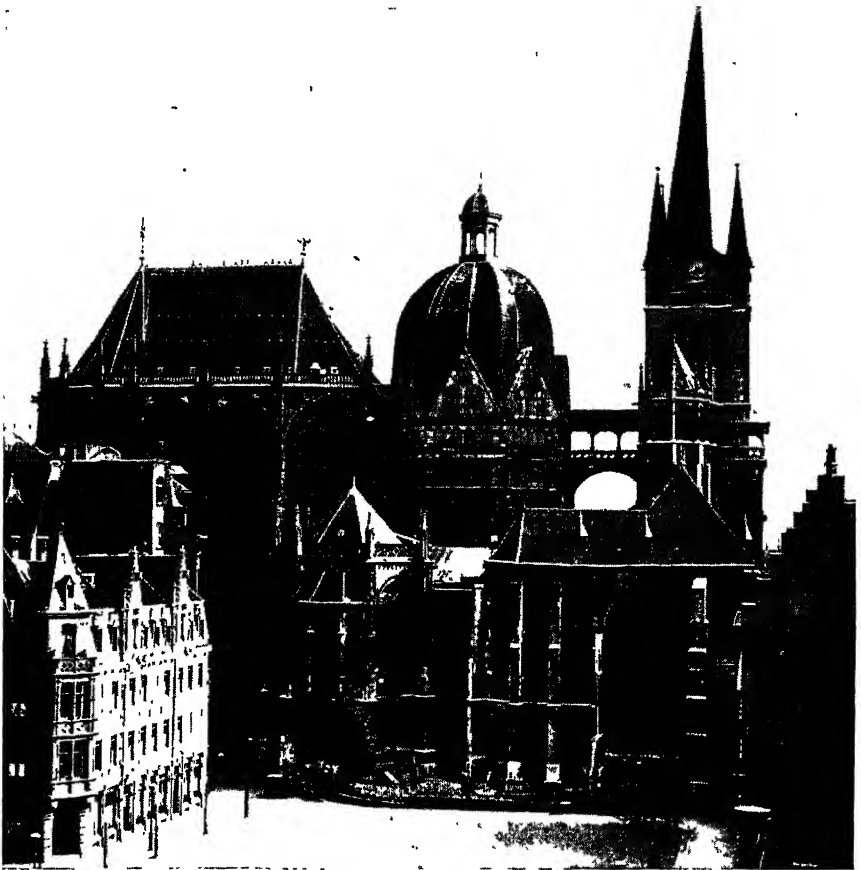
Ewing Galloway

CATHEDRAL IN AACHEN
(The section in the shape of an octagon with cupola was built by Charlemagne and is Byzantine in style.)

coronation has been called the central event of the Middle Ages. This marked the culmination of a long chain of events in Frankish and papal history, beginning when Clovis, the first Frankish king, in 496 professed the Catholic faith instead of Arianism, and thus identified himself and his successors with the Catholic Church and

the papacy. At the same time the expansion of the Frankish state, which united Gaul, Germany, and Italy in a powerful government, made it the political successor of the former Western Empire. Finally, papal sanction of the coronation of Pepin the Short (751) and Pepin's intervention in Italy to protect the papacy against Lombard aggression, which established the States of the Church (756), followed by Charles's destruction of the Lombard kingdom and the annexation of Italy to the Frankish monarchy (774–776), cemented the friendly relations between the popes and the Frankish rulers.

In the autumn of 800 Charles the Great was called to Rome by Pope Leo III to suppress a rebellion of the family and friends of his immediate predecessor, Hadrian I. On Christmas Day when Charles was attending service in the basilica of St. Peter's, as is related in the *Annals of the Franks,* "because the name of the emperor had now ceased among the Greeks, and their empire was possessed by a woman (the Empress Irene), it then seemed both to Leo the Pope and to all the clergy of Rome, as well as to the Christian people present, that Charles, king of the Franks, who held Rome herself, where the Caesars had been wont to sit, and all the other territories which he ruled in Italy and Gaul and Germany, ought to be made emperor." Politically the coronation was a *coup d'état*—a repudiation of the rule of the eastern emperors over the West. The usurpation of Irene was merely a technicality pleaded to give the color of legality.

As the Roman tradition had been used by the pope to establish uniform rule in the Church, it was now used by Charlemagne to establish uniform temporal rule throughout western Christendom. The three principal phases of Charlemagne's activity are very closely related—the conquests, the restoration of Roman Empire, and the revival of classical culture. In order to achieve any uniform and effective rule over the Franks, the Lombards, the Saxons, and the rest, he needed an authority that all would recognize as clearly superior to that of a Frankish king or of a Lombard king. Only Roman imperial authority would be so recognized; as Roman emperor, Charlemagne could impose the same legislation on all, and if his administration were to be in any degree Roman he needed a corps of officials familiar with Roman tradition of government. A revival of Latin learning and education was a practical necessity.

There was no uniform system of secular law prevailing over the whole empire. What is known as "personality of law" obtained, which is to say that every separate people within the empire— Franks, Swabians, Bavarians, Saxons, Lombards, Frisians, etc., and all who were of Roman and not German origin—each had its own

Personality of law

law, preserved in tradition or customary code.[1] The only uniform and universal law was that of the Church. The whole empire was divided into counties, some of them of enormous extent. The count was the most important general official. Once a month he held court and administered justice; he collected the taxes; in event of war, he summoned those liable to military service and commanded them until the place of meeting of the whole army was reached. Only the merest remnants of the former Roman municipal government survived and that only in the Far South of Gaul and in a few places in Italy. Most of the cities were episcopal seats and governed by the bishops. Local government was wholly manorial; the villages were peopled by a servile population and governed by a lord who owned the village.

Missi dominici

Late in his reign, as a means of strengthening his government and checking the counts, Charles created the *missi dominici* or royal messengers. He had found that many unscrupulous counts sold justice, levied unjust taxes, and accepted bribes for exemption from military service. "We hear," reads the preamble of one of Charles's laws, "that the counts are imposing unjust rents and insisting on forced labor, harvesting, plowing, sowing, reaping, stubbing up trees, seizing wagons and oxen [the horse was not yet used for draft purposes, since the horse-collar was not invented until later] and the like from the people." Again we read:

The poor complain that they are being evicted from their homes, and that by bishops and abbots as much as by the counts. It is said that if a poor man will not come across with bribes his property is taken from him on one pretext or another. These dishonest men bring fake lawsuits against him and get him fined or they compel him to do military service so constantly that the wretched man is utterly impoverished (since he has no time to attend to his farm), and is compelled to mortgage or to sell his property, which these unprincipled officials then snap up at a low price.

Accordingly in 802 the territory of the whole empire, except along the frontiers, was divided into *missatica,* or great circuits of counties combined together, and every spring and summer two *missi,* a noble and a bishop or abbot, traveled around from county to county inquiring into the character and conduct of each count and sitting as judges of appeal in the county court. Another important duty of the *missi* was to exact an oath of fidelity from every noble and freeman. There were twenty-one of these grand circuits.

---

[1] Only Frankish and Lombard law was codified, and much of it was still customary law, although remnants of Burgundian and Visigothic law survived. Roman law was distinguished as *written* law.

As a precaution against these *missi* abusing their power, they traveled in pairs, one a layman, the other a Churchman; furthermore the pairs were split at the end of each season. Thus A and B, and C and D, would be together one year, but the next year the combination would be A and M, and B and N; furthermore, no *missus* was ever sent twice in succession into the same circuit. All the *missi* reported to Charles in person. The vigor of the Frankish government depended upon the vigor and intelligence of the ruler.

There was no such thing as a congress or a diet among the Franks. The nearest approach to a general assembly was the meeting of the army in spring for some war, and in these Charles usually promulgated the capitularies or laws which he himself made, after which the text of them was sent out to every count, bishop and abbot. These capitularies are of every sort, ranging from general statutes to particular legislation of very local applicability. Two of the most important have already been mentioned: the one which established civil authority and bishoprics in Saxony, and the one which established the *missi*.

Military service was compulsory upon all freemen and nobles between the ages of eighteen and sixty, and was so heavy a burden that it impoverished thousands of freemen and drove them down to serfdom under its pressure. Charles never was able to alleviate this condition, since he was engaged in too many wars. In the ninth century the invasions of the Norsemen aggravated this misery so that by 900 most of the population of the Frankish Empire had been reduced to a servile condition. Constant war was an economic and social calamity.

The public economy of the Frankish state was the base upon which the whole economy of feudal Europe later rested. As far back as the Later Roman Empire, as commerce and trade declined and industry was reduced to the making of only the most essential necessities, land had become the primary and almost the sole form of property. Since landownership was the chief form of wealth, the landed aristocracy was the highest social class. Small landowners were freemen. Below them the masses were serfs or slaves who worked the estates of the lord and dwelt in huddled villages or manors upon these estates. Each hamlet or cluster of hamlets formed a manor, and a group of adjacent manors under supervision of a bailiff or steward formed a "domain." Since taxation, as we understand that term, had disappeared with the decay of the Roman Empire, the revenue for the support of the king, the royal household, and the officials of the government was derived from the crown lands. For example, the count in every county kept one-third of the

fees or fines he exacted. Such fees were not in the form of money but of goods or livestock. The count retained one-third, whereas the rest was turned over to the bailiff of the crown land within the county for the use of the king at his pleasure.

The crown lands of the Frankish monarchy in the time of Charles were numerous and extensive. We know the names of 1558 of these estates and doubtless there were many more. They were spread all over the empire, but thickest (720) in the middle part between the Seine and the Rhine, and in Lombardy (163). The densest agglomerations of manors were in modern eastern Belgium and the Lower Rhinelands, where Aachen was the center of them; around Mainz and Worms (53); and in the vicinity of Paris (25).

Charles was keenly interested in the management of these great properties. For the guidance of the stewards he drew up a set of regulations which is impressive for its fulness and minuteness. It is known as the *Capitulare de villis*, or Capitulary for the administration of the royal manors. Every steward was required to return an inventory of everything upon the estate, including its condition, if necessary, on St. John's Day (June 24) and again at Christmas. Several such inventories have been preserved. Here is part of one of them:

Found in the state of Asnapium a royal manorhouse built of stone, with three great rooms, hall, dining hall and kitchen; the whole house surrounded by balconies; 11 bedrooms, cellar, 2 porticos, 7 other houses built of wood with rooms and furniture, all in good order; 1 stable, 1 mill, 1 granary, 3 barns. The yard is surrounded with a hedge and there is a stone gateway with balcony over it. There is an inner compound enclosed with a hedge and planted with fruit trees, vegetables and flowers.

Altogether this gives a picture of a commodious and comfortable manor-house.

Palace at Aachen

Heristal,[1] the old seat of Charles's ancestors, was his favorite place of residence until he built his great palace at Aachen. Aachen was the closest approach to a fixed capital the Frankish Empire had. The warm springs there, the salubriousness of the region around, the good hunting in the forests, the network of rivers which made transportation of commodities from his other crown lands convenient, all attracted Charles to Aachen and there he built the imposing palace and cathedral which mark a revolution in the history of medieval architecture. These two structures were the earliest great stone buildings erected beyond the Alps since the disappearance of the Roman Empire, and the sculptors, mosaic-workers, and

[1] In modern Belgium near Liége.

painters whom he introduced from Italy and even from Constantinople gave a new impulse to Northern art.

As the conquests of Charlemagne created the necessity for uniform government which could only be met by a restoration of the Roman Empire, so the restoration of the Roman Empire created the necessity for a restoration of Roman education. Charles was the central figure in the revival of learning that is named for him—the Carolingian Renaissance. In the eighth century the intellectual and educational condition of western Europe was very low and had been so for nearly two hundred years. Only in Anglo-Saxon England and in Ireland was any stream of thought still running. The decay of education especially gave Charles the Great anxiety. Many of the lower clergy were illiterate, and the knowledge of Latin and theology possessed by many bishops and abbots was meager. Some of them could not read the psalter or the breviary correctly. Moreover, as the result of carelessness or ignorance on the part of copyists, the text of service books and of the Vulgate Bible— St. Jerome's Latin translation made about A.D. 400—was very corrupt. Accordingly, Charles issued a famous capitulary for the improvement of education in the Frankish land (*De litteris colendis*), sent a copy to every bishop and abbot, and brought the first competent teachers from Italy for his palace school. Notable among the Italian scholars were Peter of Pisa, Paulinus of Aquileia, and Paul the Deacon, a Lombard monk of Monte Cassino, who wrote a great history of his people. It was not an Italian, but an English scholar, Alcuin of York, who was to organize and direct the whole educational revival. Alcuin came from the cathedral school of York, which derived from Bede and the Irish learning in Northumbria, to become master of the palace school and Abbot of St. Martin of Tours. His curriculum at the palace school at once became the model for all the monastic and cathedral schools of the kingdom and provided the basis for all later medieval education.

Carolingian Renaissance

Alcuin of York

There were seven arts or subjects of study—the *trivium*, which consisted of grammar, rhetoric, and logic; and the *quadrivium* which consisted of arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy.[1]

How influential this education was is shown by the fact that the students whom Alcuin trained in their turn became teachers of

---

[1] The Romans had featured nine arts, but two—architecture and medicine— had been dropped by earlier medieval textbook writers, notably Martianus Capella (in the fifth century), and the great encyclopedist, St. Isidore of Seville (d. 636). Remote as these subjects may seem from a modern curriculum, in reality they are still the bases of the courses in arts and letters, and the courses in science given in every college and university.

others, and the impulse carried on into succeeding centuries, even after the Carolingian Empire dissolved in the ninth century.[1]

After Alcuin retired from the palace school to his monastery at Tours, his activity was no less significant. One of the greatest services that the Carolingian Renaissance rendered the later world was the creation of a new kind of script both legible and beautiful, and in the scriptorium at Tours Alcuin trained many of the most expert copyists in the new style.[2] Several great monasteries rivaled Tours in the vitality and quantity of this copying activity, and we owe the preservation of most of Latin classical literature to this Carolingian Renaissance. If the works of Cicero, Vergil, Livy, Sallust, Horace, Ovid and many other Roman writers had not been copied and recopied in the scriptoria, or writing-rooms, of the Carolingian monasteries, and so transmitted to future generations, they would have perished.

Annals   In still another important particular, the literary movement inaugurated in the reign of Charlemagne had great and lasting influence. In the Anglo-Saxon monasteries there arose the custom of recording important local events upon the Easter Table, or calendar of Sundays and holy days. This English practice was introduced into the monasteries on the continent, and in course of time some of these monastic records grew into substantial historical annals and established a precedent for succeeding centuries. Thus the *Annals of Lorsch* extend from 741 to 829; the *Annales of Bertiniani* (of the monastery of St. Bertin) from 741 to 882. If it had not been for such annals, we would know far less than we do of the history of the Middle Ages.

Vita Karoli of   The Carolingian Renaissance was more significant for its re-
Einhard   vival and preservation of the classics than for the creation of any

---

[1] Thus Alcuin's greatest pupil, Rabanus Maurus (d. 856), at the monastery of Fulda in Germany made that abbey the intellectual successor of the palace school and of St. Martin of Tours. He had three able pupils: Walafrid Strabo, the poet of Reichenau; Lupus, Abbot of Ferrières near Sens, in France; and Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims (d. 882), whose pupils in turn made the monastic school of St. Germain-des-Prés at Paris, as well as the episcopal school at Rheims, new centers of education. In the year 1000 Gerbert of Rheims was the most scholarly man in Western Christendom; he had two distinguished pupils, Abbo of Fleury, and Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres. Almost all the scholars who generated the movement of higher education in France, a movement which culminated in the founding of the University of Paris, in 1200, had some more or less direct contact with the cathedral school of Chartres. One of the most impressive facts in the intellectual history of the Middle Ages is the continuity of the Carolingian tradition through four hundred years.

[2] The small letter, used ever since, as distinguished from capital letters, was appropriately named, from Charlemagne, the *Caroline minuscule*.

new literary masterpieces. One new work, however, holds a unique place in medieval literature. This is, appropriately enough, a biography of Charlemagne himself, *The Vita Karoli* written by his Latin secretary, Einhard. Einhard followed the plan of Suetonius's *Life of Augustus* and incorporated many details of Charlemagne's activity of the sort which most medieval writers ignored or suppressed.[1]

Carolingian art

Architecture and art were less promoted by Charlemagne than education and literature. Yet there was a wholesome improvement in each of these. By the end of the sixth century the mason's art had so far decayed that building in stone had almost disappeared everywhere, except in Italy. France, Germany, and England had to import Italian masons and stonecutters. For the construction of the palace and church at Aachen, Charlemagne brought Italian artisans and also imported columns, capitals and slabs of marble from Italy; with the permission of the pope, some of these marbles were taken from old churches in Ravenna which the Arian Ostrogoths had built and to which, perhaps, a stigma was still attached, even though they had been reconsecrated. The transfer of these huge blocks of stone from Italy to Lower Germany was certainly no small achievement, but unfortunately no contemporary has left us any information about Carolingian engineering.

Charlemagne was a great builder, but few of his buildings have survived. The region of his greatest building activity, the Rhine country, was to suffer most cruelly from recurrent civil war and invasion almost immediately after his death in 814. Charlemagne's empire did not outlast the ninth century (888) and Europe was overwhelmed by new waves of barbarian invasion and greatly changed by feudalism before new peoples—not the Franks—were to go on with that work of fusion of Roman, Christian, and German elements that constituted medieval civilization. These new people did eventually arrive at a more nearly perfect fusion but it is clear that they could never have succeeded without the example of Charlemagne. The greatest rulers of the later Middle Ages were the most conscious imitators of Charlemagne as conqueror and as patron of learning.

DISSOLUTION OF THE CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE

The death of Charlemagne in 814 opened a new and trying era in the history of Europe in the Middle Ages. The empire which he

---

[1] Perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book is the personal description of Charlemagne (ca. 22–25).

had founded was broken into splinters; government was dissolved; institutions destroyed or maimed; and the structure of society and economic conditions profoundly changed. Hard upon this debacle, indeed in part simultaneous with it, western Europe was beset by a new wave of barbarism—the invasions of the Norsemen and the Magyars. Yet out of this storm and stress a new Europe emerged. France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and England, as they now are, began dimly to take shape in the ninth century.

Charlemagne was succeeded by his only surviving son Louis, called the "Pious," whose reign was one long series of blunders. His supreme blunder was his division of the Frankish Empire in 817 among his three sons, Lothair, Louis, and Pepin. Lothair, the eldest son, was designated co-emperor with his father. The territory of the empire was divided into three parts. Middle Europe, which contained the two imperial capitals, Aachen and Rome, was to be ruled by father and son together; "Germany" was given to Louis, the second son, and "France" (although it was not to be so called until two hundred years later but was known as the kingdom of the West Franks) was allotted to the youngest son, Pepin. Trouble started at once. Lothair was jealous of his father, and the younger sons were jealous of the oldest brother. The nobles and the bishops took sides one way or the other and augmented the general discontent. When the widowed emperor married again and had a son, Charles the Bald, the confusion was increased. The Empress Judith[1] at once demanded a repartition of the empire so that Charles should have his share. Between 829 and 839 six partitions were made by the weak emperor in a vain effort to conciliate each of his sons and the factions which supported them. Insurrection flared several times, but actual civil war was averted until the death of Louis the Pious in 840.

The political, legal and property tangle by then had become so complex that nothing but the sword could cut the Gordian knot. Yet in spite of the confusion there was a certain alignment. Pepin had died, and Charles the Bald was king of "France" in his stead; between him and Louis of "Germany" there was a natural political attachment since both were hostile to the claim of imperial superiority over them made by Lothair. The West and the East were united against the middle territories of Italy and central Europe. Most of the bishops, however, favored Lothair because Church unity had been seriously injured by the repeated partitions, and

---

[1] She belonged to the great Allemannic family of the Welfs. The present British sovereign is the lineal descendant and representative of this historic house.

to the Church the unity of the empire seemed essential to the preservation of ecclesiastical unity. The great families and the bishops were divided, some favoring one contestant, others another.

In June, 841, a tremendous battle was fought at Fontenay in eastern France. It was wholly a cavalry engagement, since by this *Oath of Strasbourg* time feudalism had so far developed that only mounted forces were utilized in war and infantry service had disappeared. The emperor was beaten and fled to Aachen in the lower Rhinelands, where his following was strongest. Meanwhile, still fearing their brother, Louis and Charles met at Strasbourg in the winter of 842 in order to cement their alliance and the support of their partisans more firmly. Here the two brothers and their armies mutually swore to sustain each other. The text of the Strasbourg Oaths has been preserved and is a most interesting document; it is written in two languages—German and Old French. The latter form is the oldest monument of the French language, indeed the oldest example of any Romance tongue, and there is but one older example of the German language.

Some of the most influential bishops now intervened and, in order to prevent further effusion of blood, succeeded in having a peace commission appointed, each principal in the conflict to have forty representatives, part of them clergy, part of them nobles. The essential consideration in the projected settlement was to see that each king got as nearly as possible an equal number of crown lands, bishoprics, abbeys, and counties, which were dealt out like cards in a pack. Little attention was given to natural boundaries or difference of language; the element of nationality did not enter into the question, for as yet there were no nations in Europe in the sense of large, homogeneous groups of people subject to a single supreme central authority, occupying a clearly defined geographical area and further united by an ancient community of race, customs, traditions, and general spirit, and having a common language among them.

The treaty of Verdun in 843 was the result, and it was significant *Partition of Verdun* though it is only by anticipation it delineated Germany, France, and Italy. The "Middle Border" which Lothair received as his "kingdom," together with the imperial crown, was inhabited by Tuscans and Lombards in Italy, by Provencals in the Rhone valley, and between the Alps and the North Sea by Allemannians, Romanized Franks who were half-French, and East Franks who were Germans, Flemings, and Low Dutch peoples. Louis the German's kingdom was more homogeneous, yet Franks, Swabians, Bavarians, Thuringians, and Saxons were conscious of their mutual

differences. As for Charles the Bald's kingdom: "France" was merely a duchy in the basin of the Seine pivoted on Paris. In the southwest were the Gascons who were Basques; in Brittany the Bretons were Celts who had never been either Romanized or Germanized. The Treaty of Verdun established nothing stable. In 855 the Middle Kingdom was divided among Lothair's three sons, so that there were then six kingdoms. In 870 when their nephew, Lothair II, died, Louis and Charles partitioned the Middle Kingdom of Lorraine [1] between them, so that the net number of kingdoms was five.

One of these, Provence, in 879 was seized by a powerful local noble named Boso and grandiloquently denominated the Kingdom of Burgundy, and in 887 another powerful noble named Rudolph forcibly carved out a similar "kingdom" in the territory embraced by the upper Rhone, the Jura Mountains and the Saone river, which for lack of a better name was called the Kingdom of Upper or Transjurane Burgundy. These two kings, it is to be observed, were not princes of the Carolingian house but usurpers whom the Emperor Charles the Fat of Germany was compelled to recognize, so low had the lineage of Charlemagne sunk in power and dignity. In 887 the depth of humiliation of the Carolingian dynasty was reached when Charles the Fat, who was King of Germany and emperor, was deposed by the bishops and dukes, and Arnulf, a bastard Carolingian prince, made king in subservience to the episcopate and feudality.

It is not enough to say, however, that the formation of five kingdoms within the Frankish Empire was the limit of this process of political dissolution. In Germany the great dukes were practically independent. In Italy and France dukes, margraves, counts, even bishops and abbots, by "boring in" usurped the authority of the crown and made themselves independent lords.

---

[1] Lorraine originally was called the *Lotharii regnum* or Kingdom of Lothair, second son of Lothair I. From this term *Lotharingia* was derived, which later in Germany became *Lothrıngen,* and in French *Lorraine.* Thus from the beginning there have been two Lorraines, a German and a French, a distinction which has persisted even though the two parts have almost always been united.

The Treaty of Meersen in 870, which partitioned Lorraine between Louis the German and Charles the Bald, admirably illustrates the manner in which the settlement of Verdun in 843 was made. Louis got two archbishoprics, four bishoprics, forty-three monasteries, thirty-one counties, four half-counties and two "districts" or fragments of counties. Charles got three archbishoprics, six bishoprics, thirty-one monasteries, thirty counties, and four half-counties, *together with all the crown lands in his portion.* It has been well said that the partition "was settled with cautious minuteness and the schedule enumerates all the parcels, as a conveyancer would say." All the crown lands lying in each of these portions went to the king concerned.

PARTITIONS OF THE
CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE
IN THE 9TH CENTURY

Boundary of the
Carolingian Empire in 814

To Lothair
To Louis
To Charles

After the Treaty of Verdun 843

HAGSTROM CO., N.Y.
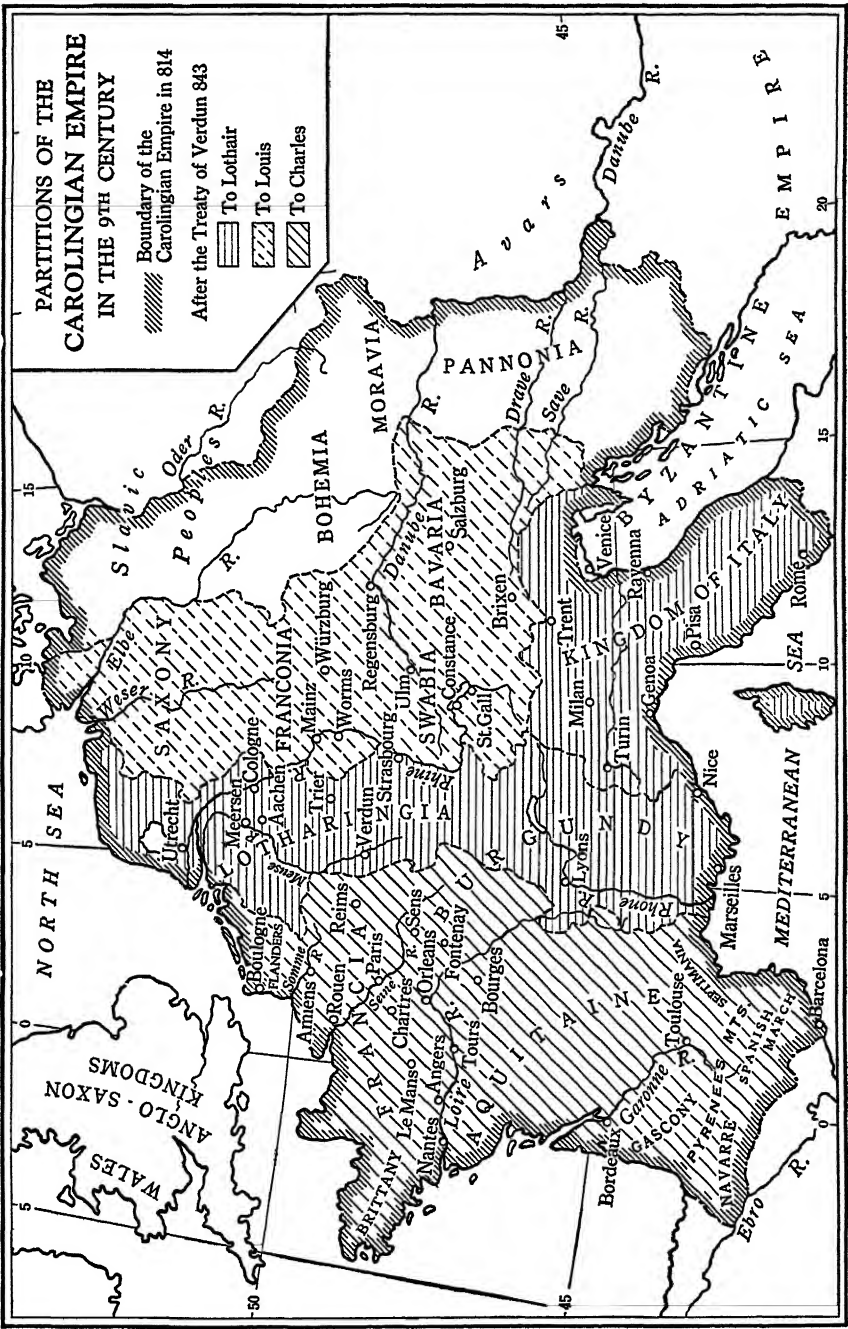
When we seek to rationalize this process of political disintegration of the Carolingian Empire, the explanation of it must be feudalism—private usurpation of authority. The Frankish sovereigns, Charlemagne most of all, had identified the great landed aristocracy, lay and ecclesiastical, with their administrations. As long as Charlemagne lived, these officials were held in leash. Under his weaker successors, however, bishops, *missi dominici,* and counts converted their appointments into permanent possessions,

The Bettmann Archive

CHARLEMAGNE SUPERVISING THE BUILDING OF THE ABBEY FONDÉE
(From the *Chronicle of Charlemagne* by Tavernier.)

and the authority attached to public office into a quasi-private prerogative. Within the circuit of their dominions they administered justice, laid taxes, and appropriated the revenues from the crown lands in a private capacity and without regard to the rights and authority of the crown. In course of time these offices became hereditary, along with the lands attached to them as endowments for maintenance. Thus were gradually formed those great territories which in the feudal age were known as fiefs, at once great proprietary lordships and historic provinces, like the duchies of Burgundy, Gascony, and Guienne, the counties of Flanders, Champagne, Toulouse, Anjou, Poitou, etc. "France" originally was the

Duchy of Francia in the lower Seine valley of which the county of Paris was the center. It was only when—as we shall see later— the count of Paris and duke of France became king in 987 that the name *France* extended to the whole kingdom of the West Franks.

The fundamental cause of the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire was of an internal nature. This dissolution was accelerated in the West by the invasions of the Norsemen, in Germany and North Italy by the invasions of the Magyars (Hungarians), along the Mediterranean coast of France and Italy by Saracen pirates, and in the East by the Slavs and Asiatic hordes.

COLLATERAL READING

J. Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire,* 1904.

H. W. C. Davis, *Charlemagne,* 1899.

C. Dawson, *The Making of Europe,* 1934.

E. Emerton, *Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages,* 1916.

F. Funck-Brentano, *The Earliest Times,* 1927.

A. J. Grant, Ed., *Early Lives of Charlemagne,* 1905.

M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500–900,* 1931.

F. Lot, *The End of the Ancient World and the Beginning of the Middle Ages,* 1931.

H. Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne,* 1939.

J. W. Thompson, *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages,* 1928.

CHAPTER XI

The Rise of Islam: The Ninth Century Invasions: The Byzantine Empire (565–1095)
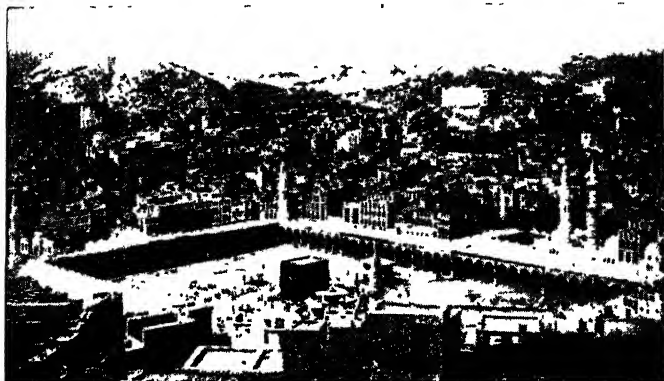
THE HOLY GREAT MOSQUE AT MECCA

IT is a remarkable coincidence in history that at the same time, in the seventh and eighth centuries, when western Europe was reshaped and consolidated into the Frankish Empire, another empire arose in western Asia. This was the mighty Bagdad Caliphate, Islam's first and greatest state, the ninth Oriental monarchy of history.[1]

Arabia the unconquered   Arabia, then, was a country known from remote antiquity,[2] but no one of the mighty empires of the past had ever conquered it, for its dimensions were too great, its deserts too vast, and its people too hardy to tempt the arms of Egypt or Assyria or Persia or even Alexander or Rome. Arabia always was and still is indomitable by any foreign power. The Arabs were remotely kindred to the ancient

---

[1] The previous ones had been the First Babylonian, Assyrian, Second Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, Roman, Parthian, New Persian (Arsacid and Sassanid dynasties).

[2] Arabian history is very old. There are references to Arabian queens in Assyrian inscriptions of the seventh century B.C. South Arabian inscriptions and other remains testify to a relatively high civilization about 700 B.C. Arabian history appears in the Old Testament. Abraham lived the life of a nomadic sheik. The Queen of Sheba, who is typical of the queens known to the Assyrians, represents the zenith of early Arabian civilization.

242

Babylonians and Assyrians and Hebrews; their institutions were primitively Semitic. There was no political unity among them. Tribal or clan government prevailed, each clan being governed by a patriarchal chieftain called a *sheik*. They were a pastoral people living upon their flocks of sheep and herds of camels.

There was not pasturage enough for cattle and until late in their history the horse was not known. The oases were fertile and densely occupied with a certain fixity of population which tempered Arab nomadism. Only along the coast of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea was any real commerce to be found, since these bodies of water were adjacent to outside countries. There were but two cities in Arabia—Mecca and Medina, both situated upon the great commercial highway running from the Far East to Egypt and Syria.

For untold centuries the Arabs had lived unto themselves almost immune to foreign contact, but in the first Christian centuries outside influences began to filter into the country. After the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in A.D. 70, many refugee Jews settled in Medina, where they became merchants. The rigid orthodoxy of the Roman emperors in the fifth and sixth centuries drove sectaries and heretic groups of Syrians and Egyptians out of the empire, so that both Judaism and Christianity of one form or another soon became known among the Arabs. The beliefs of these refugees exercised an influence upon the traditional religion of the Arabic people. *Outside influences*

The native religion of the Arabs was a nature worship like that of the ancient Jews. They were idolators, and "ancestral voices" taught and prophesied among them. They had their religious feasts and their holy places. The most sacred place was Mecca, where a black meteorite, the *Kaaba,* was venerated as the holiest of objects. A universal religious observance was the annual pilgrimage to Mecca in the spring. This was the feast of Ramadan, which lasted for a month by lunar reckoning and thus shifted through the seasons as do Easter and Whitsuntide. Like all pastoral peoples, the ancient Arabs were prone to war over possession of wells and pasturage grounds, and predatory raids and vendettas were common among them. But in the spring there was peace for a short season. Thus Mecca was both a religious and a commercial capital, but not a political one. *Primitive religion of Arabs*

Very little is known of ancient Arabia in any detail. The Arabs had no written literature. Their genealogies, of which they were immensely jealous and proud, their history, and their songs were handed down orally from generation to generation.

The decline of ancient Arabian civilization seems to have been due to the intrusion of outside influences, as well as to the slow advance of the desert upon pastures and tilled lands owing to the disintegration of the rock through extreme changes of temperature and increasing salination of the soil. This led to the collapse of the ancient trade routes and the consequent relapse of the ancient Arabians into barbarism.

Mohammed's life Such was the condition of Arabia when the first great Arabian, Mohammed, was born at Mecca about 570. He was a poor scion of the richest and most influential clan in Arabia, the Koreish clan, which controlled Mecca and the territory roundabout. He became a merchant in a humble way, but soon passed into the service of a rich widow named Kadiga, whose business agent he became. In this capacity he traveled with other caravans engaged in the lucrative trade along the Red Sea coast north as far as Medina, and maybe even farther. Certainly he learned something of the lands beyond Arabia—Egypt and Syria—from merchants with whom he associated and came in contact with Jewish and Christian colonists in Arabia. This contact had a profound influence upon the development of his religious thought.

Mohammed was a silent, thoughtful, introspective man with a deeply religious nature. He was shocked by the superstition and the base religious beliefs and practices he saw around him. His spiritual instinct led him to revolt against the tribal religion of his people. He began as a reformer and ended as a founder of a great new world religion.

Islamic religion The fundamental beliefs of the new religion, Islam,[1] were beautifully simple. Like the religion of the Jews, Mohammedanism is strictly monotheistic. "There is one God," of whom Mohammed was the prophet and the teacher. This God is absolute, sovereign and omnipotent, whose wisdom has predestined and ordained the destiny of the human race from before the foundation of the world. In Mohammedanism there is no perplexing concept of the trinity —Three in One, and One in Three—and hence no complex and confusing theological system as in Christianity through its early contact with Greek philosophical speculation. Mohammedanism was so monotheistic that it condemned even the semblance of idolatry. No statue or graven image, no picture of any animal or any other thing in visible nature, is suffered in Mohammedan art lest it become a divine symbol and lead to base worship of it. The God of Mohammedanism is historically the God of the ancient Jews. Moses and the patriarchs, the prophets and Jesus, all of whom figure

[1] *Islam* signifies "submission" to the will of God.

in the Koran, were precursors of Mohammedanism, which represented the highest religion.

The sacred book of Islam is the Koran (from Arabic *Qaran*, *Koran* book) somewhat shorter than the New Testament. It contains the teachings of Mohammed as recorded by his faithful auditors upon palm leaves and the shoulder bones of sheep, which were common writing materials among the Arabs (Mohammed himself could not write). These teachings were revealed to him by God through the angel Gabriel, who appeared to him in visions. The Koran was not finally reduced to its present form until thirty years after the Hegira by Othman, Mohammed's third successor. The sources of the Koran may be found in the religious traditions and practices existing in Arabia before and in the time of Mohammed, in later doctrines of Judaism, in heretical and apocryphal Christian sources, in Zoroastrianism, and possibly in Hindu beliefs. The Moslem doctrine of the unity of God may be ascribed not to Jewish but to Arabic teaching. The primitive Arabs worshipped idols, to be sure, but they regarded their idols as intercessors with the great God, whom they held supreme. The teaching of the Koran as to paradise derives from a Persian source.

Obligatory practices of every Mussulman are prayer five times a day with the face turned towards Mecca; the giving of alms; fasting during Ramadan; and, if possible, the making of a pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in a lifetime. If one would not give voluntarily for charity, then the government compelled a contribution (*zekat*). The "community chest" among Mohammedans is a legal institution.

In 610, when Mohammed was about forty, he began to preach *Hegira (622)* the new faith. Like many another religious reformer, Mohammed found himself unpopular even among his own kin, and in 622 he was driven out of Mecca with a handful of followers. He fled across the desert, hotly pursued by the Koreish, to Medina and safety and political power. The Flight (Hegira) marked a turning point in his career.

Medina received him with open arms, for between Mecca and Medina there was bitter commercial rivalry and constant caravan raids. In Medina he prospered as a trader, gained many followers, and soon controlled the government. Now under Mohammed's leadership the raids of the Medinans took a new form and became not only plundering expeditions but wars of propaganda to extend Islam.[1] Within eight years Mohammed captured Mecca (630).

In widening circles Mohammedanism rapidly expanded over the whole of Arabia, tribe after tribe lining up under the green banner

[1] Such a war was called a *jehad,* a holy war.

of the Prophet, so that when Mohammed died in 632 he was "prophet, priest, and king" of all Arabia. Religious fervor had much to do with this swift expansion, but the opportunity to plunder also made a powerful appeal to many Arabs. As the war for the extension of Islam had become a consecrated movement, it was inevitable that the *jehad* would soon be extended beyond the confines of Arabia and the Holy War carried into Syria, Persia, and Egypt.

With incredible rapidity Islam spread from Arabia in all directions. By the seventh century the time was ripe for the desert to overflow again. Arabia had not bred the camel, the horse, and the fighting nomad for nothing. The hardy nomads, inspired alike by religious zeal and worldly hope of gain, secure in the certainty of paradise if they died in a holy cause, swept out of Arabia like a hurricane.

After the death of the Prophet sterile Arabia seems to have been converted, as if by magic, into a nursery of heroes, the like of whom in number and quality it is hard to match anywhere. . . . The military campaigns of al-Walid and al-'As in 'Iraq, Persia, Syria and Egypt are amongst the most brilliantly executed in the history of warfare and bear favourable comparison with those of Napoleon, Hannibal, or Alexander. . . . No small share of their seemingly miraculous success was due to their application of a military technique adapted to the steppes of western Asia and North Africa— the use of cavalry and camelry.[1]

Islamic conquest   After Mohammed's death three great leaders carried on his work. Successor of the Prophet, Abu-Bekr (632–34), the first caliph, whose daughter was a wife of Mohammed, conquered Palestine, the first country which the Arabs encountered as their hordes poured out of the desert. He was succeeded by the far-seeing and energetic Omar the Conqueror (634–644) under whom Damascus was captured and Syria conquered; but great credit must be given to Omar's general, Khalid. The occupation of Syria was of immense importance to the Arabs, for it gave them a military base from which they could operate against Persia and Egypt. They struck at Persia first because the collapse of Byzantine rule in Syria had so alarmed the Persians that they invited invasion by attacking the Arabs. In one day the Persian army was routed (636) so effectively that it opened the eyes of the Arabs to Persia's weakness. Systematic conquest followed, province by province, city after city. The capture of Ctesiphon threw fabulous wealth into the hands of the victors.

[1] R. H. Kiernan, *The Unveiling of Arabia.*

THE EXPANSION OF ISLAM
to about 750

Byzantine Empire

Invaded and Occupied by
Mohammedans

The decisive battle was fought in 641 at Nihawand near ancient Ecbatana, where the Persian Empire passed from history. A huge military camp was established at Kufa near Ctesiphon to keep Persia down.

Conquest of Egypt

Meanwhile the conquest of Egypt began late in 639 under Amr, who had seen service in Syria. He crossed the isthmus of Suez (Pelusium), defeated the Byzantine army at Heliopolis in July, 640, and after a long siege took Babylon, a strong fortress at the head of the delta, the key to Alexandria. On September 17, 642, Alexandria, the famous city founded by Alexander the Great, surrendered without striking a blow. The imperial commander together with the patriarch had negotiated for its peaceful surrender on condition of security in person and property to the inhabitants and full freedom in the exercise of the Christian religion. As had been done in Persia, so now the Caliph Omar built a great military camp, Fustat, near the old fortress of Babylon.[1]

Within the ten years after Mohammed's death Islam had conquered the three greatest countries of the Orient, humiliated the Byzantine Empire—the Emperor Heraclius died before the loss of Alexandria—and extinguished Persia. For magnitude and speed of conquest the expansion of the Arabs rivals the achievements of Alexander the Great. History knows no other parallel. The Moslem's simple explanation is that it was the will of God. The historian's explanation is that the bravery and fighting qualities of the Arabs, stimulated by hope of booty and certainty of heaven if one perished in battle, made the Arab warriors almost invincible, the more so as they learned platoon methods, discipline, the art of war and siege-craft from their enemies. Again, the weakness of Byzantium and Persia must be taken into account, both empires being almost exhausted by long wars against each other. The extortionate taxation and fiscal rapacity of both governments had engendered internal opposition. Both governments in the interest of imposing religious orthodoxy had persecuted all recalcitrant sects as heretics and driven out many of them, who found asylum, as the Nestorian Syrians did, in central Asia, while Jews and Monophysites and anti-Zoroastrians fled to Arabia. Some of these dissident populations were merely indifferent to the invasions of the Arabs, others secretly actually welcomed them. A change of rulers might be better and would hardly be worse.

Succession to Mohammed

After ten years of brilliant conquest Omar was murdered in 644 and was succeeded by the third caliph, Othman (644–655). In the course of his reign a political crisis was precipitated over the suc-

[1] Fustat (tent) in Arabic from the Greek *phossaton* (camp).

cession to the caliphate which led to a permanent cleavage in Islam. Before the caliphate became a world empire there had been no difficulty; Abu-Bekr, as Mohammed's most devoted disciple, had been a logical choice, and he had named Omar as his successor. Omar was ill for a long time before his assassination, and the principle of succession came into question. Two factions appeared, one supporting the hereditary claim through Fatima, Daughter of the Prophet, the second following the ancient sheik system of the Arab tribes, based on qualifications of seniority, wisdom, and experience, rather than of heredity. Omar, apparently in sympathy with the second faction, nominated a board of electors composed of six leaders in Islam to appoint his successor, and they chose Othman of the Ommiad clan, of the old aristocracy of Mecca.

Fatima's husband, Ali, and the legitimist faction went into opposition and set up a capital at Kufa. The choice of Othman, however, was at first approved by the greater number of Mohammedans. But trouble soon began to brew. Othman gave to his own clansmen most of the high offices of state and the lion's share of the treasure heaped up by the government. His chief favorite was the brilliant general, Mu'awiya, who had won Caesarea and Cyprus. He was made governor of Syria, and Syria became the center of Ommiad power. Arabia and Egypt supported Ali. When Othman was murdered in 655, Mu'awiya became caliph and moved the capital from Medina to Damascus. This emphasized the sectional cleavage between the two factions, Persian against Syrian, which ended in 750 with the overthrow of the Ommiads.[1] *Factions in Islam*

This sectional and political antagonism was most acutely manifest in the enmity between the Syrian and the Persian Mohammedans. Territorially the struggle was whether Syria or Persia should be the central and ruling country of the Islamic Empire. Politically it was a conflict between two opposing theories of government— whether the Arabian monarchy should be an hereditary one in the descendants of Mohammed, that is, legitimist, or an elective monarchy in the spirit of the ancient sheik tradition.

These antagonisms also influenced the interpretation of the Koran. The followers of Ali, or Fatimites, were orthodox interpreters of the Prophet's teaching and rigid adherents of a strict construction of political theory. The Persians and Egyptians were of this school. On the other hand, the Ommiad house which ruled *Ommiads vs. Abbassids*

---

[1] The century of Ommiad rule at Damascus was highly significant in the development of an imperial administration (of government) for Islam because these caliphs constantly borrowed and improved features of Byzantine government.

Syria from Damascus, was politically liberal in that it advocated an elective monarchy and loose construction both of political theory and the injunctions in the Koran. For example, the Ommiads were not teetotalers as were the Fatimites, but believed in temperance. This broader interpretation was even extended to religion. There had naturally grown up an accumulated mass of traditional sayings (*soona*), attributed to Mohammed, but which were not in the Koran. Were these sayings and teachings to be regarded as a part of the Koran, or at least of Islamic beliefs and practices, or were they apocryphal and spurious? The Ommiads accepted them; the Abbassids rejected them, for they were strict constructionists.

Government of Islam   In the first flush of their victories which delivered the whole of one great empire and half of another to them, the Arabian conquerors became intoxicated with elation and the enormous wealth in their hands. Egypt and Syria were the most densely populated countries of the age, peopled by an intelligent, diligent, and skilled class of artisans, craftsmen, and merchants, and by a hard-working peasantry in the richest lands of the civilized world. With millions of subject peoples who differed in language, customs, laws, institutions, and religion, the wisest thing for the Arabs to do was not to destroy the existing machinery of government. Political necessity compelled them to use the institutions which they found. The Greek language was employed for more than a century in all but the highest government offices and law courts. The first Arabian coinage was an imitation of the Byzantine gold coin and for the Persian territories the old silver money obtained. All Arabs were exempted from taxation, the whole burden of which fell upon the native population.

However, in course of time it became apparent that Omar's fiscal system was untenable both in principle and in practice. Millions of natives went over to Mohammedanism to escape taxation, and the burden fell all the more heavily upon a decreasing number of taxpayers. The alternative of the government was either to get along on less money, or to increase the weight of taxes upon those who were not exempt, with the danger of driving them into insurrection. Moreover, other economic complications had arisen. As towns and even cities grew up around the military camps, they became new centers of commerce and industry which dislocated the economic life of the older settlements. In addition, the rural peasantry forsook the farms and drifted into these new places, just as the serfs in Europe were to flee from fields to towns when the latter arose. An agrarian crisis was precipitated in Egypt and Syria. Farms

were abandoned because of lack of labor, or sold for little because of decayed revenue.

Gradually a new tax and fiscal system was evolved. The land tax was levied regardless of creed, upon all land owners, and Moslems paid taxes equally with non-Moslems, except the poll-tax which was peculiar to non-Moslems. At the same time the very highest offices of state—except naturally that of caliph—were opened to natives, even though they were not Mohammedans. Through the later centuries the prosperity of Egypt and Syria under these more equitable conditions was very great—greater than it had been under the Byzantine rule.

Meanwhile, in spite of discord and civil war, Mohammedanism continued to expand alike eastward and westward. By 724 the Mohammedans had duplicated the feat of Alexander the Great, had crossed Turkestan by the ancient stepping-stones of Merv, Bokhara, Samarkand, Tashkent and Balkh, and reached the Indus river and the western frontier of the Chinese Empire. Here their advance by land was stopped for many years. But as possessors of ancient Persia they were heirs to Persia's old maritime trade by sea with the Far East, and Arab dhows succeeded Chinese junks in the Arabian Sea, the Indian Ocean, and the China Sea. Before the eighth century was half over, there were colonies of Arabian merchants and Mohammedan mosques on the Malabar coast of India and at Canton and Hangchow.

Arab traders were the first to penetrate the Sahara and establish commercial connections with the Negro tribes of Central Africa. *Exploration and trade in Africa* They were the first to explore the coast of East Africa, to discover Madagascar and Zanzibar. By the beginning of the tenth century, if not earlier, they were engaged in the slave trade, in gold mining, and in traffic with the Bantu tribes.

A much-traveled Moslem historian, Macoudi of Baghdad . . . wrote a book about it. In his famous *Meadows of Gold* he tells of Arabs and Persians passing along the ancient monsoon trade route from Madagascar and East Africa to the Malabar Coast and Ceylon; of the coming and going between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf and Sofala; of the little Bushmen, the Wak-wak, in the parts around Sofala, and of the Zendjs, the Bantu, who were steadily pushing southward, bartering gold and ivory, panther skins and tortoise shell, to Arab traders for the markets of India and China.[1]

The capture of Alexandria with its huge shipyards made Mohammedanism a formidable sea power in the eastern Mediterranean.

[1] Eric A. Walker, *A History of South Africa* (London, 1928).

Cyprus (648) and Rhodes (653) were naval bases. Sporadic attacks were made on Constantinople and three successive sieges were undertaken. The last (717) was truly formidable and marks a turning point in Byzantine history.

Conquest of Spain (711) From Egypt as a base, the armies of the Crescent advanced westward along the coast of North Africa through the Byzantine provinces of Libya and Tripoli and took Carthage in 693. As the coast towns were difficult to hold and vulnerable to attack from the sea, the Mohammedans destroyed them and built cities inland. The greatest of these was Kairwan, which became the base for new trade routes, crossing the Sahara and penetrating the heart of the African continent, a feat which neither the ancient Egyptians nor Greeks nor Romans had been able to accomplish. Finally the Arab armies crossed the straits in 711 and conquered the Visigothic kingdom of Spain. Cordova became one of the most cultivated and brilliant capitals in Europe. The conquerors of Spain (the Moors) were not Arabians in origin. Only a handful of Arabs from the desert were to be found in these victorious armies, which were mostly composed of Berbers caught up into the swirl of Islam.

The Ommiads were shortly to rule in Cordova, but only after they had lost Damascus. In 750 the Persian faction was finally victorious in the person of Abul-Abbas-as-Saffah, a descendant of Mohammed's uncle, Abbas. Abul-Abbas defeated the Ommiads. and slaughtered every representative of the dynasty, ninety in all, except one young prince hardly more than a boy, whose name was Abd-er-Rahman. The boy escaped and, after hairbreadth adventures, reached Spain where he became the first ruler of the Caliphate of Cordova.[1] Abul-Abbas moved the caliphate from Damascus and built a new capital in the east in the same region where many ancient capitals had registered the rise and fall of empires.

This capital was Bagdad, which still survives as a living city; it has often perilously escaped the fate of ancient Babylon, Nineveh, Ecbatana, Persepolis, and Ctesiphon. Thus the great Bagdad Caliphate, the Holy Arabian Empire of the East, the international empire of the Abbassids, Islam's mightiest challenge to Christendom, came into being exactly fifty years before Charlemagne revived the Roman Empire in the West.

Harun-al-Rashid In the time of Harun-al-Rashid (Aaron the Just, 789–809), the Caliphate reached its zenith. The empire stretched from Egypt to the Indus and Oxus rivers. Harun undertook a series of campaigns against the Byzantine Empire and overran Asia Minor. He was a

---

[1] Cordova, after 755, actually independent, was not technically a caliphate until 929.

great builder and converted Bagdad into a glorious world capital. His road system emulated that of the ancient Persians. He constructed a great road all the way to Mecca with wells and caravansaries at fixed distances for the accommodation of pilgrims—and, incidentally, for military purposes, to keep Arabia in subjugation. An efficient courier system kept Harun in close communication with his empire. He established a pigeon post. Under these favorable conditions commerce and trade naturally increased. Harun also was a generous patron of arts and letters and of distinguished scholars. He is the hero of the *Arabian Nights.*

Arabian culture, by 800, had ceased to be predominantly Arabic except in religion. Intellectually and materially it was a blend of Arabian, Egyptian, Syrian, Greek, and especially of Persian elements. The Persians so profoundly affected their conquerors that the great realm of the Arabian caliphs at Bagdad was governed for them by others than the descendants of the conquerors. The *wazirs* were Persians or Syrian Christians. The Magian tradition and culture which had for so many centuries prevailed in western Asia was not destroyed by the conquest of the Arabs—it was not even crushed—and victoriously permeated almost every avenue of Islamic expression. The literary and artistic influence was prevailingly Persian. Only the Persian language succumbed to Arabic. The ancient science of the Magi was at the root of Arabian science, together with a large admixture of Greek culture. Although political control passed from the Arabs, the Arabic language survived among all these non-Arabic peoples whom Islam had conquered.

Three great states, three great civilizations, confronted one another from the eighth century onward. In western Europe, there had been formed a new polity and a new civilization, a fusion of Roman, German, and Christian elements. In eastern Europe and Asia Minor lay a Graeco-Roman-Christian empire; in western Asia and Egypt had arisen a Perso-Oriental Mohammedan empire, reaching as far as India and China.

THE INVASIONS OF THE NINTH CENTURY

Charles Martel had defeated the Saracens, Pepin had driven *Saracen* them from Aquitaine and Provence, and Charlemagne had recov- *pirates* ered the Spanish Mark beyond the Pyrenees, but in the western Mediterranean the fleets out of the North African ports were formidable. By 810 the Saracens (Arabs) were established in Corsica and Sardinia; between 827 and 843 they took most of Sicily; and in 878, Syracuse. They ravaged the coast towns in France and Italy as frequently as the Norsemen devastated the coasts of northern France

and of England at the same time. In 836 the Saracens sacked Marseilles; in 842 they penetrated up the Rhone to Arles. In August, 846, they took Rome and plundered St. Peter's of jewels and plate and other treasure; they laid the whole Campagna desolate. To prevent a repetition of this catastrophe Pope Leo IV hastily erected a wall around the heart of medieval Rome—the Vatican, St. Peter's, the Lateran palace and the Castle of St. Angelo, which was known as the Leonine City. In 878 the Saracens returned again. In vain John VIII appealed for succor to Charles the Bald. "Cities, fortresses, villages have perished with their inhabitants. Within the walls of Rome are collected the remnants of the wholly destitute population; without, all is devastation; nothing remains; the whole Campagna has been depopulated; not a single inhabitant, man, woman or child, not even an animal, is to be found."

In two places on the mainland of Europe the Saracens established a permanent domination for many years—southern Italy and Provence. In 881 they built a huge fortified camp on the Garigliano river below Naples, from which they devastated every important town roundabout, until Pope John X, aided by the feudal princes of the South and by the Byzantine emperor, got together an army and utterly destroyed the Saracen nest.

In France, at St. Tropez near the mouth of the Rhone, another Saracen encampment was established before 896 on a cape which was heavily fortified. From this as a base the invaders penetrated up the Rhone valley almost to Lyons, and even crossed the mountains and terrorized Piedmont and the Alpine regions as far as St. Gall. It is strange to think that a desert people could have become such accomplished mountaineers and still stranger to write about the "Saracens of the Alps." But the truth is that for nearly eighty years (until 972) Provence and the western Alpine lands were under the rule of Islam. To this day in Provence occasionally the spade or the plow turns up pottery, tiles, coins of Arabic workmanship and design.

Effect of invasions　　In this awful crucible of the ninth century when the Carolingian Empire was dissolving, when civil war and violence reigned within, from the outside a wave of new barbarism assaulted the countries of the West and a new Europe came into being. "In the ninth century," it has been said, "are to be found the sources of the institutions, religious, social and political, which governed Europe until the Reformation." [1] Charlemagne's government had been an imposed government and in many respects was unsuitable to the conditions and the spirit of the age. Accordingly, when his strong hand

[1] Henry C. Lea, quoted in E. S. Bradley, *Life of Henry C. Lea*, p. 138.

was removed these forces were released and gradually molded new institutions and a feudal Europe. Violent as this inchoate feudalism was, it expressed the spirit of the age. The political center of gravity of the time could not permanently reside in a ruler whose sovereignty was an incongruous blend of the old Frankish kingship with the obsolete concept of ancient Roman imperialism. The empire was only an idea; the reality was represented by the "self-made" dukes and counts whose authority and power had arisen on the ruins of the empire. Dukes and counts governed independently, while the kings who could boast only of having Carolingian blood in their veins were lean and solemn phantoms neither feared nor respected. What was true of these powerful nobles was no less true of bishops and abbots who necessarily also became independent and involved in feudalism.

Invasion of Norsemen

However there was a great deal of difference between the German conquests of the fifth and sixth centuries and the wave of barbarism of the ninth century. The Germans had been for four hundred years in contact with Roman civilization before they entered the empire; and they were all Christian except the Angles who invaded Britain. On the other hand, the Norsemen—Danes and Norwegians—were both barbarian and heathen. Moreover, the invasions of the Norsemen were compressed within a single century (ninth) and fell with extreme violence, whereas the Germanic invasion had been spread over two centuries and more, and much of it was slow infiltration and peaceful settlement. The early Germans were colonists; the Norsemen were military invaders.

Norse institutions

The Norse were barbarians but they were not savages. They were the last people in Europe who had emerged out of the bronze age. They were in the condition that the primitive Germans had been in the time of Caesar, who was the first historian to describe the Germans. Norse institutions and their religion were those of the ancient Germans. They excelled in metal work and shipbuilding, for they were a seafaring people. Agriculture and cattle-raising were well-nigh impossible in the Danish peninsula and in Norway. The former country was a land of swamps and moors, and thick forests of beech and oak. Norway was a land of mountains, glaciers, boulder-strewn valleys, and deep fjords indenting the coast. Both peoples were fisherfolk, hardy, bold, and adventurous. The sea to them was the element of life, and as far back as the fifth and sixth centuries the Norsemen had established trade relations with the Frisians in furs, walrus, whale ivory, and dried fish, which they exchanged for armor, weapons, and woolen cloth.[1] They themselves were not in

---

[1] Such relics have been found in profusion in Scandinavian graves.

direct contact with the Franks or the English until after Charles
Martel's conquest of the Frisians, who formerly had been the "mid-
dlemen" in all the trade of the North Sea.

Viking ships   Once they had learned of the prosperous countries across the sea,
the piracy, to which the Norse were naturally inclined, found full
vent. Their "long ships" were admirably adapted to such enter-
prise. They were high-prowed, deep-keeled vessels capable of rid-
ing the high seas with steadiness and propelled by oars if the wind
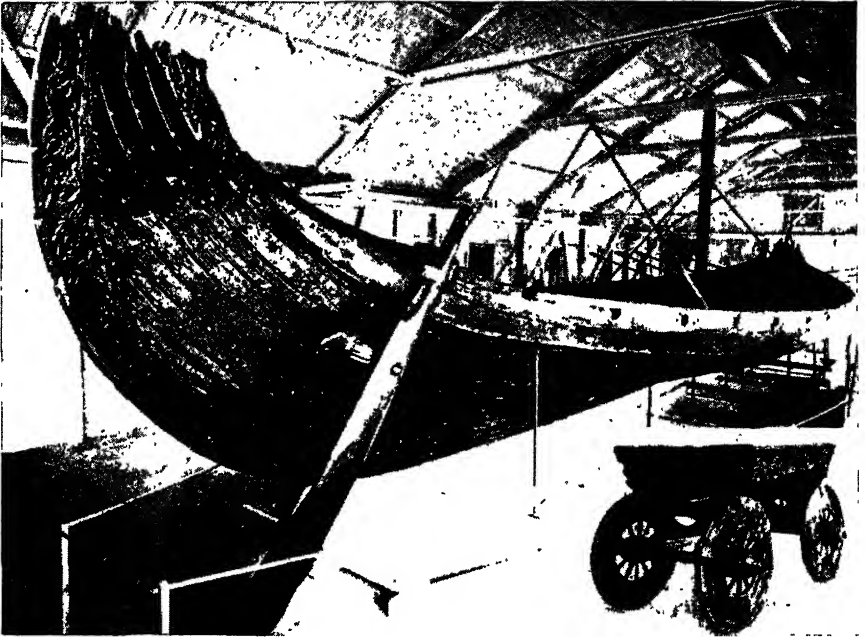
THE OSEBERG SHIP AND THE WAGON FOUND IN IT
(From Gjerset's *History of the Norwegian People,* Vol. I. Copyright 1915 by The
Macmillan Co. Used with permission.)

failed. Along the low waistline hung the bright painted shields of
the warriors. They were beautiful yet terrible apparitions when
they appeared out of the mist off the coast towns of England and
France, their painted sails seeming like the wings of some great
bird of prey, the dragon pennant at the masthead floating snakily
in the wind.

Danish at-   The east coast of England was the first region to be attacked and
tacks on Eng-   then before long the Channel coast. In 851 the Danes wintered for
land   the first time on English soil. In 879 Alfred the Great was com-
pelled to cede all of northeast England to the Danes in order to save
the rest of the country from further invasion. This territory was

known as the *Danelaw*. The Danish occupation of England was a real conquest and imposed indelible marks upon the map, an effect clearly seen in the local nomenclature. The historic lines of demarkation between the old kingdoms along the eastern shore were obliterated and the territory sheared into new administrative divisions by the Danes. Elsewhere the old kingdoms preserved their ancient lines of demarcation long after their incorporation into Wessex. In Saxon England the former kingdoms became counties of a larger Wessex, but in Danish England the old kingdoms vanished and the whole territory divided into shires (i.e., sheared), the boundaries of which frequently disregarded the ancient lines.[1]

Meanwhile the Danes had also begun to harry the coast of Frankish Gaul so that Charlemagne in the last years of his reign established a channel fleet to resist their incursions. Here the record of real invasion is a little later in time but similar in results, since the Norse invasions in France were not serious until after 840, that is, they coincide with the civil wars and disintegration of the Carolingian monarchy. In that year the Norse burned Rouen near the mouth of the Seine. The river system of France made it peculiarly vulnerable to a seafaring invader. The mouths of the Rhine and Meuse led the Norsemen into Flanders as well as lower Germany up to Cologne; the Somme led them to Amiens, the Seine past Rouen to Paris, which was assaulted three times (845, 857, 861) before the last great siege in 886–887. After they rounded the point of Brittany, the Loire led the invaders upstream to Tours and Orléans. The estuary of the Garonne was the gateway to Bordeaux and to almost all towns of the southwest as far as Toulouse. The fleets of the Vikings also harried both Christian and Mohammedan Spain. They devastated the Rhone valley and pillaged Italian coast towns.

Norse invasions in France and Spain

Warriors by nature, the Norse became more formidable when they adopted the armor and mounted themselves on the captured horses of their enemies. The Norse were artful tacticians. One of their tricks was to dig trenches which they covered over with boughs and turfs into which the charging foe would plunge. Another was to advance concealed under branches of trees which they had cut and carried over their heads. Shakespeare has described this ruse in

---

[1] This explains why central and western parts of England are still called counties, while the counties in the east of England are called shires and the chief town in each is known as the shire-town, not as the county-seat. Again, the names of towns and villages in the ceded territory reveal how the conquered land was divided. The Danish place-suffix *by* indicates such settlements, as in Ber*by*, Nase*by*.

EXPANSION OF THE NORSEMEN

Their Voyages
Permanent Occupation
Kingdom of Wessex under Alfred the Great

Macbeth "when Birnam Wood came to Dunsinane." They captured Angers and Bordeaux by crawling through an aqueduct which supplied the city with water. They operated from fortified camps established at the river-mouths, often on an island like the island of Walcheren off the coast of Flanders and that of Noirmoutier at the mouth of the Loire. There was no unity of command among them. There were many roving bands, each under its own chieftain. "They came over, horses and all, at one passage, with 250 ships," reads an English chronicle, and again: "The Danes went southwards over the sea to the Seine. Thanks be to God the 'army' [this was the customary English designation of the Danes] had not utterly broken down the English nation." Events in one country affected the country across the Channel. For example, after Alfred the Great made peace with Guthrum the Dane in 879, the fury of the Norsemen in France redoubled.

Charlemagne's grandson, Charles the Bald, made an effort to defend the basin of the Seine by building bridges with parapets and towers at each end across the river at Paris and Rouen and between these two places. But since these structures were made of timber the Norsemen burned them or, if they could not do so, detoured around them. More effective was a series of blockhouses (*castella*) erected at strategic points from Rheims on the east to Chartres on the west. But this means also failed because the king was so weak that he could not compel his vassals to perform military service and to garrison them. Every noble was interested only in protecting his own lands. The only recourse the king had was to give these blockhouses with the adjacent lands to the nobles, who then were willing to defend them. This, however, was royal surrender to the baronage, in a word, it was the growth of feudal interest, of private power and wealth to the detriment of the government. At last the wretched king made a virtue of necessity and levied tribute when and upon whom he could in order to bribe off the Norsemen. This tribute was known as the *Danegeld*. It chiefly fell upon the bishops and abbots of the monasteries but it was exacted from merchants and freemen, too, and from such of the nobles as could be compelled to pay. The burden was an occasional one but frequent enough almost to become a permanent assessment.[1]

Charles the Bald's defense

In the widespread peril and desolation Frankish society reverted to first principles. Protection and security of person and property became the crying need of the time. The government was quite unable to afford this protection. Only the great landowners, the feudal nobles, could do so. All over the country blockhouses arose,

Castle building

---

[1] *Danegeld* was levied in 845, 852, 855, 858, 861, 862, 866, 877, 884.

always upon the most inaccessible sites such as hilltops, the edges of cliffs, in the loop of a river. In flat country an artificial mound (*motta*) was thrown up on which the blockhouse was built; this was surrounded by a palisade of stakes or tree trunks set into the ground inside of the ditch which had been made by the excavation to erect the mound. Such "castles" were timber structures with steep roofs having holes in them so that water might be poured through the orifices to extinguish flaming arrows. For the same reason the eaves were wide so that if enemies pierced the palisade they could be driven from the walls by boiling water or hot tar or by arrows shot vertically through the floor of the overhanging upper story. In time of invasion the peasantry, most of them the local lord's own tenantry, found refuge with their cattle and goods inside this palisade which they helped to defend.

The violence of the ninth century, as the result of internal anarchy and external invasion, revolutionized the way of living of all classes. The bishops and abbots walled in themselves and their communities. Where old Roman walls had crumbled, they were repaired. In the countryside the big, rambling villa of the age of Charlemagne disappeared; the blockhouse took its place. The old open village was fenced with thorn and palisaded or staked roundabout. Individual farmhouses were converted into fenced and sometimes moated granges. Serfdom greatly increased. Safety was dearer than liberty; the freeman sacrificed his freedom and became a serf for the sake of the lord's protection.[1] Thus the power of the feudal nobles increased, and serfdom and manorialism were extended.

Siege of Paris (885–886) In 885–886 the Norse hosts in France united and made a concerted attack on Paris, whose strong situation on an island in the Seine, connected with each bank by fortified bridges, barred their invasion of central France. For eleven months the beleaguered city under the leadership of Odo, Count of Paris, whose father, Robert the Strong, had been killed by a Norse arrow twenty years before, heroically resisted all assaults. It was a turning point. The Norse continued to colonize the Channel coast—conquest and settlement went hand in hand—but there was a limit to their penetration into the country. Finally, in 912 Charles the Simple made a virtue of necessity and recognized an accomplished fact. He ceded the coast from the Somme to Brittany to the great Danish chieftain Rolf as the duchy of Normandy. The problem and the solution were identical in England and France. The Danelaw yielded by Alfred the Great in 879 was England's Normandy. The Five Burghs—Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, and Derby—erected by Al-

[1] For a graphic account of this process see Taine's *Ancient Regime*, 8–9.

fred to guard the frontier between the Danelaw and Wessex, which included all the rest of England, were garrisoned blockhouses. In course of time, because they protected and attracted trade, they grew into towns, as some of the *châteauforts* in France also later blossomed into towns.

Lower or Rhenish Germany and Flanders were the only parts of Germany exposed to the Norse inroads, and these were effectually stopped in 891 when the German King Arnulf stormed their camp on the Dyle river, where the Belgian city of Louvain later grew.

In all these attacks, following down the coast of Europe through the North Sea and the Channel the Norse had taken the "Inner Passage." But in the middle of the ninth century they opened a hitherto unknown and untried route around the north end of Britain, through the clusters of islands lying there, the Shetlands, the Orkneys, the Faroes, which they conquered and settled, and these became stepping-stones to wider expansion in Ireland. They settled the chief port towns of Ireland but never conquered the whole island. The Norse Kingdom of Dublin became an important trading center, and it was not recovered by the Irish until 1014 in the great battle of Clontarf. *Norse conquest of Ireland*

The Norse also discovered Iceland, Greenland, and even the northwest coast of America. This northern route was the "Outer Passage," a seaway of discovery and exploration. Although there is evidence that Irish hermits had once dwelt there, Iceland was unknown to Europeans until the Norse discovered it about 867. After it was settled, adventurous voyagers in search of fishing grounds, whale, and walrus ivory pushed on to Greenland and established colonies there. Finally in 1000 Leif Ericson, from Greenland, reached the American coast, but whether Vinland was Nova Scotia or New England is uncertain.[1] The Norse were discoverers of new lands and pioneers five hundred years before Columbus and Vasco da Gama in the Age of Discovery.[2] *Discovery of Iceland*

[1] As early as 1112 an Icelandic priest was made the first bishop of Greenland and in 1121 he journeyed to the American continent (Vinland) —evidence of some sort of settlement there—so that ecclesiastical Latin must at least once have been used in celebration of the mass in North America early in the twelfth century. *American Journal of Philology* XXX, p. 146 note.

[2] There is written evidence that the Greenland colony survived until the fifteenth century. But until recently the reason for its extinction was not known. The discovery of a graveyard at Herjolfnes has cast new light. The bodies disinterred were recovered from permanently frozen ground, yet "conditions showed very definitely that the graves cannot have been hewn down into the frozen ground, and in the costumes we found pieces of grass roots that in the first summers after the interment must have been able to reach down to these layers."

Thus the whole north of Europe and a part of North America became a Norse "empire," not in a political sense but in the rule of it by peoples of the Nordic race, whether Danes or Norwegians or Swedes. Kiev in Russia was its farthest east; Greenland (or America), its farthest west. There is ample evidence that political and commercial intercourse between the peoples and territories of the whole north from Russia to Greenland was lively and intimate. It is an impressive historical fact.

Terrible as the invasions of the Norsemen were, in the long run their expansion and colonization were constructive in many ways. The Norse peoples everywhere displayed a remarkable ability for government and fashioned old institutions into a new form better adapted to the circumstances of the time and the spirit of the age. The Norse and Normans played a great part in the transformation of Europe into feudalism.

Swedes in Russia

No less significant than the Danish and Norwegian expansion to the west and southwest was the Swedish expansion to the east and southeast. In 862, traditionally, Rurik with two of his brothers, and a band of Swedes, crossed the Gulf of Finland and conquered and colonized Russia. As the Scandinavian conquerors were relatively few in number and soon amalgamated with their Slavic subjects, the Russian state is not properly a Viking achievement, but the initial impulse for its organization came from Rurik and his

---

(Halldor Hermannsson, *The Problem of Wineland,* 1936.) It is evident that the climate of Greenland changed for the worse in the later Middle Ages. Dr. Nansen's opinion that the colony perished through absorption by the Eskimo is untenable.

"Cut off from all contact with their mother country early in the fifteenth century, with bodies progressively crippled and deformed as an inevitable consequence of malnutrition and in-breeding, the colonists are shown to have clung, with indomitable pride, to the culture, fashions, and religion which they had derived from Europe. Waiting desperately for the ship which never arrived, they only just missed survival into the age when Greenland was once more visited. About 1540, an Icelandic sailor, driven from his course, found the corpse of one of them, dressed in the European hood and woven cloth of the Herjolfnes discoveries, lying by his treasured iron knife, which was 'bent and much worn and eaten away.' This was less than fifty years before contact with Greenland was re-established by John Davis; and but for political difficulties in Denmark relief might have arrived in time." (Quoted from review of the above book in *London Times Literary Supplement,* March 20, 1937.)

The last news of medieval Greenland and the first news of the North American continent overlap. For there is record of a Portuguese-Danish expedition to "Stockfishland" of the year 1473, and the voyage of the brothers Corte Real (1500–1502) to Labrador took place exactly ten years after Columbus's first voyage.

followers, and the very name of Russia may have been derived from Rurik.[1]

The ninth century invasions were even more critical for the Slavs than the fifth and sixth centuries had been. The original home of the Slavs which they had occupied since prehistoric times was in the marshlands of the Pripet and the swampy basin of the middle Dnieper. This was "Polesie," a triangular area as large as Ireland. Some of the Slavs moved northward after the Germans abandoned their original home on the Baltic into the valley of the lower Vistula, and thus the Poles and Polaben peoples were formed. Others penetrated the mountainous region of central-eastern Europe where their descendants became the Czechs; still others pushed southwards to the Danube and became Serbs. To the eastward they spread over the great central plain to Russia and gave birth to the Great Russians, the core of the Russian nation. They could not occupy what is now southern Russia, where roamed hordes of Patzinaks (Petchenegs).

After the collapse of the Hunnic power when Attila died in 454, the territory across the lower Danube and around the coast of the Black Sea lay more or less open to occupation by migratory tribes, principally Slavs. For a time they practiced a "peaceful penetration" into the Balkans and Greece, somewhat as the Germans had done in the Roman Empire in the fourth century, so that Slavonic settlements dotted the provinces. This pacific invasion abruptly changed in 589, for then the Slavs joined a new Asiatic invader, the Avars, in attacking the Byzantine Empire. The Emperor Maurice (582–602) by heroic endeavor stemmed the torrent, although the attack came just when the Persian danger was most formidable. Constantinople so successfully resisted the combined attack of Persians, Avars, and Slavs, that the Avars decided to move up the Danube and raid central Europe. The Emperor Heraclius skillfully arranged to break up the alliance of the Slavs and the Avars, and in 630 he settled two Slavonic tribes in what is now Croatia and Bosnia to safeguard these regions against the Avars to the north. Ten years later these military colonists were followed by the first Serbs to enter the Balkans.

The Avar invasion of the seventh century had begun to split the Western Slavs into a northern and southern group; and the Magyar invasion of the ninth century served to drive them still further apart from each other. Soon religious differences (when they became Christian) completed the separation, which has lasted

---

[1] Another theory is that it comes from *Ross* or *Russ*—"rowmen," i.e., rowers of boats, i.e., vikings.

to the present. The Slavs in the south were converted from Constantinople, the Slavs in the north from Rome.

Of all the Slavic peoples who were spreading over central and eastern Europe at this time, only the greatest, the Russian, was able to set up a state.[1] That the Slavs who moved east from the Pripet marshes were the first to arrive at political definition is in part explained by the natural advantages of the vast plain into which they came, bounded in the southwest by the Carpathians, on the south by the Caucasus and the Black Sea, on the east by the Ural Mountains, and on the north by the Arctic Ocean. Much of the soil of this plain was rich and black, but it was the river system which determined the character of early Russian development. Many rivers flowed into the Baltic and Black and Caspian Seas and the divide of land between them was so low and narrow that the network of rivers gave easy access to the whole plain.

Earliest Russian history   What the history of Russia was before the middle of the ninth century is a matter of tradition and conjecture. Civilization appears to have established its earliest nucleus at Novgorod[2] in the north on the Volkhov river, where a colony of traders dealt with Constantinople in slaves and furs. Quarrels among these traders seem to have invited attacks from the outside. The oldest Russian document relates that in 862 this community sent word to a Swedish chieftain named Rurik: "Our land is great and fruitful, but there is no order in it. Come and rule over us." The beginning of Russian history is thus attached to the expansion of the Norse peoples in the ninth century. Rurik and his followers crossed the sea in their keel boats via the Gulf of Finland, the Neva river, and Lake Ladoga (the largest lake in Europe) and reached Novgorod. Twenty years later the Swedish domination in Russia had expanded to Kiev (882), in and around which the Russian state was established. The native population was reduced to serfdom under Swedish domination. Since there were few women among the invaders, they took wives from among the Slavs and thus a Nordic-Slavonic upper class of warrior noble and rich merchant families gradually was formed. A string of forts—blockhouses surrounded by palisades —at convenient stages, and especially at fords and portages, sprang up along the Volkhov and Dnieper rivers to control the inland route between the Baltic and the Black Seas. Along this Varangian Route[3] passed slaves, furs, tar from the forests of pine, and ship

[1] A very promising Moravian empire of the ninth century did not last; it was soon destroyed by the Magyars.

[2] The suffix *gorod* or *grad* means town or city, e.g., Petrograd. To the Russians Constantinople was Tsar (caesar) grad, the imperial or the caesar's city.

[3] From the word *varyag*, meaning trader.

stores such as hemp and rope, and were exchanged for wares of the south and the Orient. This great trade route lasted until the invasion of Russia by the Mongols in the middle of the thirteenth century. Kiev became a place of international commerce, and already in the eleventh century had eight markets where Russian, Greek, German, Armenian, and even Arab merchants from Bagdad changed wares. With the growth of trade Kiev was brought within the orbit of Byzantine culture, and repeated military expeditions against Constantinople to extract trade concessions only strengthened Byzantine influence.[1] Inevitably the grand princes accepted the Greek Orthodox religion and imitated in every way the culture of Constantinople.

Every century of the Middle Ages, from the fifth century with the Huns, through the fifteenth century with the Ottoman Turks, was more or less deeply affected by new waves of attack from Asia. These invaders closely resembled each other in appearance and character; they were all of Mongoloid stock, and a description of the Huns of the fifth century applies equally well to the Hungarians of the ninth century and to the Tartars of the thirteenth century. Similar as the ninth century Asiatic invasions were to all the rest, there was one notable difference. In the course of the century two of these nomadic invaders—the Bulgarians and the Magyars—established themselves permanently in Europe. *Attack from Asia*

The Hungarians had followed in the wake of the Avars and were successful, as the Avars had not been, in establishing themselves in the Danube and Theiss valleys. Through the seventh and eighth centuries the Avars had been terrible in their power, and they had on occasion deeply affected the development of all their neighbors—Germans, Slavs, and Greeks. Later in the eighth century, however, they were annihilated by Charlemagne, and the whole Avar people disappeared from history.[2] At the very end of the ninth century the Magyars, or Hungarians, came through the Carpathians and occupied the plain below the bend of the Danube, naming it Hungary. From this base they carried on raids that rivaled those of the Norsemen in the west. In the first quarter of the tenth century southern and especially southeastern Germany and North Italy were perpetually menaced by them.[3] The cities of north Italy began to repair their old walls and to build new ones, while the open country became studded with castles as it was in *Magyar invasions*

[1] The grand duke of Kiev once sent a camel to the Emperor Henry II of Germany.

[2] The Avars did survive after a fashion as the ogres of Slavic folklore.

[3] In 900 and 902 they ravaged Bavaria. In 903, 905, 906 they devastated Lombardy.

France against the Norsemen. The partial success of these obstructions threw the Hungarians again on Germany. In 909 and 910 their raids were extended up the Danube through Swabia and across the Rhine into Lorraine. Towns, abbeys, and cathedrals were sacked for the treasure found in them. Southern Germany was almost as badly looted as France had been by the Norsemen earlier, until again walls and castles were erected to block them.

Bulgarians   As the Avars had followed in the wake of the Huns and the Magyars in the wake of the Avars, so now Bulgars followed Magyars.[1] In the second half of the seventh century they had begun to crowd down upon the region at the mouth of the Danube. In 679 they defeated the Emperor Constantine IV and forced him to cede them the province of Moesia and the territory of Dobrudja on the *south* side of the Danube river, and *within* the Byzantine Empire, exactly where the Visigoths had been settled before in 375 when driven across the river by the Huns. The Bulgarians united the scattered Slavonic populations into a powerful Bulgarian kingdom in the Balkans, which in the course of time stretched from the Danube almost to the Adriatic. In 813 the terrible Khan Krum of the Bulgarians was worsted under the walls of Constantinople, which he had boasted he would capture.

The Bulgarians were very slow to accept Christianity, but finally their prince, Boris, in 869 converted them to the Greek Orthodox faith and established the Bulgarian Church under a Bulgarian archbishop. After their conversion the Bulgars very soon lost their Hunnic characteristics and traditions; they even lost their language so completely did they become Slavonized, Bulgarian being a Slavonic language. The son of Boris, Simeon, in a long reign of more than forty years (893–927) extended his rule over the whole breadth of the Balkan peninsula, nearly destroying the Serbs in the process. None of his successors was as powerful as he, but for over a century Bulgarian power constantly threatened Constantinople, until 1018,

[1] The Bulgarians were of kindred stock with their predecessors. Their home was on the middle Volga River, a region which is still known as Old Bulgaria. Bulgaria and Volgaria are one and the same term. The name of the Bulgars is first heard of about A.D. 480 as that of a people whom the Emperor Zeno called in to repel Theodoric the Ostrogoth. They were not Slavs, but a Hunnish or Ugrian tribe who, it has been plausibly conjectured, had followed Attila. If this be true then the Bulgarians are the sole surviving remnants of that vast horde which has maintained a permanent place in Europe. The original seat of the Bulgars was in the region of the Araxes river where they were settled about 120 B.C. by the Persian emperor Arsaces I, but they were living on the lower Volga when Zeno called them.

when the Emperor Basil II, the "Bulgar-Slayer," conquered the kingdom and made Bulgaria a province of his empire.[1]

THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE (565–1095)

In the face of constant attack from all directions, the Eastern Empire after Justinian maintained its power remarkably well, and although it sustained severe losses in Asia and Africa, it lost very little in Europe, except in Italy. The first century after Justinian was most unfortunate for the empire. Not only had his conquests in the West proved ephemeral, but they had also created a new opportunity for Persia to renew the war in the East. Even though the Emperor Heraclius (610–641) finally won a complete victory, it was at terrible cost to both empires; both Greeks and Persians were so exhausted by the long wars that they could not resist effectively the advance of Islam. However, when the Saracens launched their crucial attack on Constantinople in the great siege of 717–718, city and empire were saved by the great emperor, Leo III, the Isaurian (717–741). His brilliant repulse of the Arabs was infinitely more significant than Charles Martel's precarious victory at Tours a few years later. Leo III was not only a great general but a great statesman. Beginning his reign with the prestige of brilliant victory, he undertook a drastic reform of the imperial administration.

Defense of Constantinople

He reorganized the army and united adjacent provinces into a more compact administrative unit called a *theme*, in which were combined civil and military jurisdictions. He also revised the tax

---

[1] In this vortex of southeastern nations must be included the Rumanians. Who are they? Are they the descendants of the Roman colonists settled by Trajan after his conquest of the Dacians in A.D. 105–106 to till the fields and work the mines? The territory of the modern kingdom of Rumania is ancient Dacia. The imperial rule lasted until 271 when the Emperor Aurelian abandoned it to the Goths. What became of the descendants of Trajan's colonists? There are no words of Gothic origin in the Rumanian language, but there are many Slav place names in Rumania. Avars and Bulgars extended their sway by the ninth century over the future principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. Magyars later burst through the Carpathians and settled on the great Pannonian plain where their descendants still are.

The Rumanians themselves contend that they are direct descendants of Trajan's colonists and that modern Transylvania is the ancestral home of their race. The leading Rumanian historian, Jorga, asserts that the continuity of the original Roman stock was not broken during all these barbarian invasions and that only the legionaries and the officials left Dacia at the time of Aurelian's evacuation of the province. The great bulk of the population remained behind and preserved its racial identity in spite of the pressure of Huns, Avars, Bulgars, Slavs, and Patzinaks upon it. One's credulity seems heavily taxed to believe so much. All that can safely be said is that the Rumanians are a partly Romanized stock with an infiltration of Slav and Tartar strains.

system, reformed the fiscal administration, checked the growth of the power of the great landed aristocrats (*dunatoi*—the strong) who were especially strong in Asia Minor, tried to relieve the peasantry of their worst burdens, and stimulated agriculture, commerce, and industry. All these reforms were codified in the *Ecloga,* a code of laws published in 740.

In his reform of the Church he attacked especially the immensely rich monasteries and began a religious controversy over image worship that raged for a century, more than once bringing the whole empire to the brink of political ruin. In this iconoclastic controversy the popes always opposed the emperors and were forced, consequently, to depend upon the Franks for protection against the Lombards.

Basil I

All in all, Leo and his immediate successors greatly strengthened the empire. The Isaurian dynasty ended with the Empress Irene, whose usurpation of the throne afforded Charlemagne an additional excuse for assuming the imperial crown. At the same time Bulgarian and Mohammedan attacks were resumed, and only with the accession of Basil I in 867, founder of the Macedonian dynasty,[1] was the situation retrieved. A satisfactory compromise, permitting image worship, had ended the iconoclastic controversy and reunited the empire just before Basil's accession, so that he began his reign under singularly favorable auspices. Able and energetic, he took full advantage of every opportunity, and his nineteen-year reign inaugurated a period of unparalleled splendor for his dynasty and the Eastern Empire. He made two victorious campaigns against the Arabs in Asia Minor and drove the Saracens out of southern Italy (but could not recover Sicily) . His new code of laws (the *Basilica*) elevated the great feudality of Asia Minor (*dunatoi*) upon whom he chiefly depended for support.

Basil II

The offensive that Basil I had begun on every border continued after his death. Cilicia and Antioch were regained, the Danube frontier was held firmly against the Bulgarians and Russians, and southern Italy was protected against the attacks of Otto the Great.

[1] His career is a romance. He was of lowly birth, born in a colony of Armenians who had been settled in Thrace. When a child he was captured in one of Khan Krum's raids and brought up in "Macedonia," as the Bulgarian territory was then called. When a young man, he escaped to Constantinople, where his magnificent physique, handsome bearing, and great strength got him employment in the stables of a rich noble. His ability to handle horses attracted the attention of the emperor who had a great stallion whom no groom could tame. Basil broke the brute. He became an emperial equerry, then lord high chamberlain, and finally was adopted by the childless emperor Michael the Drunkard, whom he succeeded.

The long and brilliant reign of Basil's grandson, Basil II (976–1025), brought the empire to the height of its power. He destroyed the kingdom of Bulgaria and united the whole Balkan region so firmly that Greek domination of the peninsula lasted until the rise of Serbian power in the fourteenth century. In the West, since Byzantine sea power was heavily taxed to hold its own in the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean against the fleets of Egypt and Syria, Basil II formed an alliance with Venice, just emerging at this time as a powerful naval and commercial state. The only serious check which Basil II met was in southern Italy after 1016, when the Normans began to stream into the land and to seize Greek territory.

The successful maintenance of a Roman Empire at Constantinople through the terrible difficulties of the early Middle Ages was tremendously significant for all of Christendom and for all future European development. Islam was definitely held in check; the Slavs in eastern Europe were Christianized and civilized; and perhaps most significant of all, Constantinople through all these centuries continued to be a great and active cultural center, radiating Graeco-Roman and Christian influences throughout the world. It was the only Christian city which could challenge the great cities of Islam, such as Bagdad and Cordova, in wealth, in trade, and in all the arts of civilization. In Constantinople Greek classical literature was preserved in the schools and the great libraries; classical architecture and art developed new and beautiful forms; Roman law was preserved and adapted to changing conditions—all on a

The Bettmann Archive

CONSTANTINOPLE WITH SANTA SOPHIA IN THE FOREGROUND

scale utterly beyond anything known in western Europe. Not until the end of the eleventh century was western Europe in a position to emulate the higher civilization of the East. Then, at last, through increasing contacts brought about by revived trading activity and by the Crusades, western Europeans were able to appropriate something of this priceless heritage and to make it an integral part of their own cultural achievements.

COLLATERAL READING

C. H. Dawson, *The Making of Europe,* 1932.

C. Diehl, *History of the Byzantine Empire,* 1925.

E. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* Edited by J. B. Bury, 1896–1900, 7 volumes.

C. H. Haskins, *The Normans in European History,* 1915.

P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs,* 1946.

T. D. Kendrick, *History of the Vikings,* 1930.

T. Arnold and A. Guillaume, Eds., *The Legacy of Islam,* 1931.

F. Nowak, *Medieval Slavdom and the Rise of Russia,* 1930.

M. Pickthall, *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran,* 1930.

A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire,* 1928–9, 2 volumes.

CHAPTER XII

Feudalism: The Peasantry and the Manor: Rise of the Towns

Ewing Galloway

LÜBECK

FEUDALISM shares with the Church the distinction of having been the greatest of all medieval institutions. Like the Church, it was an institution of universal extent, but unlike the Church it varied from country to country. Although it was a natural stage in the development of civilization throughout Europe, it was particularly in France that it reached its highest form, and French feudalism may well be taken as the norm. It may be said that France contributed feudalism to medieval Europe, but every part of Europe made its own adaptations of French feudal precedents. Every great historical institution is composed of several ingredients and is the product of a long process of evolution. Feudalism was the resultant of the fusion of Roman, Christian, German, and Celtic elements, although the weight of these different elements cannot be exactly specified. The last may have been the least important. As to the others, French historians attribute the preponderance to Roman influences, whereas German historians favor the German.

In the fourth and fifth centuries when the Roman Empire was decaying, rich landed proprietors in the provinces acquired economic and social supremacy, and they even usurped the functions

Roman influence on feudalism

271

of the government, displacing officials of the imperial administration. Private authority more and more supplanted public authority, and this is an essential characteristic of feudalism. These *potentes* (powerful ones) exercised the powers of government privately; they administered justice and imposed and collected taxes. Since the crying need of this age was for protection of person and property, small landowners sought the protection of the strongest man in their neighborhood to whom they "commended" themselves and their property. Thus a mutual relation was established between the greater proprietors and lesser proprietors, in which are perceived the lineaments of lordship and vassalage. The strong man needed support, whereas the weak man needed protection. The property relationship was of Roman origin, but the spirit of vassalage—the idea, if not the exact form—was of Celtic origin. Among the ancient Gauls, as Caesar noticed, the custom of clientage, or of economic and social dependence of small men upon some chieftain among them, obtained. These clients were called *vassi*. It is evident that vassalage, when it finally crystallized into a regular practice of the feudal regime, was of double origin, Roman and Celtic, and that "commendation" was the ceremonial link which bound lord and vassal together in this mutual relation.

But what was the status of the lower classes in this new society? It remained what it had been under the Later Roman Empire. At the bottom were slaves; above them, but lower down in the social scale, were *servi*, serfs; *coloni*, dependent peasantry; broken freemen; and glebemen (or those "bound to the glebe") as heavy workers on the "great farms" (*patrimonia*) of the proprietary aristocracy. The status of *servi* was hereditary from generation to generation, and the origin of the medieval peasantry is found here. They lived in wattled huts in huddled villages upon the "great farms." Their labor was long and hard.

German influence on feudalism

When the Germans established their kingdoms within the Roman Empire, they adopted and continued this incipient feudalism, the crude political, economic, and social regime which they found already there, and with which, indeed, most of them had long been familiar. However, the Germans also contributed some of their own barbaric institutions to this nascent "feudalism," although we may not yet call it that. The Germans already had a form of vassalage and service—the *herzog* or duke, a military chieftain, and his warband, or *comitatus*, as Tacitus in his account of the ancient Germans called it. It is apparent that there is an analogy between this Germanic institution and Celtic clientage, and the late Roman practice of commendation. Yet the resemblances must not be stressed

too much; these three superficially similar institutions differed in origin and content. It was inevitable, although the process of fusion is too obscure to follow in detail, that these three practices should amalgamate in time.

This amalgamation began under the Merovingians and was pro- *Origin of* ceeding very rapidly under the Carolingians. In the first period of *feudalism* the Franks, the king was surrounded and served by *antrustiones,* that is, men whom he trusted. These were drawn from the warriors and constituted a military elite around the king. Again the analogy with the Germanic *comitatus* comes to mind. Charles Martel set his mark upon this nascent feudalism after 732 when he established military-service lands called *benefices.* This benefice system—after the tenth century benefices were called *fiefs*—combined landed proprietorship, commendation, military service, and the Christian idea of fidelity. Charlemagne was the first ruler who laid particular stress upon this last quality. Indeed, his chancery may have been the first to coin the world *fidelis.* All nobles and all freemen were required to take the oath of fidelity to the king-emperor. It is evident that the ancient *vassi* and the new *fideles* were much alike, if not quite the same. Thus by the end of the Carolingian period it may be said that these diverse elements and practices had become roughly fused into forms which were beginning to assume a pattern. Historically, a fief was a territorial fragment of the Carolingian Empire. The lord of a fief was, above all things, a war-lord. Next to its military nature, the most important characteristic ·of feudalism was its judicial nature. The fief was a judicial as well as a military unit of territory, the lord of which had jurisdictional rights over every one of his vassals.

This feudal pattern consisted of combined property conditions and personal relations. It included only the noble class which was a landed and military aristocracy. Under the later Carolingians this feudal aristocracy took advantage of the weakness of the kings to seize control of government in the counties and provinces of every kingdom of which the empire was composed: France, Italy, Germany, and part of Spain. A swarm of provincial dynasts arose, counts and dukes, who reigned over the fragments of territory into which the Carolingian Empire had been broken, with scant regard for the king, who was reduced to a mere overlord. In time these territories grew into feudal principalities with historic names which still survive.

The feudal state consisted of the king and those lords who owed *King and* him fealty and service. The kingdom was the territory comprising *lords* the lord's fiefs and the domain lands of the king. The king's direct

action was limited to the latter. He had no immediate authority *in* the fiefs. He could deal directly only with the rulers of the fiefs. The feudal relation was unaffected by the size of the property involved. The land which was originally granted on a military tenure, or which a freeholder owner found it expedient to convert into a fief by commendation, might be a few acres, or a county, or even a kingdom. Commendation converted the lord into a vassal of a higher lord, and his land into a fief, which he held on feudal tenure, subject to the fulfillment of certain "aids" to his suzerain or overlord. Military service, indeed, was the most important function of the ownership of land, the primary "aid" given by the vassal to the overlord. Other aids were the requirement to contribute to the overlord's ransom if he were made a prisoner in war, to give money or gifts on the occasion of the knighting of the overlord's eldest son or the marriage of his eldest daughter, to assist him in the administration of justice, and to give him counsel when required.

The feudal baron derived his power from two sources. He represented a fragment of governmental sovereignty, which he had established in a given area of territory, and at the same time was a landed proprietor. He might be duke, count, viscount, or baron. According to his rank he exercised "high," "mean," or "low" justice; but the principle in each case was that he administered the law of the fief and not the law of the king. This state of things stamped law as a local institution. A lord, whether suzerain or vassal, had the right to be tried by the law of his fief. The law of the fief was the law of the court. Only the clergy and Jews were outside of this law.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries feudalism as a form of government gradually elaborated its institutions, clarified its relations and authorities, and purified itself of the grossest elements and practices. The relation of suzerain or overlord was defined and protected by law, and a customary code came into being. The Peace of God and the Truce of God refined feudalism by restraining the worst of its brutalities. Much of the petty warfare in the Middle Ages, private wars as they were known, was really of the nature of a struggle for rights and is therefore to be distinguished from mere robber baronage, which then as now was criminal violence.

Even so, private war was a terrible curse, and in the first centuries of feudalism the Church was the only power that could effectively oppose it. The Peace of God and the Truce of God, which the Church instituted, did eliminate some of its worst excesses. These Church restraints were superseded by royal authority in the twelfth century. By that time the kings were strong enough to sup-

press private war and enforce royal justice through their courts of law. The "King's Peace," as it was called in France and England, or the "Landfrieden (Land Peace)" in Germany, gradually came to prevail. On occasion the peasants, even when neither king nor Church intervened to protect them, could find a measure of protection in the provincial customs (*coutumes*); even in the worst days of feudalism public opinion might enforce this customary law in the event of its infraction by an especially violent and unjust lord.

Every fief, however small, was a state, and the lord of the fief its actual sovereign. Each lord, however, was bound to another lord, in the mutual relation of suzerain and vassal, and at the peak of this structure the greatest nobles of all were direct vassals of the king. These were called peers. One must avoid, however, making this pattern too precise or schematic. The so-called feudal system was never systematic except in theory. If the theory and the practice had ever coincided, and the feudal regime had become a perfectly patterned form of government and social structure, it might have become a system, but it would have ceased to be living and organic, and Europe would have been ossified. Because feudalism was a living, working force, it varied constantly, inventing new applications, even new forms, and adapting itself to new conditions.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries feudalism as a theory and form of government reached its zenith and deeply affected all contemporary thought and action. The political theory of feudalism ruled Europe and even penetrated into theology. God was regarded as the supreme overlord (*suzerain*), whose vassals were the emperor and the kings. In this political concept the pope could claim that, as vicar of Christ, *he* was the immediate overlord of all princes to whom emperors and kings owed homage. This doctrine was first enunciated by Gregory VII (1073–1085), affirmed in theory and practice by Innocent III (1198–1216), and ended as a practical program in 1303 with the fall of Boniface VIII.

The mutual or reciprocal nature of the services rendered by *Contract* vassal to suzerain and by suzerain to vassal, however, much they may *principle of* have failed of fulfillment sometimes, nevertheless historically rep- *feudalism* resented a new theory of the organization of society. The principle of contract pervaded it. The medieval state was founded on contract. The relation between overlord and vassal was of a contractual nature requiring the performance of specified duties and the enjoyment of certain specified rights on the part of each. In event of failure to execute these duties, or of abuse or denial of these rights, the offended party could legally renounce the relation.

If a suzerain failed to protect his vassal or treated him unjustly, the vassal could repudiate the contract. For example: military service was limited to forty days; if a lord exacted more and made the enforcement too burdensome, the vassal had the right to renounce his allegiance. On the other hand, a suzerain had the right to compel or restrain a recalcitrant vassal in event of his failure to perform his obligations.

This form of contractual state was a great contribution to political theory. The implications in it and the evolution of new principles and practices of law and government derived from it have had an immense influence upon all later history. The right to seek redress of grievances, even to the point of rebellion, is exemplified by the Puritan Revolution in England in the seventeenth century and by our own American Revolution and the Civil War of 1861–1865. That the weaker goes to the wall in the struggle is not always proof that the victor is in the right. Feudalism, at least in theory, never admitted that might made right. Henry the Lion was broken by Frederick Barbarossa, Boniface VIII by Philip IV, and the Emperor Frederick II was ruined by the papacy. Whose rights were greater in any of these cases? The conception of responsible kingship and of responsible government was implicit in feudalism. A corrupt minister could be impeached, a bad king might be deposed (Edward II or Richard II in England or Louis IV in the Empire) or even sent to the scaffold, a dynasty might be displaced, or a people might rebel or secede.

Chivalry   Chivalry, like the Peace of God and the Truce of God, was the result of the efforts of the Church to ameliorate feudal conditions. It included all the customs that regulated knighthood and centered in the ceremony of *adoubement,* when the youth of noble birth was invested with arms and armor and became a knight. The ceremony itself was derived from old Germanic custom, but the Church in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries imposed its ideals upon it and gave it a half-mystic, sacramental character. Chivalry stressed courage, loyalty, and courtesy, but knightly profession of these virtues often seems to have been more honored in the breach than in the observance. The finest aspect of chivalry is its reflection in literature, such as the *chansons de geste* (like the *Song of Roland*), the songs of the troubadours of Provence, and the minnesingers of Germany, or even the decadent chivalry of Froissart's *Chronicles*. The code of chivalry applied only to the nobles, and, by the fourteenth century, knights were pretty generally hated as exclusive, arrogant, and pretentious. Many landless knights became highway robbers.

Closely associated with chivalry was heraldry. Practically obsolete *Heraldry* today but very useful in the Middle Ages, it was the art of tracing and recording genealogies, an important function in an age of an hereditary noblesse, when dignity, authority, office, and property passed from father to son, and intermarriage between noble families prevailed. Another art of heraldry was blazonry, or the knowledge of armorial bearings or coats of arms. The necessity of such symbols arose when the closed helmet appeared, which wholly concealed a man's face and made his identification impossible without some identifying device.[1]

Chivalry and heraldry applied only to nobles, and so, strictly speaking, did everything feudal. For centuries the very words "feudal" and "noble" were interchangeable. The feudal regime actually pertained to and concerned only the noble class (including bishops and abbots, who, as holders of fiefs, were liable to military service).

THE PEASANTRY AND THE MANOR

The duty of Churchmen was to maintain the worship of God, to sustain divine service, and to administer the sacraments of the Church. The duty of the noblesse was to rule and govern and to preserve peace within and repel invasion from without. The duty of the common people, the peasantry, which before the twelfth century, was almost wholly composed of the servile and villein[2] class, was to work for the support of the two privileged orders. This conception of a tripartite society was expressed in the rhyme:

> *Oratores*—those who pray (from Latin *orare,* to pray)
> *Bellatores*—those who make war
> *Laboratores*—those who labor

[1] Medieval fancy ingeniously devised all sorts of curious and grotesque symbols, especially during the Crusades, when lions, leopards, dragons, and griffins were introduced along with studied geometrically formed patterns. These insignia were affixed to the shield, the surface of which was parceled into "quarters," which were filled with the arms of as many of the owner's ancestors as could find room. The Emperor Charles V had seventy-two quarters on his shield. The language of both chivalry and heraldry was French, as one might expect. Color as well as forms played a large part in heraldry and the employment of it was subject to rigid rules. The favorite colors or "tinctures" were blue (*azure*), red (*gules,* so called from the blood-color of the inside of the throat; compare the word *gullet*); green (*vert*), and purple (*purpure*). Heraldic devices for shields were generally made of gold or silver, but other metals sometimes were used. When these devices were worn on clothing, they were made of gold and silver thread and fur, especially ermine or sable.

[2] A villein was legally a free man, although the serf was not.

Status meant the civil standing and social grade to which a person belonged; it was a legal condition. From it the word "estate" is derived. The First Estate was the clergy; the Second Estate was the nobility; and the Third Estate was the common people.

Peasantry   The medieval peasantry was historically descended from the slave and servile classes of the later Roman Empire, which blurred together more and more in the early Middle Ages. Slavery diminished because serfdom tended to pull the slave up rather than slavery to pull the serf down. A slave was a chattel,[1] but a serf had rights of, at least, a minimum sort. The originally Roman servile class was augmented when the Germans invaded and occupied the provinces of the Roman Empire, since there were slaves and serfs among them, too. All over western Europe a blending of different stocks and customs took place. Thus in time not a uniform but a relatively similar condition of status and customs came to prevail, governing the life and conduct of the common people.

The manor   Since medieval economy was almost entirely based on agriculture, the medieval peasant was a farm-laborer. The feudal regime was built upon the manor, which was the basic political, social, and economic unit in medieval civilization; it was the "constitutive cell" of medieval society. The manor was a "great farm" on which from one to several villages were to be found, peopled by a dependent peasantry. A group of manors owned by one lord formed a barony. It, like the fief, was a miniature state. Men in the same manor dwelt together, tilled the land together, used the same succession of crops, had the same local customs, and were subject to the same court of law, that of the lord of the manor. The structure of this village community was intricate and, historically, was a blend of Roman and local conditions and customs.

Village fields   The land in each village consisted of three parts—the arable fields, the meadowlands, and the common "waste." Each occupier of land had rights of pasturing his cattle and gathering fuel, etc., on the waste, but, when these wants were provided for, the remainder of the waste and its produce belonged to the lord of the manor. The right of cutting grass on each strip of meadow was apportioned, in many cases by lot, among the different occupiers of land, unless they were mere cottars who owned no cattle at all.

Arable land   In the early Middle Ages this manor was divided into two parts, half being cultivated and half being left fallow each year, so that agriculture was an alternation of Field-Fallow, Fallow-Field. This

---

[1] Care must be taken to distinguish between slavery and the slave trade. The latter lasted all through the Middle Ages and well down into the nineteenth century.

PLAN OF A MANOR

Glebe lands of parish church in open fields
Lord's demesne in open fields
Strip fields of a single peasant
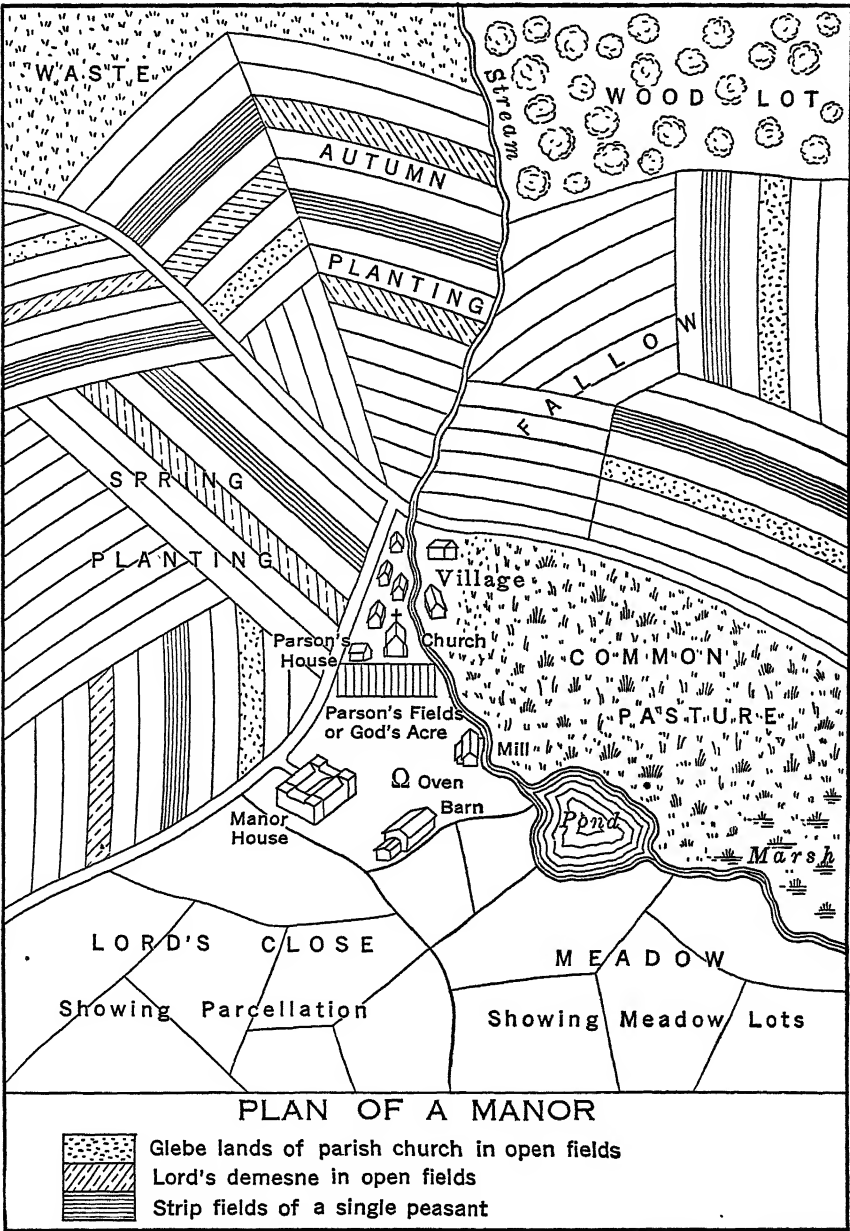
was the Two-field system. Later on—its beginning is discernible in the eighth century—the Three-field system was developed. The arable land was divided into three parts, Spring Planting Ground, Autumn Planting Ground, and the Fallow. The discovery that winter wheat might be grown as well as summer wheat is one of the most important progressive steps in history, second only to the use of fire and iron. Besides wheat, rye, oats, pease, beans, and root vegetables were grown. Thus alternation of tillage and rotation of crops were combined.

Strips of farm land   Every householder or man with family had allotted to him a number of strips in each of the three fields. These strips were roughly four rods wide and forty rods long and represented the amount of soil which a team of oxen could plough in a morning's work, for at noon the oxen had to be turned out to grass. Hence this area was called "ploughland" or a "virgate" and in Germany a "morgenland" (morning-land). Whether called ploughland or morgenland or virgate, the area was a modern acre (from Latin *ager*, ploughed land). Some of the oldest and simplest lineal measurements were derived from this rural economy. The word virgate came from *virga*, an ox-goad, which was used by the ploughman as a means of measurement, hence the rod, which varied from twelve to sixteen feet. Similarly the word *furrow* comes from furrow-long, that is, forty rods. The total number of strips in each of the three fields held by one man constituted his "farm." Unlike a modern farm which is usually formed of contiguous fields, a medieval peasant's farm was widely scattered. Many examples of these "strip" farms survive in nearly every country in Europe. There may have been a certain fairness in this system, since it rendered the ground of each owner equal to that of his neighbors, not only in area but in quality and "lay," of the land, but it entailed great inconvenience. The usual size of the total holdings of each villager was from thirty to forty acres, but it is obvious that there must have been great difficulties and loss of time in working thirty acres which consisted of sixty parts or more, some of which may have been situated a mile or two away from others. Two oxen or the fourth part of a team was the share of stock which each holder of thirty acres required. The lord of the manor might or might not have additional teams for ploughing his demesne. These strip fields were not fenced, but were distinguished from the two adjacent strips by a ribbon of unploughed land or by balks or ridges between furrows. Hence they were known as "open fields."[1]

---

[1] The cattle grazed on the meadow after the hay was gathered and on the stubble after the harvest. In winter they were confined to byres and fed on

The fact that the meadow, the woods, and the waste—which fur- *Village com-*
nished stone and gravel—were enjoyed in common has led some *munity co-*
historians rashly to infer a communistic origin and organization of *operation*
the ancient village community, which was destroyed during the
feudal regime. This is not true. The ownership of these tracts
might be of a community nature, but use was in severalty, as is
shown by the quartering of the meadow for hay and the number
of cattle permitted to graze in pasture. Finally, the ownership of
the strips in severalty, many peasants owning a few strips each, and
a few richer peasants owning many strips, proves the private owner-
ship of farming land from the beginning. But much labor in the
village was done co-operatively, especially in time of ploughing and
harvest. There might be only one plough in the village to the use
of which several peasants would contribute an ox or oxen. Eight
oxen usually made a plough-team.

Part of the arable fields or some of the strips belonged to the lord *Peasant*
of the manor and formed his "demesne" or "inland." But perhaps *tenure*
more frequently the lord's demesne[1] was in a separate block which
the tenantry had to plough and sow and harvest for him as part-
payment of their rents. The lord owned the village; the peasantry
were perpetual tenants; and it was only in theory that peasants
"owned" the strips they farmed. They might change ownership by
purchase, by gift, or by inheritance among the villagers, but the
new owners merely acquired a right of tenancy in place of the
former occupants. The peasant's farm, in other words, was a tenure
and he himself was a tenant. He did not hold the tenure (from
Latin, *tenere*, to hold), however—the tenure held him! He was
bound to the soil as a serf and compelled to pay rent in labor and
in produce. He dared not default this rent in services, since the
lord might have him flogged or more severely punished in body and
limb, and even cast him out, in which event the evicted tenant be-
came a vagabond. The woods and forests in the Middle Ages some-
times were infested with such outcasts, who, by necessity, became
thieves and robbers. Slave dealers were keen to pick up such refu-
gees whom they deported to Mohammedan countries. Most of the
population of a medieval village was servile, but some might be
villeins, who were a stage higher than serfs, since they held their
tenures according to stipulated terms, instead of being subject to
the variable and sometimes whimsical or brutal exactions of the

---

straw and tree-loppings if the hay was exhausted towards the end of winter.
"Comin' through the rye" recalls the time when the bands of turf between the
field-strips were used as paths by the villagers.

[1] Not to be confused with "domain," which was the sum of the lord's manors.

Bailiffs

lord *(taillable à merci)*. Above the villeins were free tenants, lease-holders who were free to go when they had fulfilled the contract or the lease had expired. Villein-tenures and leaseholders were cut out of the lord's demesne and may have been more profitable to the lord in this way than when worked by reluctant serfs.

The lord rarely administered his estates (manors) directly but managed them through a bailiff or a steward, who himself was fre-

Ewing Galloway

CARNARVON CASTLE

quently a serf of higher intellectual capacity. These bailiffs often were bullies and petty tyrants, and many of the complaints and abuses of the manorial regime may be traced back to them; the lord was sometimes uninformed of such abuses until he learned about them through a revolt of his tenantry. There are occasional instances of general and formidable peasant revolts which were suppressed brutally and bloodily.[1]

[1] An early example mentioned was in Normandy in 997. When these general risings are analyzed, one finds injustice and economic exploitation along with emotional and visionary phenomena, such as the Peasants' Crusade in 1096 and the Pastoureaux in France in 1251.

In addition to being an economic and social unit of smallest *Lord's* dimensions, a manor was a miniature political entity; a barony, or *revenues* cluster of domains, was a small state and, as such, a source of revenue to the lord. Another species of income arose from banalities. These were local monopolies. The lord owned the local bake-oven, the mill, the brewery or wine-press, the market (if the village were large enough to have one), and compelled the inhabitants to use these, for which he exacted a toll.

Only sentimentalists will dwell at length upon the hardship of *Condition of* the medieval peasant's life; primitive circumstances are not hard- *peasants* ships when no better conditions of living are known. Poor peasants lived in hovels, but better-class ones had fairly comfortable though simple cottages. Millions of people today live in wretched unsanitary houses or slums in spite of modern "improvements" in light, heat, and plumbing. The peasant's work was hard and unremitting, but much work of that sort is still required today in spite of modern machinery and power-driven tools. The peasant's food was limited to a few grains and fruits; meat was scarce and local famines sometimes occurred. But the diet of the poor today is also restricted.

In some respects the condition of the medieval peasant was better than that of many of the working classes now. He worked in the open air instead of crowded factories and did not suffer from unemployment.[1] Every serf had a right to demand a fair measure of subsistence. The condition of cultivation limited the number of villeins who could be profitably used. Accordingly, as population increased, there was a tendency for the free tenants to increase in numbers more rapidly than the villeins. In cases where there was so much land under cultivation that no more could be cut out of the demesne, the holdings of the villeins could only be multiplied by subdivision. Although serfs and villeins and cottars were a liability and not an asset to a manor if they were so numerous that they could not all be employed or fed, there was no similar check on free tenants or leaseholders. The conditions and occupations of the latter were very diverse. Some of them might have large holdings on long leases—even so much as for three lives; others were village artisans who perhaps had learned their trade in towns as apprentices but found more remunerative employment in a village than in a town; others might have been mere day-laborers. It is not hard to understand the place which these last occupied in the economy of a manor. They may have sometimes proved to be a

[1] Who ever heard of a farmer who had nothing to do? In wintertime when he cannot work in the fields, the farmer makes and mends tools and harness and does chores.

cheaper method of carrying on cultivation than when the lord depended on servile labor for the exploitation of his estate.

It has been said that a manor was a miniature state of which the lord was ruler. He was never an absolute ruler, for he was always controlled by customary law beyond which he might not go without restraint either by his neighbors of similar authority or, in flagrant cases, by his overlord. On the continent this condition was general. In medieval England the villagers might be jurors or suitors in the manor court over which the lord himself or his steward presided. The lord was, however, not a judge; he recorded the decisions, but he did not give them; it was the serfs or villeins themselves who exerted the right of framing judgments. The jurors and suitors themselves were the court. Thus in medieval England—but not on the continent—a certain degree of political freedom was preserved, even among the lowest classes of feudal society. The interpretation of the lawyers and the influence of the royal courts tended to debase this right and to maintain that the only judge of a customary court was the lord or his steward. Nevertheless the right was never wholly destroyed, and the germ of English freedom and self-government was thus obscurely preserved.

Forests   A notable feature of the economy of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was the elimination of the vast forests that had persisted through all earlier times. As soon as feudal organization began to guarantee any degree of security, the population began to increase, and in the search for new land age-old forests were invaded and swamps drained.[1] Many of these old forests were of incredible size, and over and over again they decisively affected even political development. The Anderida forest in England—twenty miles long and thirty miles wide—retarded Saxon advance for more than one hundred years. The supervision of the forests was a major department of medieval government, with forest courts and forest laws (and a large corps of officials). Kings and feudal lords kept the forests as their own game preserves.

Rise of Towns

Towns were a purely medieval development, and, if numbers count, the rise of the towns may be regarded as the most important event in the whole medieval period. The history of their rise has

---

[1] This process is easily traced in the new place names of this period which show their forest origin. Examples in English are place-names ending in *holt, hurst, chart, royd, wold, field,* that is, a place where trees have been *felled. Chart* means charred, *royd* means ridded. German endings are *hagen* or hewn, *rode* or ridded, *brand* or burned, *ried,* or moor-swamp.

well been called "the biography of the common people." The town movement was at once a social, an economic, and ultimately a political revolution. A new class, the bourgeois or burgher class, emerged slowly from serfdom in the eleventh century but very rapidly in the twelfth century. Trade, commerce, and industry began to revive in the course of the eleventh century, and men in increasing numbers, sons of serf and villeins, forsook their native manors to live in towns (called *emporia,* markets, or *portus,* ports) on the profits of trade. Henceforth the economy of western Europe was no longer exclusively agricultural, nor the condition of serfdom universal. This transition antedated the Crusades, but that great upheaval accelerated the town movement by uprooting masses of the peasantry from their manorial environment and by stimulating commerce and trade.

These towns had to be recreated, since the Roman *municipia* had perished in the fifth and sixth centuries. It is true that the sites of these ancient *municipia* were still occupied by denser agglomerations of people than found in the countryside, but the inhabitants were serfs of the local ruling bishop or noble, not free citizens. Still, even in the Dark Ages, there were towns of a sort, where products made by serfs were sold at the market, the products being owned by the local lord. Such "towns" were pitifully small—only a few thousand in the very largest places like Cologne, Milan, Paris, and London. The importance of the new town revolution, however, is not to be measured by the growth of population in the old towns but in the increase in the number of new towns. *Medieval origins of towns*

How did these new towns arise? The answer must be sought in the ninth and tenth centuries, the most violent period of the Middle Ages when there was virtually no strong central government. At that time the nobles built castles to protect their lands; Burgwärde, blockhouses, and fortresses were erected in the North to defend the land from Norsemen and Hungarians, and in the South against Saracen marauders; the ruined walls of ancient Roman cities began to be repaired; monasteries built walls for the sake of protection. Naturally the greater security of life and property in these fortified places attracted not only the surrounding population but also pedlars and traveling merchants, while at the same time local artisans and local dealers sprang up in the new community. Every such town had its market, weekly or monthly. This new class which had arisen out of serfdom, and lived by trade and industry instead of by farming, was formed of burghers, or bourgeois.[1] *Origin of new towns*

[1] The word is a derivative of the old German word *Burg,* or fort.

As soon as this trade began, it attracted the favorable attention of many feudal lords. They had never been content with a situation in which salt, iron, and millstones were the only commodities. They had always wanted silks, spices, sugar, and tapestries—the luxuries of the Orient. Some, a very few, traveling merchants—Syrians, Jews, or Greeks—had managed to keep up a meager supply of these goods now and then. Accordingly many feudal lords were in favor of merchants in general, and they welcomed the merchants who wished to set up stalls or booths under their castle walls. The merchants were glad to pay for this protection. It is in the literature of the nobles and not in the monastic chronicles that are found the best descriptions of the first traders.[1] The counts of Champagne were especially liberal in patronizing merchants, and there arose the first great markets and fairs in northern Europe.

Bourgeois revolution

The bourgeois revolution, it will be seen, was of a triple nature. At first it was an economic, a commercial, and an industrial revolution; then, a social revolution; and finally it became a political revolution. It is true that in some measure all three of these changes were simultaneous, and phenomena of one period may be found in another period. But in general the revolution ran through these three successive changes.

The social revolution which accompanied the rise of trade and commerce was significant not only for the creation of the new bourgeois class in the towns but also for a gradual emancipation of the serfs on the manors. Thousands of serfs ran away and took refuge in these new towns, living as they could, so that manorial proprietors everywhere found it necessary to ameliorate the condition of their serfs in order to keep them on the manor. The most progressive among the lords emancipated their serfs, not for any humanitarian reason but because they found that it paid. It was cheaper to pay daily wages to free laborers when urgent work was necessary, as in spring and summer, than to carry ill-paid serfs through the winter when there was little work to be done. The more enlightened and liberal princes and nobles deliberately planted small towns in their territories called "new towns," or *villes neuves,*

---

[1] The popular literature, especially the *chansons de geste,* is replete with evidence, and we have descriptions of the excitement in a castle when some merchant arrived with a string of packhorses—wheeled travel was unknown until the fourteenth century when roads began to be improved—and undid his bales before the eager eyes of delicate ladies, stalwart nobles, and astonished peasants. In the *Chevalier de Coucy* there is a story of a lover who, in despair of seeing his mistress in any other way, disguised himself as a merchant and so was able to see her.

and did their best to attract settlers by liberal franchises. When it was found to be profitable, the practice of building such new towns rapidly spread. Not all of the feudal lords and very few of the bishops and abbots [1] were so enlightened.

The political revolution meant the effort of the people of the towns to cast off the last shackles of feudal lordship over them, whether of noble or bishop or abbot, and to govern themselves. It was this issue which was most bitterly fought. The long conflict of Frederick Barbarossa, supported by the bishops and great nobles, with the Lombard cities in the twelfth century is the chief example of this conflict. But all over western Europe this struggle may be observed. By the end of the twelfth century the town movement everywhere was successful, although not always and everywhere in the same degree. It was most successful in Lombardy and Germany, less so in Flanders, and least in France, where the towns always remained under rigid royal authority. The towns gained their political freedom in many different ways, and the degree of independence varied from region to region. *Commune* is the name generally reserved for those towns with the greatest degree of self-government. Others are called simply *chartered towns*. For all of them however, the charter was the real issue.

The town charter was the outward, visible sign of the town's *Town charter* independence and at the same time the instrument of its government. Some of these charters were so excellent that they were imitated by other towns, so that "families" of towns are found, all of them having the same form. In general town government everywhere was similar, with much local difference in details. Every free city had its city hall (*Hôtel de Ville; Rathaus*), a mayor, a board of aldermen, its own police force and law courts; each town levied and collected taxes without reference to any higher political authority.

The town wall was the most important thing about the town *Town walls* because on its maintenance the liberty of the community reposed. As the town grew in population, the area inside the wall was in-

---

[1] The clergy in particular were unwilling to yield to the new tendencies because they were the largest landowners, and accordingly hundreds of abbots and many bishops found it necessary to mortgage their lands; they got into debt, and fell into the hands of money-lenders. Kings and nobles, too, fell into the same ditch. The antagonism against money-lenders, who, for religious and political reasons, happened to be Jews, was acutely manifested in the thirteenth century and was fundamentally due to economic resentment. A cheap way not to pay debts was to exile the debtors, destroy the notes and mortgages, and seize their property.

sufficient to hold all, and the overflow settled outside, forming an external quarter or *faubourg*.[1] The first wall would have to be demolished and another wall built to enclose this outside population. This happened at least three times in the case of every large city, and the space occupied by the old wall was converted into streets.[2]

Buildings and streets

Prosperous cities vied with each other in the magnificence of their municipal buildings, often to the anger of the local clergy who were proud of the biggest church in the community. The danger of fire, since almost all buildings were made of wood, was very great, so that by slow degrees and after disastrous conflagrations all important structures were required to be built of stone or brick. Dwelling-houses were of stone in the lower stories and of mixed plaster and timber above. The houses were high—for that time—since the area within the wall was limited, and to make more rooms in a house it was a common practice to have each floor above the ground jut out over the street, so that the street would be arcaded. Berne in Switzerland, one of the most medieval cities in Europe, is a striking example of such practice. The streets were generally narrow and crooked and, except in front of the chief church, the city hall, and the market square, were unpaved; they were dusty in summer and foul with mud in winter, and this condition was augmented by the garbage which was thrown into the streets where dogs and pigs were the only scavengers. The problems of sewage, pure water supply, and street lighting were never solved during the Middle Ages.

Guilds

Since the medieval towns grew out of new conditions, to which feudal customs did not apply at all, they were forced to develop their own law, the "Law Merchant," for the conduct of business. To regulate business they created guilds; first the merchant guild, and then the craft guild. Eventually there were separate guilds for every kind of merchant and every sort of craftsman. The merchant guild was organized to maintain a monopoly of the local market for its own members, and it could often enforce its rules by municipal ordinances when members of the merchant guild were the leading officials in the town government. Each of the craft guilds had three classes of members—the masters, the journeymen, and the apprentices. The master owned the shop, employed other workers, and trained apprentices. A journeyman (from French *journée*,

---

[1] The French form of German *Pfahlburg*, a *burg* enclosed with a fence of stakes or pales; medieval Latin chroniclers called this agglomerated population under the town wall a *suburbium* and its inhabitants *suburbani*.

[2] The maps of Paris, Vienna, Munich, and many other cities still show these stages of expansion in the concentric arrangement of their streets.

day) worked for wages in the master's shop until he earned enough to set up his own shop and proved that he was qualified to become a master by creating a masterpiece which would pass the guild's inspection. An apprentice was trained in the master's shop from two to seven years before he became a journeyman and was paid wages.[1]

Although the guilds did much to preserve the quality of goods and of manufacture, and were also a kind of medieval lodge or insurance association, in some other respects their practices were detrimental. In order to prevent monopoly, they differentiated commerce and trade too narrowly. In order to eliminate competition they limited the amount of capital, the number of apprentices and other employees, and the output of every guildsman; they also regulated prices. Finally the richer members of the guilds excluded all others in it and converted the guild into a small and close corporation, a limited company. Some guilds became capitalistic corporations in which the line was drawn between the rich and the poor, the employer and the employee. In short, the feud between capital and labor was clearly foreshadowed in the fourteenth century, with all the problems of strikes and lock-outs, low wages, long hours of work under unhygienic conditions, and unemployment.

The greater guilds also instituted a political change in the cities. Only members of these organizations were allowed to vote or to hold office, and the common people were shut out from any political activity. Thus the medieval city was far from being democratic. The bourgeoisie merely constituted another class in society —the patriciate, below the nobles but above the common people in town and country alike.

It was not long before the sovereigns of Europe realized that in this rich and influential bourgeois class they had a weapon which they might use against the feudality with which every king was in *Royal officials of bourgeois origin* silent or open conflict. Many sons of rich burghers, instead of continuing in their fathers' business or trade, studied law or medicine and thus created a new professional class, which the kings were not slow to employ. Whereas army officers were nobles, civil officials became increasingly men of bourgeois ancestry, the ablest or most fortunate of whom became legists, counsellors, and ministers of the

---

[1] The richest and most influential of the guilds were the mercers or silk merchants, woollen merchants, jewelers and goldsmiths, armorers, apothecaries, bakers, butchers, and other dealers in comestibles. Lesser or lower guilds were those of carders, fullers, dyers in the cloth trade, skinners, tawers, leather-workers, ironmongers, and carpenters.

kings. Under Philip IV of France (ca. 1300) the more brilliant members of this upper middle class were admitted into the ranks of the nobility, or rather were elevated into a new kind of nobility. This *noblesse de la robe* was a nobility of great administrative officials very different from the old feudal and military aristocracy. Lands and titles were showered upon them, but they continued to live in the city. "They remained country-shy and war-shy." Even before the Italian Renaissance the most cultivated of these new-rich nobles displayed a zeal for culture: they patronized painters, collected books, and were fond of music.

From the eleventh century on there was a steady advance in the political importance of the bourgeoisie. They were active agents in the destruction of feudalism and in the elimination of the medieval empire and the temporal supremacy of the papacy. At the end of the Middle Ages they were the power behind the throne of the absolute monarchs.
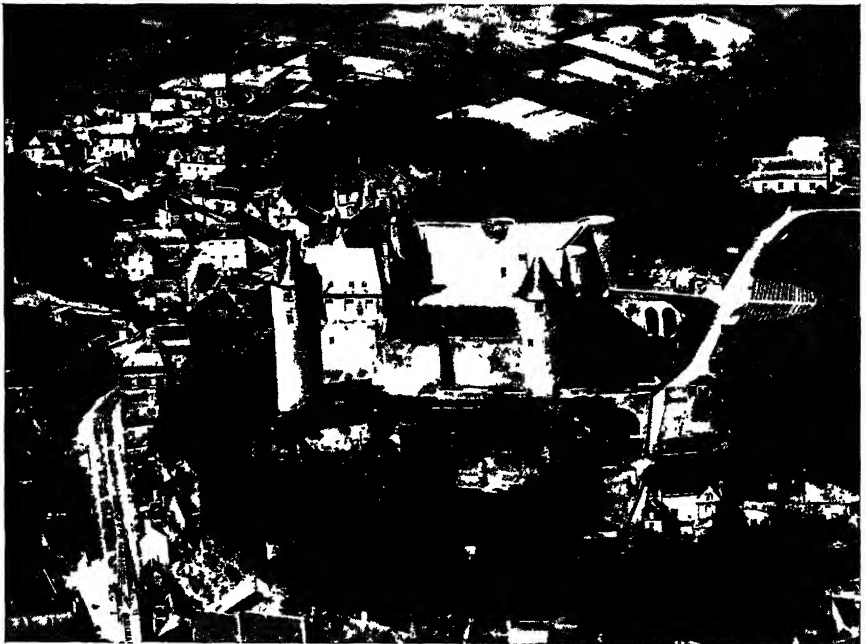
The Bettmann Archive

FRENCH CHATEAU

COLLATERAL READING

S. Baldwin, *Business in the Middle Ages,* 1937.
P. Boissonade, *Life and Work in Medieval Europe,* 1927.
W. S. Davis, *Life on a Medieval Barony,* 1923.

N. Neilson, *Medieval Agrarian Economy,* 1936.
S. Painter, *French Chivalry,* 1940.
H. Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe,* 1936.
————, *Medieval Cities,* 1925.
E. Power, *Medieval People,* 1924.
C. Seignobos, *The Feudal Regime,* 1902.
C. Stephenson, *Medieval Feudalism,* 1942.

RICHARD COEUR DE LION
(From original at South Kensington)

The Crusades

THE crusades began in 1095 with Urban II's speech at the Council of Clermont and ended in 1291 with the fall of Acre, the last remnant of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem. During these two centuries the crusades were so significant in promoting changes and in stimulating progress in every field of thought and action that they have been called the turning point of the Middle Ages. Primarily religious in origin, they helped to create a new society in which religious interests could no longer hold first place. Constituting at first the greatest triumph of the papacy, they ultimately contributed generously to its decline.

The word "crusades" is applied to the military expeditions, under the direction of the popes, for the recovery of Jerusalem and the Holy Land from Mohammedan possession. There were eight great expeditions and many lesser enterprises. Not all of them, however, were directed toward Palestine. Two were against Egypt, one against Constantinople, and one attacked Tunis in North Africa. As their name indicates, the crusades were wars of the cross, wars for the faith, and as a religious movement they are an outgrowth of pilgrimages. Pilgrimage was always a great feature of medieval life, and no goal of pilgrimage was more attractive than the Holy Land.

Pilgrimages   As early as the fourth century we find Christian pilgrims in great numbers going to visit Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and other sacred places. The Mohammedan conquest of Palestine did not arrest the pilgrimages. In the seventh century Arculf, and in the eighth cen-

tury Willibald, both Englishmen—to mention only the most eminent pilgrims—traveled through Syria, Palestine, and Egypt (where the principal sights were the ancient monasteries in the desert) without molestation. Charlemagne made a treaty with Harun-al-Rashid, the great Caliph of Bagdad, which assured free access to the Holy City to western Christians, and he even built a hospital or hostel for pilgrims at Jerusalem. This peaceful condition was not interrupted until the eleventh century.

The eleventh century was an age of profound religious emotionalism, of which there are many evidences—revivalism, new orders of monks, church building, increased veneration of saints and sacred relics, etc. There was an increase in the number of pilgrimages. There were twelve pilgrimages in the ninth century, sixteen in the tenth—and 117 in the eleventh! Moreover, instead of small groups of knights and nobles, these pilgrim bands of the eleventh century were composed of thousands. In 1065 Bishop Gunther of Bamberg led a host of 11,000.

In the eleventh century, however, Islam which had been held in check in the East and in the West ever since the eighth century, after Leo the Isaurian's defense of Constantinople (717–18) and Charles Martel's victory at Tours (732), again resumed the offensive. This new and formidable attack was launched by the Turcomans or Seljuk Turks. Now with the coming of the Seljuk Turks Mohammedanism in the eleventh century experienced a great political and religious revival which infused it with the spirit and the energy of the century of its first conquests. They came at a critical time, for the Mohammedan world had broken up into separate and warring principalities all the way from India to Spain. The religion of Islam, too, had deteriorated. Seljuk rule soon accomplished a thorough military, political, and cultural regeneration.

The Seljuk Turks were originally a subject tribe of the Khan *Seljuk Turks* of Turkestan whose chief was named Seljuq ibn Yakak. They migrated to Transoxiana and gradually drifted down upon the frontier of the Bagdad Caliphate. They embraced Mohammedanism, and, always redoubtable warriors, they entered into military service under the caliphs, as the Germans had once done in the Roman Empire. These Turks attained the mastery of the caliph's army, when Togrul Beg, their chief, was made generalissimo in 1058.

The first great Seljuk conquest was Armenia. The Christian king- *Manzikert* dom of Armenia was a buffer state between the Bagdad Caliphate *1071* and the Byzantine Empire and, if it were taken, then all Asia Minor would be open to Turkish invasion. In 1071 the Byzantine Emperor Romanus was disastrously beaten by the Turks under Alp

Arslan at Manzikert near Lake Van. The effect was tremendous. Armenia was conquered and extinguished, all Asia Minor was overrun, and a Seljuk state established with its capital at Iconium. Asia Minor was reduced to a waste. When the crusaders came along in 1097 the land was still so devastated that the armies almost perished of famine. The Turkish capture of Damascus and all Syria followed in 1075, and that of Antioch in 1085. Almost simultaneously Mohammedan Spain was invaded from Africa by a fanatical and military Moslem host, the Almoravides (1087–92), whose chieftain usurped the office and power of the Caliphate of Cordova. From Egypt, Tunis, and Algiers Mohammedan fleets began a new aggression in the Mediterranean, endangered shipping, and harried the coast of Europe. This tremendous religious and military surge forward of the whole Mohammedan world against Christendom was of the nature of an Islamic crusade before the Christian crusades began.

Armed pilgrimages

A crusade was a pilgrimage but it was an armed pilgrimage, and it was in the face of the Seljuk threat that these peaceful pilgrims transformed themselves into great armies of the faith. Even before the First Crusade, pilgrims had been fighting for the faith in southern Italy, Sicily, and Spain. Actual crusades on a small scale already were customary in Spain, where the shrine of St. James at Compostella was second only to Jerusalem and Rome in popularity. The use of parish militia in the Peace of God and the Truce of God had long familiarized the common people of Europe with the use of arms for a righteous cause, and what cause could be more just than the attempt to recover the Holy Sepulchre? It was Gregory VII who first suggested the idea of an armed expedition under papal auspices for the recapture of the Holy Land, and incidentally to reunite the Greek and the Latin Churches. The crusading idea was further stimulated by the increasing popularity of the military saints, notably St. George. The *Chanson de Roland,* the earliest French epic poem, based on Charlemagne's Spanish campaign in 778 and the heroic death of Roland, the memory of which had never died in France, and the *Pélérinage de Charlemagne,* which is even earlier, identified Charlemagne with wars against the Saracens.

Council of Clermont 1095

Thus western Europe was familiar with the idea and, in some degree, with the practice of a crusade, and its mood was in perfect accord with the drift of events. It required only the word of a consummate leader to fire Europe. In 1095 at Clermont Pope Urban II (probably at the appeal of Alexius, the Byzantine emperor) preached what has been called the most effective sermon in all history. He appealed to the French, the most religious and the most militant

nation, to rescue the Holy Land and recover it for Christendom. He appealed to every motive imaginable in the vast audience: to religion, love of adventure among the feudality, commercial opportunity for townsmen, and liberation for the serf. The response was instantaneous. Authorized preachers were commissioned to spread the news and many self-appointed speakers, the most spectacular of whom was Peter the Hermit, a Fleming from Amiens, harangued crowds in every market place and cross-roads.

The success of these preachers was enormous. The upheaval *People's* brought such violent and sudden economic and social changes that *Crusade* it was in the nature of a revolution. It was not long before the Rhine and the Danube valleys were glutted with wild, fanatical, lawless bands of peasants streaming eastward, without preparation, without means of sustenance, without knowledge of the roads, without arms except for home-made weapons. Southern Germany, Hungary, the Christian Slav peoples of the Balkans, and the Jews in every city who were singled out by the fury of these beggarly bands, all were in consternation. Wasted by hunger, disease, and the hardships of the way, many of them destroyed by the outraged peoples through whose territories they passed like a desolating host, the survivors of this forlorn expedition under Peter the Hermit and Walter, a penniless German knight, finally reached Constantinople. The Emperor Alexius speedily transported them across the Bosphorus, where shortly afterwards almost all of them were destroyed by the Turks (July–October, 1096). The people's crusade accomplished nothing.

Meanwhile the crusade of the princes was being prepared. Each *Princes'* of the armies was separate; there was neither unity of command nor *Crusade* homogeneity of organization among them. The first army was led by Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, and his brothers Eustace and Baldwin of Boulogne. The second army was under Count Robert of Flanders; the third was led by Duke Robert of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, and Count Stephen of Blois. All these hosts advanced down the Danube. From the south of France went Raymond of St. Gilles, Count of Toulouse and Marquis of Provence. The crusade also attracted Bohemond and Tancred, the former the son, the latter the nephew, of the redoubtable Robert Guiscard, who had once planned to conquer Constantinople. Bohemond was the most sagacious warrior and the only diplomat in the whole motley array.

The Byzantine emperor, who had looked upon the "Peasant Crusaders" with contempt, regarded with alarm these feudal hosts from the West. They in turn looked upon Greek Christians as

schismatics and little better than heretics; they despised the delicacy and refinement of Byzantine culture as frivolous and effeminate. They envied the rich imperial territories and lucrative commerce of Constantinople and gazed with wonder on the miles of palaces, the great squares in the city, the number and wealth of the churches, and the vast waterfront crowded with shipping. Fortunately for Alexius, the Western armies did not arrive together, and as fast as they arrived, he despatched them across the strait into the Mohammedan territory, having first exacted a pledge from the leaders that whatever conquests they made should be held of him as vassal fiefs of the Byzantine Empire.

Difficulties in Asia Minor   The first capture was Nicaea (where the Nicene Creed had been formulated) which had become the capital of a Seljuk sultanate. Three days afterwards, in July, 1097, the first battle of the crusade was fought and won by the prudence and prowess of Bohemond. Then, instead of following the road along the coast of Asia Minor, where supplies and munitions could be carried by ships, the crusaders advanced straight across the high inland plateau of Asia Minor, a region of few towns, little pasturage and less water, and peopled by half-nomadic and warlike inhabitants. The suffering and loss of men and animals were appalling. Finally the crusaders reached the Kingdom of Little Armenia, which was founded by the remnant of Armenians who had survived after Manzikert. It was tucked in the corner of the Mediterranean around the Gulf of Alexandretta and commanded the famous Cilician Gates, the only defile through the Taurus mountains, which since the wars of the Persians and the Greeks had been a road of immense strategic importance.

Fall of Antioch 1098   After a long rest in Little Armenia the crusaders resumed their march. At Antioch for more than a year they were stopped and again suffered great privations. Mutiny broke out, the leaders quarreled, the papal legate Adhemar, Bishop of Puy, died of the plague; Emperor Alexius deliberately neglected to send supplies; Baldwin deserted and stormed and took Edessa, an Aramaic and Christian city on the upper Euphrates, which had never succumbed to Islam. Then they besieged Antioch, and when (June 2, 1098) the garrison could no longer hold out, the great city was surrendered to Bohemond, who had been in secret negotiations with the Turkish commander behind the backs of his fellow-crusaders. Bohemond proceeded to establish himself as Prince of Antioch, and Raymond of Toulouse seized Tripoli. Thus three—Tripoli, Edessa, Antioch —crusading states were set up before Jerusalem itself was taken, and in the armies that went on from Antioch, Godfrey of Lorraine

was the only prince of the first rank. Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, and Stephen of Blois had long since gone home.

From Jaffa (the port of Joppa of the New Testament) as a base the crusaders attacked Jerusalem. Again there was a long siege. Siegecraft, battering rams, and mangonels were sent out from Italy, chiefly from Venice, and finally Jerusalem was captured on July 15, 1099. Again the crusaders plunged into slaughter. The butchery and pillage of the Holy City beggars description. Godfrey's horse, according to an eyewitness, was fetlock deep in blood in the Porch of Solomon's Temple. In this baptism of blood the Kingdom of Jerusalem was established under the rule of Godfrey who piously refused to take the title of king and dubbed himself Baron of the Holy Sepulchre. Years elapsed, however, before all the strong places in Syria and Palestine were taken. Tyre was not captured until 1124, and then only with the aid of the Venetian fleet. *Fall of Jerusalem 1099*

In this initial stage of the crusades the leaders made a fatal blunder in failing to attack Damascus first, for without Damascus Jerusalem could not be held permanently. A Latin king ruling from so central a location as Damascus could have enforced his authority throughout the kingdom far more easily than from Jerusalem, which was isolated in Palestine in the far south of the kingdom and away from the main trade routes. Moreover, from Damascus one could have thrown up a barrier of Christian power across the transit between the sea and the desert along the line of which the Moslems had to maintain their communications between the eastern and the western halves of Islam. *Failure to take Damascus*

Under these conditions western Europe set up a kingdom with three more or less dependent feudal principalities in the Levant. It was a strange phenomenon—a French feudal state implanted in lands two thousand miles away from the mother-country which had nothing in common with the Orient. As a government the Kingdom of Jerusalem had all the weaknesses and vices and none of the elements of strength and moral force inherent in the feudal system. The cardinal political weakness of feudal government, elective monarchy, was instituted. The crown was weaker than that of the Capetians kings of France when they were at the lowest ebb. The great princes of the realm were stronger and more defiant than the greatest nobles of France of the French king.

Godfrey and his successors could not exact military service from their vassals, and the defense of the Holy Land fell chiefly on the Knights of the Temple, a half-monastic, half-feudal order. In the space of two hundred years the Templars had commanderies in every country of Christendom. They numbered 15,000 knights. *The military orders*

BYZANTINE EMPIRE
IN THE 10th AND 11th CENTURIES

Extent of Empire at the begining of the 10th Century

Extent of Empire at the close of the 11th Century

Routes of the Crusades (Numbers indicate order)

Scale of Miles
0   100   200   300   400
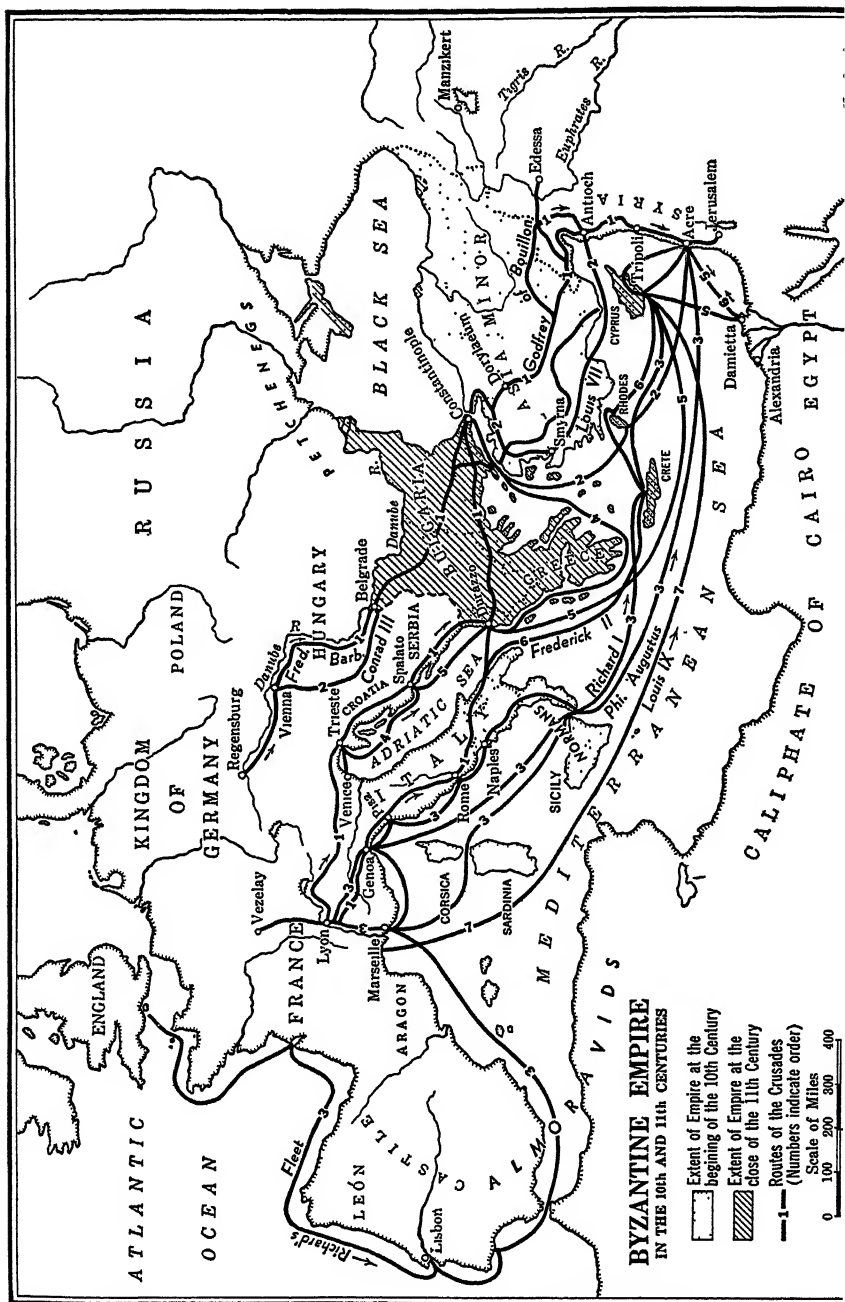
The grandmaster took the title ". . . by grace of God"; he reigned in, if not over, many kingdoms; his court was princely, and his income regal; the pomp and circumstance of the grand priors was of similar magnificence. Another military order was the Knights of the Hospital, which was a sworn body of nobles pledged to constant war against Islam. The erection of those huge castles, remains of which are still visible at key-points in the country and along the eastern frontier, was chiefly due to these two orders. No château in western Europe until Richard I built the Château Gaillard could compare in massiveness with these structures.

As soon as the conquest was achieved, the Italian maritime cities, *Levantine* Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Amalfi, and later (French) Marseilles, made *trade rivalry* a rush upon the port towns of Syria and Palestine, each eager to acquire commercial privileges, water frontage, and separate quarters. Hitherto Venice had enjoyed almost the whole of this lucrative Levantine trade. Now the commercial competition among the Mediterranean port cities, especially between Venice and Genoa, created a new factor in medieval history. Sea power, both mercantile and naval, was necessary to sustain and promote this new condition. The fatalities of the First Crusade showed that the effective way to preserve contact between West and East was by the sea, although it was not until Frederick Barbarossa lost his life on the Third Crusade that all Europe became convinced of it.

There were Moslems and Oriental Christians whose religion was not recognized by either the Greek or the Roman Church, and Jews also; all these groups were regarded with dislike and suspicion by the French invaders, yet tolerated, for their labor and other services were necessary to the administration of the land and the conduct of business. Pilgrims so increased in number that the tourist trade was one of importance. Commerce increased by leaps and bounds, and the Italian cities, which controlled the trade, waxed fat.

The effect of the Syrian climate and of Oriental Christians upon *Decline of* the western stock—the dwindling or extinction of families and the *European* deterioration of the survivors both in physique and morale—is in-*stock* teresting to observe. So rapid was the decline of the Latin stock in the East that the fiefs of the kingdom constantly passed through heiresses to newcomers from the West. The kingship was afflicted by minorities and regencies, because of the deterioration of the dynasty under the hot rays of the Syrian sun. In spite of ecclesiastical prohibition, intermarriage between the European and the native took place, and in the next generation a hybrid type of population, like the Eurasian in India, began to appear. The Westerners

permanently established in Syria and Palestine adopted Oriental costumes, habits, food, furniture, and the most intelligent among them became polyglot, speaking Arabic and Syrian as readily as French. Indeed, there are instances of ignorance of the French language in the third generation of the crusaders. Some Christians went over to Islam, but few Mohammedans became Christians.

New Moslem principality

After the tremendous upheaval of the First Crusade, western Europe seems to have felt a certain sense of lassitude and became engrossed in its own immediate affairs once more. Even the Christian princes in the East were so interested in consolidating their principalities that they left the fighting along the border to the Templars and Hospitallers and were indifferent to an ominous change which occurred in the Islamic world. This was the secession of the Emir of Mosul from the Bagdad Caliphate and the formation of a strong, new, and independent Mohammedan principality, whose capital was Damascus, which extended along the whole frontier of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Hitherto the success of the crusaders had been not a little due to the divided political condition in the Caliphate in which the provincial governors or emirs usurped local authority much as the dukes and counts had done in the Carolingian Empire in the ninth century.

Fall of Edessa 1144

Thus it happened in 1144 that the kingdom of the crusaders was caught off its guard when the Emir of Mosul, made a sudden onslaught and captured Edessa. The news of this disaster threw the West into consternation. St. Bernard, a French Cistercian monk and a great preacher, preached a new crusade and fired Europe again as Urban II had done before. He virtually stampeded—for that is the word—Louis VII of France and Conrad III of Germany into the expedition. Both armies, though separately, passed down the Danube, across Hungary and the Balkan peninsula to Constantinople. The German army was nearly annihilated by the Sultan of Iconium, and the residue of it which got back to Nicaea continued by sea. Meanwhile, Louis VII prudently followed the coast road of Asia Minor. The two sovereigns made an unsuccessful attack upon Damascus and saw the most of their armies perish of hunger and disease. The loss of Jerusalem in 1187, the collapse of the Kingdom of Jerusalem as a feudal state, the ultimate loss of the Levant, all may be attributed to the failure of the Second Crusade to take Damascus in 1148. The Second Crusade was a complete failure, and both kings returned filled with shame.

Sack of Lisbon

The solitary success in the tragic fiasco of the Second Crusade was the siege and sack of Lisbon in Portugal by a mixed company of Flemings, Lorrainers, and Englishmen who set out in the spring

of 1147 in nearly two hundred vessels for the Holy Land, intending to bear assistance to the Germans and the French. The episode was important for the history of the Spanish peninsula, but it had nothing to do with the Holy Land. At this time the first King of Portugal, Alfonso, son of Duke Henry of Burgundy, was carving out his kingdom, still mostly in the hands of the Moors, and the capture of Lisbon was all-important to him. Alfonso had some difficulty in persuading these "crusaders" to postpone their original project and give him aid. In a characteristically mixed mood of piety and plunder they declared that "it would be more profitable if they should sail past the coast of Spain and then extort much easy money from the merchant vessels of Africa and (Moslem) Spain; and that, besides, the wind at that season was very favorable for voyagers to Jerusalem." It was only after the king had solemnly sworn to yield all the spoils to the crusaders that they consented to lay siege to Lisbon. The total force of the besiegers does not seem to have been more than 13,000. On the other hand, the population of Lisbon is said to have numbered 150,000, without counting women and children, but including refugees from Santarem, Cintra, Almada and Palmela, and merchants from all parts of Spain and Africa. After a siege of seventeen weeks the town was taken on October 24, 1147.[1]

Again, a generation elapsed before there was another crusade. Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, the Lombard cities, Marseilles and a host of lesser towns enormously increased their commerce with the Levant, and western Europe indulged in luxuries of which it had never before dreamed. But for the rest, the West was interested in its own high politics. The rulers of the Kingdom of Jerusalem seemed to have learned nothing from experience. The Mohammedan principality of Damascus grew in size and strength.

When the great Saladin conquered and annexed Egypt, the kingdom of Jerusalem was threatened on both its eastern and southern borders. The kingdom of Jerusalem was shaped somewhat like an hour-glass, and Damascus lay like a spearhead opposite its narrowest part. In 1187 Saladin drove through at this fragile point, cut the realm in two, recaptured Jerusalem and Acre, and recovered much of the territory of the northern principalities. All that remained of Christian domination in the Orient was limited to the coast region of Antioch and Tripoli. The realm of the crusaders was almost obliterated.

Fall of Jerusalem 1187

---

[1] The real victory was that of the English. The first Bishop of Lisbon was an Englishman, Gilbert of Hastings, and an alliance was made between Portugal and England which has lasted for nearly eight hundred years.

SERVIA
Danube R.
BULGARIANS
BLACK SEA
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
GEORGIA
CASPIAN SEA
Constantinople
SELJUKS OF ROUM
Athens
Smyrna
Iconium
ARMENIA
Edessa
Aleppo
ANTIOCH
Tigris R.
Baghdad
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CRETE
CYPRUS
TRIPOLI
Euphrates R.
Damascus
Acre
Jerusalem
Dead Sea
DOMINIONS OF SALADIN
ARABIA
DOMINIONS
Cairo
Nile R.
RED SEA

DOMINIONS OF SALADIN
AT THE CLOSE OF
THE 12th CENTURY
Scale of Miles
0   100   200   300   400

BYZANTINE EMPIRE
ARMENIA
Tarsus
COUNTY OF EDESSA
(Lost to Christians 1144)
Tigris
P OF
Aleppo
Antioch
ANTIOCH
Famagusta
CYPRUS
C OF
TRIPOLI
Tripoli
Euphrates R.
A
R
A
B
I
A
R.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Acre
KINGDOM OF
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Damietta
JERUSALEM
Dead Sea
Cairo
Nile R.
EGYPT
RED SEA

KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM
MIDDLE OF THE
12th CENTURY
Scale of Miles
0   50   100   150   200

MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO., INC., N.Y

Now the papacy bent every effort toward a new crusade. Its propaganda was elaborately organized; its preachers were practiced orators. The pressure brought to bear upon Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, Philip Augustus of France, and Richard the Lionhearted of England to lead the expedition was enormous, although it should be said that Frederick and Richard needed no persuasion, for the glamour of the enterprise appealed to them. As for the French king, he went because he wanted to get Richard out of the way in order that he might seize Normandy; and Richard, for all his impulsiveness, would not go unless Philip II would go also. *Third Crusade*

The influence of sea power is clearly manifested in the Third Crusade. Philip Augustus and Richard both went by sea. Only Frederick followed the old route via Constantinople and Asia Minor. He was the first to start but was drowned in the crossing of a river in Cilicia and never reached the Holy Land. The command of his army devolved upon Leopold of Austria. After the German army reached the Holy Land, they organized a third military order, the Teutonic Knights.

Richard stopped at Cyprus. His wife, Berengaria, had been rudely treated by Isaac Comnenus, who had usurped the government of the island. In revenge, Richard invaded and conquered Cyprus in May, 1191. From Cyprus Richard went on to Acre and a long siege followed. After Richard and Leopold quarreled in the trenches around the beleaguered city, the Germans left for home. Then Philip II deserted and left Richard in the lurch to fight against Saladin. The Lion-hearted performed prodigies of futile valor and committed great atrocities—at one time he slaughtered 2700 prisoners in cold blood—but it was all in vain. Saladin was too formidable a foe, and far more generous and humane than the English "hero." He had spared the population when he captured Jerusalem in 1187; he was never guilty of the atrocities which Richard committed. As a soldier he outgeneraled his antagonist in every engagement; Saladin was both a tactician and a strategist, whereas Richard was a mere swashbuckler in the field, although a good military engineer and an adept in siegecraft. Twice Richard was compelled to turn back from Jerusalem. The only achievement of the Third Crusade was the recapture of Acre and possession of a narrow strip of coast between it and Jaffa, all that remained of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which survived as a Christian principality until 1291. *Capture of Acre*

Christian Europe, especially the papacy, felt the humiliation of the failure of the Third Crusade. There were many loud protests and accusations. The professional preachers of the crusades were *Failure of Third Crusade*

too prejudiced to admit that Saladin was a greater soldier than his antagonists had been. Christian Europe searched for a scapegoat to blame for the disaster and pitched upon the Byzantine government and its emperor as the author of the calamity. Ever since the founding of Constantinople and the separation of the East from the West, political, religious, and cultural antagonism had existed between the West and the East. From the inception of the crusades, Byzantium had looked upon them with suspicion and had sometimes connived with Moslem princes against the crusaders. All this accumulated heritage of jealousy, suspicion, and resentment bore fruit in the Fourth Crusade in 1204.

Fourth Crusade deflected against Constantinople

Innocent III, soon after he took office, renewed the movement for another crusade to wipe out the humiliation of western Christendom. It was evident that only a naval expedition could succeed, if the Holy Land were to be recovered. Venice was the foremost sea power of the age, and to Venice the pope appealed for assistance, while his great preacher, Fulk of Neuilly, undertook to arouse Europe to new effort. Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, were the leaders. The baronage who participated was almost entirely French. This was generally true of all crusades; they were almost wholly French enterprises. In 1203 the crusaders began to assemble at Venice. Venice had her own designs in promoting the Fourth Crusade, and they were not those of the pope. The papal plan was to capture Egypt and from that country as a base to attack the Holy Land and wrest it from Mohammedan domination. This plan did not suit Venice since she had long enjoyed a lucrative trade monopoly with Egypt and meant to keep it. On the other hand, Venice had long envied the enormous commerce of Constantinople and was determined to divert the crusade to an attack on the Eastern Empire. It was a ticklish undertaking, for it meant flying in the face of the pope, and, at the time, required smooth diplomacy to persuade the crusaders themselves to such an enterprise. Venetian adroitness and duplicity at last prevailed. The colossal wealth of Constantinople was the final argument. The Fourth Crusade thus degenerated into a buccaneering expedition, without even the semblance of religious purpose or justification.

Failure of the first assault

The great fleet of 480 vessels sailed for the Golden Horn. The gigantic chain which guarded the port was broken by a flotilla of galleys timbered together in the form of a flying wedge, with a huge steel prow at the fore-edge. The sight of the splendid capital which Constantine had established filled the whole host with astonishment. In size and magnificence, this city was unique in all Chris-

tendom. Its vast extent, its mighty walls and towers, its domes and spires, its palaces and public buildings, its enormous commerce, and its wealth of which all had heard filled the hearts of the crusaders with elation. "The galleys burned on the waters, and the water itself was aflame," records Villehardouin, the historian of the expedition and one of its chief leaders, "with the great joy of war which all had." With its decks crowded with sailors and soldiers, priests and clerks, lustily singing the famous medieval hymn *Veni, Creator, Spiritus,* the fleet approached the city. The first assault on

Ewing Galloway

THE WALLS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

July 17, 1203 failed; the walls and towers were too strong and the invaders were insufficiently supplied with engines of siege. Not until the next spring was the attack renewed. In this important interim the Byzantine government was criminally negligent in not taking the offensive. It supinely expected that the fleet could not be maintained across the winter and that the bulwarks of the city could resist all attack. Had not Constantinople time and again successfully resisted all efforts to capture it?

On April 14, 1204, Constantinople was captured and so wantonly pillaged that the sack remains as one of the blackest events in medieval history. Murder, lust, and carnage ran riot. The great capital was gutted by fire and drenched with blood. The loot and plunder staggered the imagination of the perpetrators of this orgy of violence.

Sack of Constantinople

"Never was there a city which possessed so much wealth," related Villehardouin. "Never since the world was created was so much booty taken in any city." In addition to the material wealth which was destroyed or taken away, the loss to art and literature was calamitous and irretrievable. Treasures of ancient Greek art and literature, to say nothing of medieval Greek art and literature, were destroyed in this sack. The great body of ancient Greek drama, the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Menander had survived until then, only to be destroyed by the "Christian" crusading horde. Even the churches were pitilessly. looted, since in the eyes of westerners the Greeks were schismatics, if not heretics. The contemporary Byzantine historian Nicetas relates that "the sacred images . . . were trodden under foot . . . the divine body and blood of Christ (the host) was spilled upon the ground." Mules and pack horses were led into Santa Sophia, the magnificent architectural glory of Justinian's reign, to carry away the booty, and, when some of these slipped on the marble floors, they were stabbed. A dancing girl sat in the patriarch's seat singing obscene songs and then danced upon the high altar. The whole atrocious event undermined a great state, a great civilization, a great culture—doomed it to slow expiration. The Byzantine Empire never recovered from this blow.

Latin Empire of Constantinople

On the ruins of the European portion of the Byzantine Empire—for Asia Minor was beyond the reach of the crusaders—the conquerors established the so-called Latin Empire of Constantinople modeled after the western feudal fashion, just as the crusaders had done in Syria and Palestine in 1099, with Baldwin of Flanders as emperor. In Asia Minor, meanwhile, fragmentary Greek empires were set up and the ruler of one of these, Michael Paleologus, Emperor of Nicea, overthrew the Latin Empire in 1261, and a very weak Byzantine Empire maintained itself after a fashion until the Ottoman Turks took Constantinople in 1453. Innocent III, although deploring the "diversion" of the original intention of the Fourth Crusade as a prostitution of the crusading ideal, proceeded to establish a Latin church in the East.

Aggrandizement of Venice

The really significant immediate result of the Fourth Crusade was not the establishment of the transitory Latin Empire but rather the aggrandizement of Venice. As its reward, Venice took three-eighths of Constantinople together with the Gallipoli peninsula, the Morea, famous for its silk manufacture, Adrianople, the richest city of the plain west of Constantinople, Rodostro in Thrace, and the largest islands—Crete, Euboea, Naxos, Corfu. In a word the great republic on the Adriatic thus became the earliest state in Europe with a colonial empire. Elated with victory, bloated with

booty, crammed with riches and entrenched in monopolistic control of the commerce of Egypt and the former Byzantine Empire, which included the whole Black Sea area, the Venetian Republic was a unique state in medieval Europe. Immediately the ferocity of trade competition in the Mediterranean became so great that the merchant galleys of Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Palermo, Marseilles and all other important port towns had to sail in squadrons or under convoy for self-protection. Commercial wars were chronic in Europe from the thirteenth century forward, long before the Anglo-French and Anglo-Dutch trade wars of the seventeenth century.

The bitter conflicts which ensued between Venice and Genoa, her principal rival, helped make impossible any further crusades at all. Traffic through the Mediterranean was interrupted; the Templars sided with Venice and the Hospitallers with Genoa; and it was with Genoese money and military and naval assistance that the Emperor of Nicea overthrew the Latin Empire of Constantinople.

For all practical purposes the crusaders may be said to have terminated in 1204 with the Fourth Crusade—and that was a cruel mockery. But the *idea* and the *enterprise* still continued to haunt men's minds. All of the later crusades were either fantastic or tragic and all of them proved ineffective. Even though the pope accepted the *fait accompli*, Europe as a whole was deeply shocked by the event, and from now on crusading enthusiasm was likely to take new and unexpected turns. Most pathetic was the Children's Crusade. In 1212 thousands of German and French boys, induced by fanatical enthusiasts, marched with wands in their hands to Marseilles and Genoa. Here they were put on ships, in the preposterous belief that their very innocence would prevail against the arms of Islam. Many died on the way; many more fell into the clutches of slave-dealers and were sold into captivity in Mohammedan lands.[1]

Children's Crusade 1212

Crusading activity within Europe, in Southern France, in Spain, and on the Baltic became more significant than in the Holy Land. Crusaders went to Spain in greater numbers than ever before, and with their help, Alfonso VIII of Castile (in 1212 at Las Navas de Tolosa) won the most decisive victory in the whole reconquest of the Peninsula. Heresy grew so fast in the twelfth century that finally Pope Innocent III instigated a crusade against the Catharist heretics, of whom there were thousands in southern France, and St. Bernard, as we have seen, had earlier preached a crusade against the heathen Slavonic peoples along the eastern frontier lands of the German

New crusades

---

[1] Venice, Genoa, Marseilles for centuries had plied a profitable trade in slaves with Egypt, Tunis, Morocco, and Moslem Spain.

kingdom. The Albigensian Crusade (1208) was preached by Innocent III against the heretics of Provence and was as destructive as the Fourth Crusade itself. It was successful in exterminating heretics in enormous numbers, but it also extinguished the finest civilization in western Europe.

The Teutonic Knights transferred their activities from Palestine to Prussia, and their wars of the Cross continued for centuries, to merge with the greater duel of German and Slav, the *Drang nach Osten.* Crusades continued to the end of the century, but they were all ineffectual. The greatest rulers of the century went on crusade and accomplished nothing.

Crusade of Frederick II

The crusade of Frederick II was a diplomatic maneuver in his conflict with the papacy. In 1228–1229 the Emperor Frederick II went to Acre with no great army and negotiated a treaty with the sultan by which Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Bethlehem, together with Sidon and a strip of land, a "corridor" connecting the Holy City with the coast, were ceded to the emperor as the highest sovereign in western Christendom. Although the grant was more than the West deserved, the pope was furious that the title to Jerusalem was vested in the empire and not in the papacy and excommunicated Frederick when he had crowned himself King of Jerusalem (since no priest would perform the ceremony). In 1244, after waiting for fifteen years for the West to execute the terms of the settlement, the sultan revoked the treaty and Jerusalem again passed to Islamic possession where it remained until 1917.

Crusade of St. Louis

In 1248–1254 the French King Louis IX, on the so-called Sixth Crusade, revived the original purpose of the Fourth Crusade to take Egypt and, using it as a military and naval base, to capture the Holy Land. The French occupied Damietta in the delta, but when they endeavored to advance inland they were disastrously defeated in April, 1250. The king and many of his nobles were taken prisoner and held for a colossal sum as ransom. In 1270 the pious and *exalté* Saint Louis again took the cross on Europe's "last crusade." This time the expedition was against Tunis, although exactly how, even if successful, it would have availed to recover the Holy Land only the visionary king could say. However, Louis IX died in his tent on the sands of Tunis, and the French army returned with sadly diminished numbers.

Fall of Acre

From this time forward there was no possibility of holding the Kingdom of Jerusalem which by now consisted of only the city of Acre and its immediate vicinity. Storm clouds gathered fast over this remnant. Finally in 1291 Bibars, the ferocious Mameluke Sultan of Egypt who had destroyed Bagdad in 1258, occupied Syria and

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF JERUSALEM

A

Godfrey the Bearded,
Duke of Lower Lorraine, *d.* 1069,
m. (1) Doda; (2) Beatrice, mother of Countess Matilda

Godfrey the Hunchback
Duke of Lower Lorraine,
d. 1076

Ida,
m Eustace II,
Count of Boulogne

GODFREY DE BOUILLON,
Duke of Lower Lorraine, and
Baron of the Holy Sepulchre,
d. 1100

Eustace III
of Boulogne

BALDWIN I,
Count of Edessa and
King of Jerusalem
(1100-18)

B

BALDWIN II.
Cousin of Baldwin I
(1118-30)

MILLICENT,
m. FULK OF ANJOU
(1130-43)

BALDWIN III
(1143-63)

AMALRIC I
(1163-74)

BALDWIN IV
(1174-85)

Sibyl,
m. (1) William of Montferrat
(2) GUY OF LUSIGNAN
(1186-92)

Isabella,
m. (2) CONRAD OF MONTFERRAT
(1192)
(3) HENRY OF CHAMPAGNE
(1192-7)
(4) AMALRIC II OF CYPRUS
(1197-1205)

(1)
BALDWIN V
(1185-6)

(2)
Mary,
m. JOHN OF BRIENNE
(1210-22)

(4)
AMALRIC III
(*d.* 1206)

Yolande,
m. EMPEROR FREDERICK II
(*d.* 1250)

Palestine, took Jerusalem, and stormed Acre. The last remnants of the Kingdom of Jerusalem were obliterated, "and a mournful and solitary silence prevailed along the coast which had so long resounded with the world's debate."[1]

Results of crusades

The crusades had failed completely in their principal objective, the recovery of the Holy Land. In other and perhaps more important respects, they did not fail. Through these two centuries, the stir that they created, the travel that they involved, the contact with other peoples of higher culture that they provided, all were in part responsible for the successful achievement of these centuries in every field of human activity. That a new Europe came into being *during* the crusades is far from saying, however, that the new Europe came into being *because* of the crusades.

What is certain is that the Crusades greatly stimulated and accelerated processes already under way; medieval Europe would probably have evolved in the same way it did, without the crusades, but a much longer time would certainly have been required. The point is that western Europe was completely transformed whatever the share of the crusades in that transformation. National monarchies grew up in France, England, and Spain, and many new forms of political development appeared in Germany and Italy. Serfdom declined, the towns arrived at real power, and there was an enormous expansion of commerce and trade. Undeniably all these great processes of change happened *during* the crusades. None was originated by the crusades, but all were accelerated by the crusades.

Intellectual results

Most difficult is the appraisal of the contribution of the crusades to the intellectual and esthetic transformation of the period. Scholastic philosophy, of course, borrowed from the philosophers of Islam, but these works came into the West chiefly through Sicily and Spain rather than Syria. The great works of medieval vernacular literature acquired some new motifs and themes from the Orient, but their spirit and general content remained Western (the *chansons de geste,* the whole cycle of Arthurian romance, and the Grail Legend). Romanesque and Gothic architecture owed something to the Orient and so did Western painting, sculpture, ivory carving, and illumination of manuscripts. In these fields, the most important external influence emanated from Byzantium, and crusading contacts may often have been significant.

Perhaps the most positive and concrete results of the crusades were the enlarged knowledge of geography and ethnology, and the importation into the West of certain commodities which increased the physical comfort or enjoyment of the upper classes, such as silk,

[1] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall,* chapter lix, the last sentence.

sugar, spices and other condiments, dyes, rugs, carpets, perfumes, and cosmetics. In time these luxuries of the rich became necessities of the poor.

Of all the unfortunate results of the crusades, their effect on the Jews was the most deplorable. Before the crusades Jews were regarded with hostility, but they were not persecuted. Then a Europe fired with fanatical hatred of the Infidel also began to visit its fury upon the "unbelievers" in its midst, and the Jews came to be regarded as no better than Mohammedans. This animosity was accentuated by the fact that the Jews, having long been forbidden to practice trades and crafts, even farming, were driven to money-lending as the means of support. Religious prejudice and economic resentment worked hand in hand. "The effects of the Crusades upon the Jew . . . are discernible even today. They influenced his political position, his geographical distribution, his economic activity, his forms of literary expression, even his spiritual life. It may be added that, in almost every direction, the influence was for the bad."[1] There was thus begun a process of persecution which culminated late in the thirteenth and early in the fourteenth century in expulsion of the Jews in almost every country of western Europe. This exile drove a majority of them eastward into Poland and into the territories of the Byzantine Empire or the Mohammedan lands. Many, however, remained.[2]

Persecution of Jews

The Church was affected by the crusades in a way that could scarcely have been foreseen. "Increasing at first the power of the popes and the Roman hierarchy, the crusades tended at last to impair and diminish it. Expected to knit together the Latin and Greek churches, they made their divisions wider and added a feeling of exacerbation to their mutual relations. Intended to destroy forever Mohammedan power in the East, they really contributed to strengthen it. Undertaken as a religious war to propagate the faith of Christ with the sword, and to vindicate Christian dogma against unbelievers, they really subserved the interests of free thought."[3] And yet, "When all is said, the Crusades remain a wonderful and perpetually astonishing act in the great drama of human life. They touched the summits of daring and devotion, if they also sank into the deep abysms of shame. Motives of self-interest may have lurked in them—otherworldly motives of buying salvation for a little

[1] Roth, *The Jews in the Middle Ages.*
[2] The word *Ghetto* originated in Venice, where the Jewish quarter was situated near the *Geto* or iron foundry. The first confinement of Jews to the Ghetto was in 1516. It was not a medieval institution.
[3] Owen, *Skeptics of the Italian Renaissance,* 24.

price, or worldly motives of achieving riches and acquiring lands. Yet it would be treason to the majesty of man's incessant struggle towards an ideal good, if one were to deny that in and through the Crusades men strove for righteousness' sake to extend the kingdom of God upon earth. Therefore the tears and the blood that were shed were not unavailing; the heroism and the chivalry were not wasted. Humanity is the richer for the memory of those millions of men, who followed the pillar of cloud and fire in the sure and certain hope of an eternal reward. The ages were not dark in which Christianity could gather itself together in a common cause, and carry the flag of its faith to the grave of its Redeemer." [1]
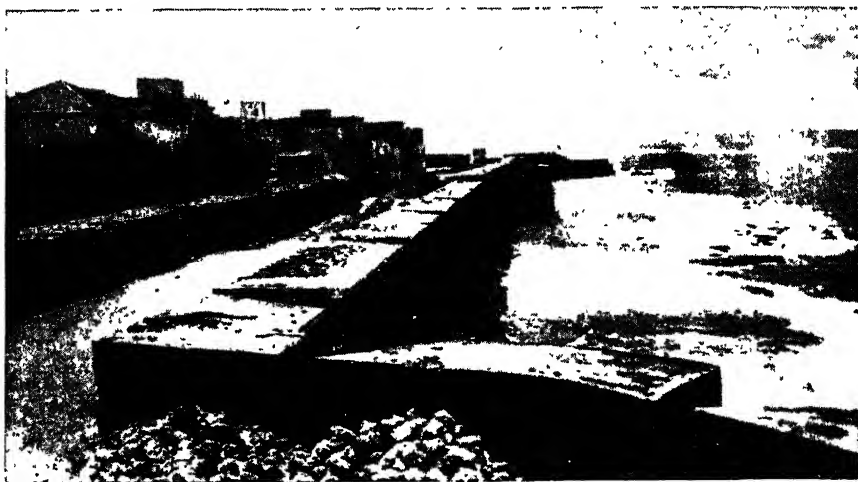
Ewing Galloway

THE OLD WALLS OF ACRE
(From an original photo by Otto Holbach)

BYZANTINE EMPERORS DURING CRUSADES

1059	Constantine X.	1067
1067	{ Michael VII.	1078
	{ Romanus IV. (co-ruler with Michael VII.) . . .	1071
1078	Nicephorus III.	1081
1081	Alexius I., Comnenus	1118
1118	John H.	1143
1143	Manuel I.	1180
1180	Alexius II.	1183
1183	Andronicus I.	1185
1185	Isaac II.	1195
1195	Alexius III.	1203
1203	Isaac II. (restored) and Alexius IV. . . .	1204

[1] Barker, Ernest, *The Crusades*, p. 120–121.

THE LATIN EMPERORS

1204	Baldwin I.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1205
1205	Henry .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1216
1217	Peter .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1219
1221	Robert .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1228
1228	Baldwin II.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1261

COLLATERAL READING

E. Barker, *The Crusades,* 1923.

E. Emerton, *Medieval Europe,* 1894.

J. L. La Monte, *The World of the Middle Ages,* 1949.

S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin,* 1898.

Villehardouin and Joinville, *Memoirs of the Crusades.* Translated by Sir Frank Marzials, 1908.

D. C. Munro, *The Kingdom of the Crusaders,* 1935.

D. C. Munro, *et al., Essays on the Crusades,* 1928.

R. A. Newhall, *The Crusades,* 1927.

T. F. Tout, *The Empire and the Papacy,* 1917.

A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire,* 1929, Volume II.

Ewing Galloway

OTTO I

The Medieval Empire

THE earliest constructive government to rise above the ruins of the Carolingian Empire was the German monarchy in the tenth century. In Germany feudalism had not advanced so far toward territorial and political particularism as in France, and the East Franks were somewhat more homogeneous than the West Franks. The East Franks, Swabians, Bavarians, Thuringians, and Saxons were different tribal groups; but they were all of German blood, German language, German institutions, and when the kingdom all but dissolved in the ninth century, the tribal identities were preserved.

Elective king-ships

In 911 when the house of Charlemagne became extinct, with the death of Louis the Child, all the various tribes naturally looked to one of their own dukes to become king. The precedent that only a Frank might be a king, coupled with the conservative influence of the German Church, was so strong that Conrad, the Duke of Franconia (Frankenland), was elected by the great dukes and the bishops. (Notice that with the end of the Carolingian dynasty the German kingship became elective.) Conrad's failure either to rule the kingdom or to repel the Magyars compelled the princes to turn for leadership to a new German tribe. They chose as king Henry the Fowler (919–936), the Duke of Saxony, and he began the work of reconstruction that was continued so spectacularly by his son and successor, Otto the Great.

Henry the Fowler

The new king believed that the Carolingian form of government was impracticable under the feudal conditions which had developed in the ninth century; consequently he allowed the German

314

dukes to have as large an amount of liberty within their duchies as was compatible with the unity of the German kingdom. The dukes, however, were to be rulers only within their territories and were not to abuse their vassals nor exploit the Church, otherwise the king would interfere and coerce them. Henry I distrusted the great bishops as much as he distrusted the great dukes, and he refused to be crowned by the bishops in order not to give them a claim upon him. Without his immense resources in Saxony Henry I would have been helpless against both the great dukes and the great clergy, and within eight years Henry I had a tractable group of duchies in the hollow of his hand and was ready to give attention to the foreign affairs of Germany.

Most serious of these were the constant raids of the Magyars. By this time Upper or Highland Germany (Bavaria, Swabia) had been so often ravaged that there was little left for the invaders to take and they had begun to prey upon Lower Germany, that is, Saxony. The problem in Saxony was similar to that of northern France during the early period of the Norse invasions in the reign of Charles the Bald. Knowing that peace was necessary in order to give time for castle-building, Henry I for nine years paid tribute (*Hungelt*) to the Magyar khan as Charles the Bald had paid *Danegeld* to the Norsemen in the previous century. In this interim the king walled the Saxon monasteries, episcopal centers, and *Pfalzen* or great manor-houses, and at strategic points erected blockhouses called *Burgwärde*,[1] like the "castles" earlier in France. These military communities in course of time, because of the protection they gave, became market centers, attracted commerce and trade, and by the end of the tenth century emerged as towns. *Danger from Magyars*

At the same time the king instituted an important military reform in Saxony. In France cavalry had supplanted infantry in the ninth century, but the Saxons still preserved the old Germanic custom of fighting on foot, with shield, spear, and short sword (*seaux*, from which weapon they got their name); breastplates were rare, and for helmets the peasant levies wore home-made straw hats. Time was necessary to train these raw country youths to fight on horseback. Accordingly in the nine years' interval one-ninth of the young male population of Saxony each year had to serve in the new model army. *Military reform*

---

[1] It is possible that Henry I got the idea of these burgs from the Five Burgs erected in England against the Danes, for the relations between Lower Germany and England were intimate at this time. Henry I's oldest son, afterwards Otto the Great, married Edith, a daughter of Edward the Elder and granddaughter of Alfred the Great.

THE SAXON AND SALIAN EMPERORS
SAXON

HENRY I., the Fowler
919-936
(not Crowned)

OTTO I., the Great
936-73

Henry, the Wrangler
D. of Bavaria

OTTO II.
973-83

Liutgarde=Conrad, the Red

Henry, D. of Bavaria

OTTO III.
983-1002

Otto

HENRY II.
1002-24

Henry

(Salian Emperors)
(CONRAD II.)
1024-39

HENRY III.
1039-56

HENRY IV.
1056-1106

HENRY V. =Matilda, daughter of
1106-25   Henry I., of England
(no issue)

GERMANY AND ITALY
in the Time of the
SAXON and SALIAN EMPERORS

In 933 when Henry I repudiated the tribute, the Magyars resumed their forays, but they were soundly beaten in the valley of the Unstrut river not far from Merseburg. Specifically it was a Saxon victory, but the prestige of it redounded to all Germany, and the German people realized that at last they had a ruler almost as able and as heroic as Charlemagne. For the next twenty-two years the Magyars left Germany unmolested, and the flank of Bavaria was secure.

Denmark

Meanwhile Henry I strengthened the Danish Mark, threatened by the ambition of King Gorm. Henry I colonized the adjacent counties of Schleswig and Holstein with Saxon settlers ready to take up arms to prevent any aggressive movement of the Danes, exacted a Danish tribute, and compelled Gorm to accept monk missionaries in his kingdom even though he himself refused to profess Christianity. Not until the year 1000 did Canute, King of Denmark, formally establish Christianity there.

Slavs and Burgundy

Of much greater importance, since it initiated a movement of immense and enduring significance, was Henry I's expedition against the Slavs across the lower Elbe. The pressure of the Slavs —they were divided into many tribes—upon the eastern border of Germany had been relieved by Charlemagne, but in the ninth century border-fighting was almost constant. To put an end to this Slav pressure and at the same time to give his new recruits practical experience in warfare, Henry I, in 929, made a winter campaign across the frozen marshes of the Havel river against the Havelli and captured their stronghold, Brunabor. This he converted into a *burg,* which became the town and capital of the famous territory known as the margraviate of Brandenburg. Before this campaign was terminated, the Saxons had driven up the Elbe as far as Meissen and had built a thin string of *burgs* to protect the newly acquired territory which before long developed into a chain of marks. These events were the actual beginning of the drive toward the east (*Drang nach Osten*) which was continued, with intervals of Slav resistance, for centuries.

Otto the Great

Henry I died in 936. Although legally the crown was elective, the choice lying in the hands of the great bishops and the feudal dukes, so high was Henry I's prestige that there was no opposition to his son Otto I (936–973) succeeding him. It was Otto's conviction that the time was ripe to combine the duchies into a more compact kingdom and that the king should be as much ruler of Germany as he was Duke of Saxony. The assertion of royal authority throughout the realm was Otto's primary task and the necessary condition for further achievement. After a rebellion which nearly

cost him both throne and life, Otto was able to annex one duchy, Franconia, to the crown and to set over the others men of his own house. The scheme worked well for a time but ended in another revolt, which tried Otto's powers to the utmost.

Now Otto turned to the Church for support. He gratified the bishops by permitting them to crown him; it is significant that the coronation took place at Aachen in Charlemagne's old cathedral. This foreshadowed the restoration of the medieval empire in 962. Otto, determined to strengthen his government by incorporating the ecclesiastical system of Germany into the state, conferred in all counties the rights of a count upon the local bishop, thus enormously increasing the political power of the bishops. In addition, he showered market and toll rights upon the bishops and finally leased to them great tracts of land which pertained to the fisc, as fiefs held upon condition of feudal service. *Otto and the Church*

Otto required their service at court, on embassies, and even as military leaders in the field. They became his counsellors and administrators and provided him with resources. The surest road to promotion to the desirable episcopate lay through the royal chancery. This "Ottonian System," as it has been called, provided the crown with the means of effective administration but of necessity tended to secularize the episcopate. Otto made the bishops feudally stronger than the great dukes. When the dukes rebelled, as might have been expected, the king broke them. After the rebellion of the Duke of Lorraine (Lorraine extended along the entire western boundary of Germany and was coveted by the French kings), Otto separated the duchy into an Upper and a Lower Lorraine [1] and gave the former to his brother Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne. This is the first example of a bishop who was also a feudal duke. The feudalization of the higher clergy could hardly have gone farther.

Master in his own kingdom, Otto also asserted his overlordship and claim to tribute of Denmark and Bohemia, and, through his lieutenants, the Margraves Hermann and Gero, he reduced the Slavs between the Elbe and the Oder to obedience. The extension of Christendom lay near his heart, and the founding of the archbishopric of Magdeburg with a number of suffragan bishops employed in the conversion of the Slavs beyond the Elbe was the darling project of his life. His greatest and most lasting triumph *Battle of Augsburg*

---

[1] Medieval and modern Lorraine is historically Upper Lorraine. Lower Lorraine developed into the counties of Hainaut and Brabant and German Flanders, all of them parts of the modern kingdom of Belgium.

came on that autumn day in 955 when, at the head of an army drawn from nearly every part of Germany, he overthrew a Hungarian host on the Lechfeld, near Augsburg, and ended the miseries inflicted on the West for more than half a century by those fierce nomads. The defeat forced the Hungarians to become a settled people.

The most spectacular achievement of Otto the Great was the re-extension of German domination over Italy in 962. Such a domination had been imposed by Charlemagne but had ended with the dissolution of his empire in 887. Italy lapsed into anarchy. The worst victim of this anarchy was the Church, and Otto I as the ally of the Church in Germany was bound to relieve the situation of the Church in Italy. Like Pepin and Charlemagne before him he went into Italy in response to an appeal from the pope, and like Charlemagne he founded an empire. The empire which he founded in 962 lasted into the nineteenth century and was directly derived from Carolingian tradition. At the time the idea of the empire was a natural part of the world's order, and its restoration was at once a great ideal and a political necessity, if all central and western Europe were not to be dissolved.

Otto followed Carolingian precedent by acquiring Lombardy, the so-called Kingdom of Italy, before proceeding to revive the empire. Even before the Hungarians had been crushed, he had come into North Italy at the urgent appeal of the widowed Queen Adelaide. On this first expedition, he rescued Adelaide from the usurper, Berenger, married her, and became King of Italy. Immediately after the wedding he was called back to Germany by new Magyar attacks, and only after his victory at Augsburg was he free to proceed with his work in Italy. ·

Restoration of empire   In 962 when Pope John XII appealed to him for protection, Otto came to Rome, saved the pope, and was crowned emperor. He became the dominant figure in western Europe. He left a Europe united as it has never been united since. Some, however, have since argued that the union of Italy with Germany entailed a long series of ruinous expeditions which drained the blood and treasure of the German people and diverted the German kings from their proper task of restraining disruptive forces at home; that Germany would have become a greater and a better country if these resources had not been expended for more than two hundred years in the futile effort to maintain a ruinous German domination in Italy.

Otto II   The next two reigns, those of his son Otto II (973–983) and his grandson Otto III (983–1002) were precarious years for Germany and Italy, and the stability of the empire was put to severe test.

Otto II's disastrous failure in an attempt to add to his empire the Byzantine provinces of Calabria and Apulia, was followed by his death in 983. The reign of his three-year-old son, Otto III, began *Otto III* with a storm of feudal reaction within Germany and a rebellion of the Slavs all along the eastern frontier. The strong regency of the empress mother, Theophano (mother of Otto III), restored order, and when the young emperor began his personal rule, he hoped to reunite East and West and restore the Roman Empire to its ancient grandeur.[1] Without having accomplished any part of his great design, he died in 1002, at the age of twenty-one, and the direct line of the house of Otto ended with him.

His cousin Henry II (1002–1024), the last Saxon emperor, re- *Henry II* gained much that Otto III had lost in Italy and on the eastern border, and by the end of his reign the empire was again as strong as it had been in the time of Otto the Great. At Henry's death, the crown went to the house of Franconia and the first two rulers of this dynasty brought the empire to the height of its power so far as its dominant position in Europe was concerned. Conrad II (1024–39) brought four of the six duchies under the crown, and in 1032 acquired a third kingdom, Burgundy or Arles, by the will of Henry III, its last king. In the east Henry III was successful in imposing his overlordship over the Duke of Poland, the Duke of Bohemia, and the King of Hungary, although only the Duke of Bohemia was really loyal. One rebellious vassal Henry III, with all his power, was never able to crush—Godfrey, Duke of Upper Lorraine.

In 1046 Henry III was called into Italy by reason of the scandalous condition in the papacy. Three factions had arisen in Rome, and there were three rival popes. At the synod of Sutri, the emperor deposed all of them and appointed his uncle Bruno of Toul to be Pope Leo IX (1049). He little knew what a dangerous foe to imperial authority his kinsman would be. The year 1049 is a turning point in the history of the Middle Ages, for it marks the initial date in the great struggle impending between the Church-Reform party and the state, particularly between the papacy and the empire.

This was the moment when the new Cluny reform promulgated *Cluny Reform* its advocacy of the abolition of lay investiture of bishops and de-

---

[1] The madness and futility of such a design ought to have been apparent, considering the racial, political, ecclesiastical, religious and cultural differences —not to say antagonisms—which had grown more and more acute between East and West ever since the fourth century. Perhaps these ideas were instilled in his mind by his French tutor, Gerbert of Aurillac, who became Archbishop of Rheims and whom Otto III elevated to the papacy as Sylvester II (999–1003).

manded a return to canonical investiture. In feudal Europe all
bishops were both priests and barons, who were vassals of the king
to whom they owed homage, fidelity, and military and political
service. In this double episcopal function, where was the line to be
drawn? Whose wish should prevail in the choice of the bishop?
The king's or the pope's? In last analysis, of course, the answer de-
pended upon who chose the bishop, and on this issue the principals
violently disagreed. Supported by the emperor, Leo IX launched
a vigorous reform campaign and was tireless in holding church
councils in Italy, France, and Germany. Leo IX died in 1054; Henry
III died two years later, never realizing what he had started, little
dreaming what a share he had in raising the power that would de-
stroy his empire.

*College of
Cardinals*

Henry III left the throne to a seven-year-old son, Henry IV, and
there was a long and troubled minority. During this period the
remarkable Tuscan monk, Hildebrand, who had been Leo IX's
chief assistant and was made Archdeacon of the Holy See by Nicho-
las II (1058–1061), became the real director of papal policy. He
was responsible for the alliance between the pope and the Normans
concluded at Melfi in 1059, and for the decree of papal elections.
This decree meant everything to the future of the papacy, since it
vested the control of papal elections in the cardinal clergy of Rome,
with the initiative given to the cardinal bishops. All that was left
to the emperor was confirmation of an accomplished act. The in-
dependence of the papacy from secular control, except by force,
was now assured.

Torn within and beset from without, Germany again seemed on
the verge of dissolution when Henry IV reached his majority in
1067. The only territory in the kingdom which had remained loyal
to Henry IV was his native Franconia where the city population of
Mainz, Cologne, and Speyer offered him their militia—a significant
fact. The king's first move was to regain control of the southern
duchies—Swabia, Bavaria, and Carinthia—and then to endeavor
to restore royal authority over the North.

THE INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY

*Gregory VII
reprimands
Henry IV*

Hildebrand, who became pope as Gregory VII in 1073, had
watched with interest the progress of Henry IV's power. He had
once studied at Cologne and knew Germany. His agents were in
Saxony before and during the rebellion of the Saxons. In a letter
to the king, he began with a mild remonstrance against the king's
continuation of the practice of appointing bishops—the king had
recently filled three sees in Italy—but closed his missive with the

warning: "In order that the fear of God may affect your heart more than our reprimand, remember what happened to Saul when he glorified in his triumph and failed to obey the warnings of the prophet (Samuel), and, on the other hand, recall what grace King David acquired by reason of his humility to that same prophet." Priestly authority was superior to secular; spiritual above temporal.

The papal letter was carried over the Alps in record time, although it was the depth of winter and the passes were filled with snow. On January 24, 1076, the king hastily summoned a council of twenty-six German bishops; they framed a letter of protest against Gregory himself and his pretensions. Couched in stern language, the letter stated: "You do not consider us to be bishops (because of lay investiture). We reply that no one of us shall ever hold you to be pope." The pope was accused of having secured his own election by force, fraud, and bribery of the cardinals; of having by his "mad acts" thrown the churches of Italy, Germany, France, and Spain "into flames."

As for Henry IV himself, his indignation went beyond all bounds. *Henry IV's* His letter is a violent harangue against Gregory VII, whom he ad- *indignation* dresses as "not pope, but false monk." The conclusion is in these words: "Let another ascend the throne of St. Peter, one who will not use religion as a cloak of violence [an allusion to the charge that Gregory VII had secretly instigated the rebellion in Saxony]. I, Henry . . . say unto you: 'Come down, come down, and be accursed through all the ages.' "

Gregory VII's reply was a deposition and excommunication of *Excommuni-* Henry IV, worded as if a prayer to the Prince of the Apostles. In *cation of* it Gregory denies the accusation that he had been actuated by am- *Henry IV* bition in becoming pope—"*Thou* art my witness, as are also my mistress, the Mother of God and St. Paul *Thy* brother, and all the other saints, that thy Holy Roman Church called me to its government against my will; that I did not gain *Thy* throne by fraud or for worldly ambition." Then comes the terrific climax. "In *Thy* name I curse him that all people may know and have proof that *Thou* art Peter, and upon *Thy* Rock the Son of the living God hath built his Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

In October at Oppenheim on the middle Rhine, friends and ene- *Canossa* mies met in a stormy conference, the upshot of which was that the king was *suspended* from the kingship until or unless he made his peace with the pope, who was to come to Augsburg the next year. Henry's cause seemed all but lost. It was then that he made that

dramatic *coup* which saved him. Fearing lest he would be permanently deposed if the pope should get to Germany and hear his cause amid his rebellious subjects, Henry determined to forestall matters by going to Italy to see Gregory. In the depth of winter and not without peril, accompanied by his wife and children and a few faithful followers, Henry IV crossed the Alps to meet Gregory VII, who already was on his way to Augsburg. The pope had stopped at Matilda of Tuscany's huge castle at Canossa high above Reggio to await the issue, when he learned of Henry's approach.

The king came as a Christian, not as a prince, professing repentance and praying for forgiveness, knowing that the pope could do nothing else than forgive him, and knowing, too, that his restoration to Holy Church would *ipso facto* dissolve the ban against him and restore him to the kingship. It was an adroit action the import of which the pope clearly understood. He knew that the king had foiled him. Hence the delay of three days before Henry was admitted to Gregory's presence. At the price of personal humiliation Henry IV scored a diplomatic victory. The pope could not now come to Germany to try the king, who having now been forgiven and the ban dissolved, was again a king. After four years more of civil war, Henry's supporters increased; the Rhenish cities furnished money and militia. Finally, in 1081, the king had triumphed over all his foes.

Norman sack of Rome

In Italy during these years Venice and the Byzantine emperor had backed the Henrician cause out of fear of the Norman Duke Guiscard, who planned to acquire possession of Durazzo and thus block entrance to the Adriatic, bottling up Venice and leaving him clear to attack Constantinople without the assistance of the Venetian fleet. Both powers wanted a strong emperor in Italy to hold Guiscard in check. As for Gregory VII, he was in great anxiety. The Countess Matilda provided him with money, but she hesitated to take up arms overtly against Henry IV, since legally she would then forfeit her great county of Tuscany for treason. The only available military supporter to whom the pope could look was Robert Guiscard, whose eyes were fixed upon Constantinople, not on Rome. A Venetian naval victory over the Norman fleet cheered the pope.

In June 1083 Henry IV, who had come over the Alps with his army that spring, laid siege to Rome, and Gregory VII summoned the Norman duke as his vassal to come to his aid. Henry IV, whom an antipope had crowned emperor, had no wish to lock arms with the Normans, neither did he want to take the pope prisoner. A captive pope would be more of an embarrassment than an advantage, as the event of Civatella in 1053 had proved. The emperor with-

drew his troops around Rome and let the Normans take it. The sack of the eternal city which followed the capture of it beggared those of the Goths in 410 and of the Vandals in 455. Rome was looted and burned from the Lateran to the Vatican. The pope, who had saved himself from the fury of the Roman populace by fleeing to the Castle of St. Angelo, was rescued by Guiscard and taken south with his army when it retired. Two years later, in 1085, Gregory VII died at Salerno, the Norman capital. Convinced of the truth of his ideals, and the rightness of his conduct, the shattered old man said on his deathbed: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, for which I am dying in exile."

The war of investiture continued. Gregory VII's successors renewed the excommunication of the emperor, and with the success *Concordat of* *Worms* of the First Crusade papal prestige grew steadily greater. Henry IV lost control of Italy, and his sons rebelled against him in Germany. For the last six years of his life he was a fugitive in his own land. His rebel son, Henry V (1106–1125), who had joined the reform party against his father, adopted his father's policy and pursued it just as vigorously. In 1111 he marched on Rome and forced Pope Paschal II to authorize the renunciation by the bishops and abbots of all their fiefs and secular property while the emperor would renounce lay investiture. So drastic a separation of Church and state was impossible of execution. A storm of protest from all over Europe forced the pope to cancel the decree, and there were ten more years of strife before a compromise was reached. Finally the Concordat of Worms (1122), patterned on the solution already worked out in France and England, recognized the double nature of the bishop's office, and provided that the emperor should no longer invest the clergy with the spiritual symbols of their office, but that he should continue to invest with the temporalities. The Concordat definitely settled the question of lay investiture, but it did not settle the question of supremacy between the papacy and the empire. That question was raised a generation later over another issue.

The Franconian (Salian) line ended in 1125 with the death of *Conrad III* Henry V, and the princes reasserted the elective principle. Instead of electing Henry V's nephew, Frederick of Hohenstaufen, Duke of Swabia, they awarded the throne to Lothair, Duke of Saxony. The Hohenstaufen revolted and were defeated by the new emperor with the aid of Henry the Proud, Duke of Bavaria, of the house of Guelf. When Lothair died and Conrad of Hohenstaufen was elected to succeed him, it was the Guelf, Henry the Proud, Duke of Bavaria and Saxony, who revolted and had to be reduced to submis-

THE GUELFS AND THE HOHENSTAUFEN

WELF IV,
Duke of Bavaria, d. 1101

HENRY IV,
d. 1106

HENRY THE BLACK,
Duke of Bavaria, d. 1126

FREDERICK of Büren, m. (1) Agnes m.(2) LEOPOLD III of Babenberg,
Duke of Swabia, Margrave of Austria
d. 1105

WELF V, d. 1120,
m. Countess Matilda

WELF VI, JUDITH,
d. 1191
WELF VII,
d. 1167

(1)
m. FREDERICK,
Duke of Swabia,
d. 1147

CONRAD III
(1138-52)

HENRY JASOMIRGOTT
Duke of Austria,
1156

Otto,
Bishop of
Freising

HENRY THE PROUD,
d. 1139,
m. Gertrude, daughter of
Lothaire of Supplinburg

FREDERICK I (Bar-
barossa), (1152-90),
m. Beatrice of Burgundy

CONRAD,
Count Palatine,
d. 1195

HENRY,
d. 1150

FREDERICK of
Rothenburg,
Duke of Swabia,
d. 1167

HENRY THE LION,
m. Matilda of England

WILLIAM,
Otto the Child, first
Duke of Brunswick,
and ancestor of
later dukes

HENRY VI
(1190-7),
m. Constance of Sicily

FREDERICK,
Duke of
Swabia,
d. 1191

PHILIP of Swabia,
d. 1208

Beatrice,
m. OTTO IV

Beatrice,
m. FERDINAND III
of Castile

ALFONSO X
of Castile

OTTO IV, d. 1218,
m. (1) Beatrix, daughter of
Philip of Swabia
(2) Mary, daughter of
Henry IV of
Brabant

FREDERICK II,
m.(1) Constance of Aragon
(2) Yolande of Brienne
(3) Isabella, daughter of
John of England

MANFRED,
d. 1266
(illegitimate)

ENZIO,
d. 1272
(illegitimate)

Constance,
m. Peter III of Aragon

(1)
HENRY,
d. 1242

(2)
CONRAD IV
(1250-4)

(3)
HENRY,
d. 1253

MARGARET,
m. Albert of
Thuringia

Conradin,
d. 1268

sion. Henry the Proud died during the conflict leaving his claims to his little son, later known as Henry the Lion. Instead of establishing order in Germany, Conrad III went on the Second Crusade in 1147 and died in 1152 not long after his return.

The Popes and the Hohenstaufen

The political condition in Germany was then so precarious that *Frederick* Conrad III on his deathbed recommended the succession of his *Barbarossa* nephew Frederick instead of his own son. Frederick I (1152–1190), called *Barbarossa,* or Red Beard, proved to be the most brilliant if not the ablest sovereign of the twelfth century. The dream of his life was to establish a closer connection between Germany and Italy, to impose the German domination upon the latter more firmly than before, and to make the German Empire stronger, broader, and more effective. He would be another Charlemagne, even another Augustus. He introduced the word "holy" (*sacrum*) into the title of the empire to signify the part which the Church should have in this grand design. Great as his ambition was to go to Rome, however, Frederick I was not so rash as to quit Germany until he had placated the Guelfs. Accordingly, one of his first acts was to restore Bavaria to Henry the Lion of which his father had been deprived by Conrad III.

In the meantime a formidable complication had arisen among *The cities of* the Lombard cities which hastened Frederick's crossing of the Alps. *Lombardy* When Frederick I learned of this situation in Lombardy he was filled with amazement and wrath. In his political philosophy there was no room for such people as bourgeoisie or the "middle class," and "self-government" was a term he could not understand. It was not to be found in the vocabulary of feudalism. To him the Lombard towns were mere rebels, and their talk about "rights" drove him to fury.

In 1154–1155 he made the first of six Italian expeditions. The Roman populace had rebelled against Pope Hadrian IV, driven him out, and established a Roman Republic whose officials fantastically revived the nomenclature of the ancient Roman Republic. The world again was made familiar with the titles of consul, praetor, senate, and the ancient symbol S.P.Q.R.[1] Frederick Barbarossa met the exiled pope a few miles outside of the Eternal City and captured Rome after furious fighting. Hadrian IV was restored, and Frederick got the desire of his heart—imperial coronation.

In 1158 he made his second Italian expedition and was gone for

---

[1] *Senatus Populusque Romanus*—The Senate and People of Rome.

*Diet of
Roncaglia*

four years from Germany. In a diet held under military rather than civil panoply in the broad field of Roncaglia the emperor in a decree denied the rights and claims of the cities and transferred jurisdiction in them from their own officials to imperially appointed officers called *podestas*. Milan at once rebelled and was laid siege to by Frederick, but the other Lombard towns were overawed by Frederick's military supremacy, although some of them gloated over Milan's fate in hope of getting possession of some of her great commerce. The siege endured for two years, at the end of which Milan surrendered and was totally destroyed. The half-starved and wretched populace was distributed among other towns (1162).

Alexander III

At this juncture Hadrian IV was succeeded by Pope Alexander III (1159–1181), the greatest pontiff of the twelfth century. For twenty-two years the new pope was the brains of opposition organized against Frederick, not only in Italy but in all Europe. The Guelf opposition in Germany became formidable and was encouraged by Frederick's increasing difficulties south of the Alps. In 1163 the emperor made his third expedition into Italy but was almost immediately recalled to Germany by threatening conditions there. In his fourth expedition (1166–1168) he reached Rome again and drove Alexander III into exile into France. His fear and hatred of the pope had now reached a high pitch of anxiety because Alexander had pointed out to the Lombard cities that they must unite or else be subjugated by the emperor. The result of this suggestion was the formation of the formidable Lombard League in 1167. Actually it was a union of the cities of the Veronese Mark (Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, which had combined in 1164) with the cities of the Lombard plain (Milan, which had been rebuilt, Cremona, Bergamo, Brescia, Mantua, and Ferrara). Pavia was the only large Lombard city which adhered to Frederick.

In these fateful years the emperor had not dared to leave Germany. A tremendous feud was being waged there between Henry the Lion and his enemies, the Archbishops of Cologne, Magdeburg, and Bremen, Albert the Bear of Brandenburg, Otto of Meissen and others, all of whom coveted possession of his vast and rich lands. The emperor intervened to secure peace in order to be able to return to Italy, and Henry the Lion went off on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land (1172).

*Battle of
Legnano*

Frederick was in Italy for three years (1174–1177) on his fifth Italian campaign. It was one of disaster. In the Battle of Legnano (1176) the German cavalry was completely routed by the militia of the Lombard cities. It was the first defeat of a *feudal* army by a citizen militia and the first military victory of the bourgeoisie in

medieval history. Preliminaries of peace were arranged at Venice in the next year in an interview between the pope and the emperor, but the final settlement of the terms was not made until six years later at Constance. At Constance, in 1183, Frederick conceded everything for which the cities of the Lombard League had fought. The Lombard cities did not secede from the empire, but they won the recognition of their claim to preserve and maintain their local institutions and customs, principal among which was the right of self-government, within the empire.

Fall of Henry the Lion

The Lombard League had inflicted a severe, although qualified, defeat upon the emperor in Italy, but he was still supreme in Germany. In 1181 he put the ban of the empire upon his most dangerous vassal, Henry the Lion, and confiscated his duchies. All his fiefs were declared to be forfeited. He was allowed to retain his allodial or private lands, Brunswick and Lüneburg, but personally was exiled for five years. All the rest of his territories were distributed. The historic duchies of Saxony and Bavaria, the old tribal duchies, came to an end. In Italy, only a year after the Peace of Constance, Frederick won a brilliant diplomatic victory that cruelly threatened the papacy. His son and heir, already crowned as Henry VI, was married to the heiress of the kingdom of Sicily, Constance, daughter of Roger II and heiress of her nephew, William II. All that was left for Frederick to do was to add to his legend. And this he did as soon as he heard of the fall of Jerusalem in 1187. Early in 1188 he took the cross, and left a year later on the Third Crusade, from which he never returned.

Death of Frederick Barbarossa

Thus Henry VI began his actual rule in 1189, the year before his father's death. William II of Sicily died in 1190, and Henry VI made good his wife's claim to the succession. The Hohenstaufen acquisition of Norman Italy and Sicily repaired the imperial fortune to an enormous degree. The kingdom was fabulously rich in natural resources; it controlled all the sea-routes of the Mediterranean west of Venice and the Adriatic; the harbor of Palermo was crowded with shipping. The fleet of the Norman kingdom was as powerful as that of the Byzantine Empire. To conquer Constantinople became Henry VI's dearest aspiration. He would make a new crusade, but first he would conquer the Byzantine Empire which, it was charged, had so flagrantly frustrated the earlier crusades. In the midst of great preparations he died at Messina in 1197 at the age of thirty-two, leaving a three-year-old son, Frederick Roger.

Henry VI

The sudden death of the emperor threw Germany into chaos. The Hohenstaufen-Guelf feud blazed again. The real ruler of the

NORTH SEA

BALTIC SEA

DENMARK

Danzig

Kiel

Lübeck

POMERANIA

Hamburg

Wallin

Elbe R.

Bremen

MARK OF
BRANDENBURG

Posen   *Warthe*

S A X O N Y

Minden

Brunswick

Brandenburg

Hildesheim

Goslar   Magdeburg

POLAND

Harzburg

Meissen

Breslau

Oder R.

Vistula

Cologne

Flarchheim

Aachen

Gerstungen

Hohenburg

Meuse R.

F R A N C O N I A

Hersfeld

L O T H A R I N G I A

Frankfurt

Prague

Olmütz

Trèves

Bamberg

B O H E M I A

MARK OF

Mainz

Forchheim

MORAVIA

Moselle R.

Würzburg

Speier

Regensburg

Metz

Augsburg

Danube

Passau

Vienna

Strassburg

Munich

Salzburg

S W A B I A

B A V A R I A

Basel

HUNGARY

Constance

Drave R.

KINGDOM OF FRANCE

Geneva

Rhone R.

GERMANY
under the Hohenstaufen

Lands of the House of Welf

empire after Henry VI's death was neither his three-year-old son nor his younger brother, Philip of Swabia whom the Hohenstaufen party in Germany elected emperor. It was rather Innocent III, in whose pontificate (1198–1216) Gregory VII's ideal of papal supremacy reached its zenith. When the Empress Constance (died 1198) appealed to him as overlord of the kingdom of Sicily, he became the guardian of the young Frederick; and, ruling Sicily, he was able to consolidate his position in Rome and the Papal States and to weaken seriously the imperial power in northern Italy. Only then did he intervene in Germany.

When the Hohenstaufen faction proclaimed Philip of Swabia as *Otto IV* emperor, the Guelfs replied by proclaiming the son of Henry the Lion, Otto. Both appealed to the pope for recognition, and inevitably Innocent III decided in favor of the Guelf. Philip still resisted, and only after his assassination in 1208 was Otto IV universally recognized. Once crowned, Otto IV became as active an enemy of the pope as any of his predecessors, and Innocent promptly excommunicated and deposed the ungrateful emperor. He urged the German princes to elect the young Frederick, now ruling as king in Sicily. In 1211 Frederick was elected emperor, and in 1214 his control of Germany was assured when his ally Philip Augustus of France utterly defeated Otto IV at Bouvines.

Not until Innocent III's death in 1216 did Frederick begin his *Constitution* personal rule and embark upon the last and fiercest phase of the *of Melfi* long Hohenstaufen struggle with the papacy. Like his grandfather, Frederick Barbarossa, he was determined to reduce the cities and to control Italy in the face of papal opposition. But it was in Sicily and not in Germany that he would establish the real basis of his power, and from Sicily, not from Germany, that he would extend his rule over all Italy. Germany he abandoned to the princes, so that he might be free to devote himself to the creation of a strong kingdom in the south. Here he was so brilliantly successful that he has been called the first modern man, and his kingdom, Sicily, the first modern state. Already in the twelfth century his predecessors had done much to make the kingdom progressive, but Frederick II surpassed them all in modernizing his "regno." He abolished feudal privilege, feudal justice, and feudal taxes. In the famous Constitution of Melfi (1231) he initiated the theory and practice of absolute monarchy, with equality of all classes before the law. In an epoch of intolerance, he was tolerant of every form of religious belief. He suppressed trial by battle and the ordeal. Procedure and proof were to be conducted in writing. In the sphere of culture, the emperor was also original. His brilliant intellect puzzled and

dazzled Europe which called him *Stupor Mundi,* the wonder of the world. He spoke Italian, German, French, and Arabic fluently and had some understanding of Latin and Greek; he wrote good poetry and is credited with the invention of the sonnet form. He was intensely interested in Arabic science. He was a capable soldier, an excellent military engineer, and the ruins of the château which he planned and erected stamp him as a consummate architect.

Diplomatic crusade of Frederick II

From the beginning of the reign there were quarrels with the pope, but they did not become serious, until the accession of Gregory IX (1227–1244). The new pope commanded him to leave at once for the Holy Land under pain of excommunication. The emperor temporized. He complained that he was ill. Gregory IX excommunicated him. Frederick delayed a year. Then when he perceived that the papal ban was made a pretext of rebellion against him, he sailed for Palestine in 1228. There he resorted to diplomacy instead of arms to recover Jerusalem for Christendom. The emperor made a ten years' truce with Saladin's successor, which gave the Christians possession of all the holy places along with a strip of territory between Jerusalem and the port of Jaffa. When no priest would crown him, Frederick crowned himself King of Jerusalem. But Gregory IX repudiated the treaty as shameful and re-excommunicated the emperor. The brilliant success of Frederick's diplomacy and his prompt return to Italy, however, disconcerted the pope and he dissolved the ban.

Lombard League

As Frederick's power grew, the Lombard cities with good reason feared that he intended to denounce the Treaty of Constance (1183) which won their virtual independence from Frederick Barbarossa and were apprehensive lest he would subject them again to imperial control. In 1236 they rebelled. The emperor displayed as much military as civil genius and was victorious over the new Lombard League in 1237 at Cortenuova. Milan, Brescia, Bologna, and Alessandria appealed to the pope, who excommunicated the emperor for the third time, using this purely ecclesiastical weapon for secular and political purposes. The pope convoked a great council at Rome to denounce the emperor. Many high prelates from England, France, and Spain convened at Genoa whence they sailed for Rome in Genoese ships. The emperor captured twenty-seven Genoese shiploads of Churchmen—nearly the whole council. (Gregory IX, who was almost one hundred years old, died in 1241 under the strain of anxiety.) Finally the delayed council was convened at Lyons (1245) by Innocent IV. Frederick was accused of perjury and heresy, of having violated the privileges of the clergy in Sicily and Italy, of having usurped the marches of Tuscany and Benevento,

of sacrilege, in that he had kidnapped the members of a Church council and held amicable intercourse with the Infidel when on the crusade. For the fourth time the emperor was excommunicated.

The conflict now entered into its last and bitterest phase. Distrusting Italian troops, even Neapolitans and Sicilians, Frederick made large use of Saracen mercenaries imported from Tunis and erected a great military camp at Lucera in Apulia. The almost universal character of the uprising of Italy is evidence of the spontaneous nature of the resistance. No quarter was given on either side in the war. Even noncombatants were mercilessly slaughtered. Towns were sacked; farmsteads, vineyards, and orchards were destroyed. Famine and disease stalked through the land. In the midst of this rack and ruin Frederick II suddenly died of dysentery at Lucera in 1250.

GERMANY IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

The death of Frederick II and of his son Conrad IV was followed *Great Inter-* by the Great Interregnum (1250–1273). The resolution of the pope *regnum* that he would have no other emperor, lest the conflict between emperor and pope be renewed, was primarily responsible for this condition, but it was aggravated by the ambition of the high German princes who wanted no king over them. Nevertheless, there were many aspirants, and, since the Holy Roman Empire was an international state, most of these came from the outside. The most prominent of these were Richard of Cornwall, a son of Henry III of England, and Alfonso of Castile. Charles of Anjou, the brother of St. Louis of France, played with the idea of becoming emperor, but finally abandoned the design for Naples and Sicily instead.

Meanwhile the violence and turmoil in Germany reached such an excess that at last the pope consented to the election of a new king-emperor. He stipulated, however, that the new king must not be chosen from among the high princes of Germany lest his power be so great that he might revive the ancient conflict, and that he be loyal to the Church. The choice fell on Rudolph of Habsburg (1273–1291), of an old family of Alsace.

The election did not bring an end to the anarchy in Germany, *Rudolph* but it raised one of the greatest houses not only of German but of European history into the limelight. Rudolph cared little for the imperial title and would not go to Rome to be crowned. He was even indifferent to German affairs. Like other German princes, he was eager to increase his family possessions, to build up his housepower (*Hausmacht*), and was willing to use the authority of his new office when and how he could to that end. He would not lift a

THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG

RUDOLF I, 1273-91

Rudolf = Agnes, daughter of Ottocar

John, murderer of Albert I, d. 1313

Agnes = Albert II of Saxony

Clementia = Charles Martel of Anjou

Matilda = Lewis II of Wittelsbach

Albert I = Elizabeth of Tyrol
d. 1308

Rudolf, = Blanche, King of daughter Bohemia, of Philip III 1306-7 of France

Frederick, titular King of the Romans, d 1330

Leopold, d 1326

Albert II, d. 1358

(*Albertine line*)

Albert III (I)

Margaret = Meinhard of Tyrol

Frederick, d. 1362

(*Leopoldine line*)

Leopold = Virida killed at Visconti
Sempach, 1386

Rudolf, d. 1365

Albert IV, d. 1404

William, d. 1406

Leopold, d. 1411

(*Styrian line*)

Ernest = Cymburga
d. 1424

(*Tyrolese line*)

Frederick

Sigismund, d. 1496

Elizabeth, = Albert V, daughter of King of the Emperor Romans, Sigismund 1438-9, as Albert II

Frederick III, King of the Romans, 1440-93

Albert, d. 1463

Maximilian I = Mary of Burgundy

Ladislas Postumus, Duke of Austria, King of Bohemia and Hungary, d. 145?

finger for Germany. During the Interregnum Ottocar II, King of Bohemia, a country which lay next door to Austria, had seized the Austrian lands and refused to give them up when Rudolph demanded that they be returned to the crown. Supported by papal money, Rudolph in 1278 defeated and slew Ottocar in the battle of the Marchfeld. By a stroke of the sword he became one of the richest and most powerful princes in Germany. Henceforth Vienna was the capital of the Habsburgs for six hundred and forty years.[1] Almost as successful as the Habsburgs in extending their family possessions were the houses of Luxemburg in Bohemia, Wittelsbach in Bavaria, and, somewhat later, Hohenzollern in Brandenburg.

Although there was no possibility of restoring a universal empire after Rudolph of Habsburg, the dream of empire haunted the world for centuries, and the greatest political thinkers of the fourteenth century hoped that these emperors in name might become emperors in fact. In support of Henry VII, the first emperor of the house of Luxemburg, Dante wrote one of the greatest political tracts of history, the *De monarchia*. In this pamphlet he visualized a new Europe under the aegis of universal empire and he condemned the temporal power of the Church whether in assertion of universal jurisdiction or of temporal sovereignty over a particular territory.

A sharp controversy between Henry VII's successor, Louis IV of the house of Wittelsbach, and Pope John XXII called forth many pamphlets. The most eminent among these political writers were Marsiglio of Padua, an Italian lawyer who had studied at Paris, author of a tract entitled *Defender of the Peace* (*Defensor Pacis*), and William of Ockham, an English Franciscan, the last of the great scholastic philosophers, who wrote a work entitled *Eight Questions Concerning the Power and Dignity of the Pope*. Both tracts were based upon Aristotle's *Politics* and questioned the whole papal theory of the nature of the state and the office of government. A generation later Petrarch was a fervent advocate of Charles IV (1347–1378), grandson of Henry VII.

Charles IV did nothing to restore the empire in Italy, but he did *Golden Bull* try to prevent further disintegration in Germany. His Golden Bull of 1356 became one of the fundamental constitutions of the empire. It provided for an electoral college composed of three ecclesiastical and four lay electors, viz: the archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne, and the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of

---

[1] The royal and imperial crown of Germany was an elective one, but in the middle of the fifteenth century the Habsburgs succeeded in acquiring permanent possession of it.

CENTRAL
EUROPE
IN 1378

NORWAY

SWEDEN

BALTIC SEA

TEUTONIC ORDER

LITHUANIA

NORTH SEA

DENMARK

Pomerania

POLAND

Vistula R.

Brandenburg

Elbe R.

Brunswick

Rhine R.

Lusatia

Silesia

Oder R.

BRABANT

Cologne

Thuringia

THE

LUXEM-BURG

Trier

Mainz

Bohemia

Moravia

Palatinate

Nuremberg

Lorraine

Danube R.

Austria

Bavaria

FRANCE

EMPIRE

HUNGARY

Swiss
Confederation

Tyrol

Savoy

Dominions
of the
Visconti

Milan

Venice

Save R.

BOSNIA

C. OF
PROVENCE

Genoa

Florence

PAPAL STATES

ADRIATIC SEA

SERBIA

Rome

K. OF NAPLES

ALBANIA

Naples

SICILY
(To Aragon)

Dominions
of Ottocar
of Bohemia

Eger R.
Egerland
1266

Elbe R.

Oder R.

Bohemia

Moravia

Inn R.

Danube R.

Austria
1251
1254

Styria

Carinthia
1269 1260

Drave R.

Carniola
1269

Save R.

Acquired by
Ottocar

HAGSTROM CO., N.Y.

Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburg, and the King of Bohemia. The four lay territories, the largest in Germany, were forever to be indivisible, and the succession was to be by primogeniture; the electoral title was to be higher than those of duke and margrave, and each elector had regalian rights in his own territory. After 1356 there remained no possibility of unified central government for all of Germany.

The eastward expansion of the German people against the Slavs, that merciless "Eastward Drive" which had been continued ever since the tenth century, had not been arrested by the political disintegration of Germany in the thirteenth century, and large tracts of territory along the Baltic east of the Vistula, originally inhabited by Slavs and Letts, were Germanized. Unlike previous expansions this one was in the nature of a crusade. The Order of the Sword-bearers was already established in Livonia when the Teutonic Order which had been founded during the Third Crusade, and which now had little to do after the loss of Palestine, was called in by Conrad of Mazovia to aid him in his struggle with the heathen and warlike Prussians. The conquest was rapidly pushed: Germanization of the country proceeded vigorously. By 1308 all Pomerania

German drive eastward

The Bettmann Archive

RUDOLPH OF HABSBURG

*Teutonic
Knights*

—or Pomorze, the "land beyond the sea," as the Poles called it—was seized by the Knights, thus cutting off Poland territorially and politically from the Baltic. Christianity was forcibly established by the Teutonic Knights, and a rigid military regime was established in Prussia, Estonia, Livonia, and Kurland. The towns at the mouths of the rivers, such as Danzig, Reval, Riga, were almost wholly peopled by Germans. Inland the population consisted of Slavs, Prussians, and Lithuanians, whom the Knights reduced to serfdom. The country was too far away from Germany to tempt great numbers of the German peasantry. Thus it came to pass that the German clergy, nobility, and burghers, needing a heavy laboring class, subjugated these natives and reduced them to the cruelest form of serfdom. While everywhere else in Europe serfdom was becoming ameliorated, serfdom in Prussia was a throwback to the harshest times of the Middle Ages. The condition grew worse as Germany was becoming weaker and more divided. The land bristled with castles.[1]

In 1410 at Tannenberg the Teutonic Knights were disastrously beaten by the Poles. By 1466 the grandmaster of the Teutonic Order remained in possession only of East Prussia, which was then a Polish fief.

Free cities

By the fifteenth century, no country in Europe had so many cities as Germany, nor were any others so free. In France the kings had restrained the cities from acquiring complete independence. In Italy the cities had lost their liberty and fallen under the domination of local despots. These free German cities stood in the same relation to the kingdom as the principalities. They were city-states. However instead of being feudal states, they were burgher communities actively engaged in commerce and industry, in which the trade guilds controlled the local government.

*Leagues of
cities*

In the thirteenth century, even before the anarchy of the Interregnum, certain of the cities had begun to associate for the mutual protection of their trade. The tendency first appeared, as one might expect, among the cities of the Rhine. In 1226 Mainz, Worms, Speyer, Strasbourg, and Basel formed a league to protect their trade up and down the river against pirates and robber barons. It was soon joined by other towns. Smaller combinations rapidly followed in many other regions,[2] and in 1254 these regional associations

---

[1] One of the greatest, Marienburg, still stands intact and is one of the most formidable examples of military architecture in Europe.

[2] Basel and Mühlhausen (1246), Brunswick and Stade (1248), Cologne, Boppard, and Coblenz (1253), Münster, Dortmund, Soest, and Lippestadt in Westphalia (1253).

were combined into the League of the Rhine. In the same way the Swabian League was formed in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century to include the chief cities in Swabia, and it was joined in 1353 by the Swiss cities. The whole territory, therefore, from the Alps to the lower Rhine was covered by this network of cities.

It is not to be assumed that this development was without opposition. The feudal nobles, whether bishops or barons, bitterly contended against the cities. The Emperor Charles IV was so hostile to the city leagues that he shut them out from representation in the diet in 1356 by the Golden Bull. The cities, in self-defense, organized town militia, police patrols on the highways, and flotillas on the rivers to escort their merchants. These forces did good work in destroying castles which were nests of robber barons and ridding the rivers of chains and weirs past which no vessels could go without paying tolls. Sixty-two such obstructions were on the Rhine alone, and as much as sixty per cent of a cargo might be taken as forced tolls.

The cities fell into four groups: (1) the Rhenish cities (Mainz, Cologne, Frankfort, Coblenz, Strasbourg, Basel); (2) the Swabian cities, with Ulm and Augsburg at their head; (3) the Swiss cities, Zurich, Luzern, St. Gall; (4) the cities of North Germany along the North Sea and the Baltic.

These last formed the greatest league of all. This was the Han- *Hanseatic* seatic League which at its height covered the whole of North Ger- *League* many and even extended outside of Germany. The beginnings of the Hansa[1] were simple and are found in an arrangement made about 1230 between Lübeck[2] and Hamburg for protection of the transportation of salt from the natural salt-springs of Lüneburg.[3] When Lübeck had organized the herring fisheries in the Baltic, the lack of salt was severely felt for unsalted herring could not be exported. While Lüneburg developed the technical processes of production, the sale of salt was almost wholly in the hands of Lübeck merchants. Another advantage soon developed. This was the short transit of trade across the Danish isthmus which separated the Bal-

---

[1] This was an old German word and originally signified almost any sort of combination of men together—a handful of men, a battalion of troops, a guild of workingmen, etc. The older meaning gradually disappeared.

[2] Lübeck was founded by Henry the Lion in 1163.

[3] Salt was a rare commodity throughout the north of Europe and could be obtained only where there were natural salt springs, whereas in the south of Europe salt was widely manufactured by evaporation of sea-water in shallow pans along the coast.
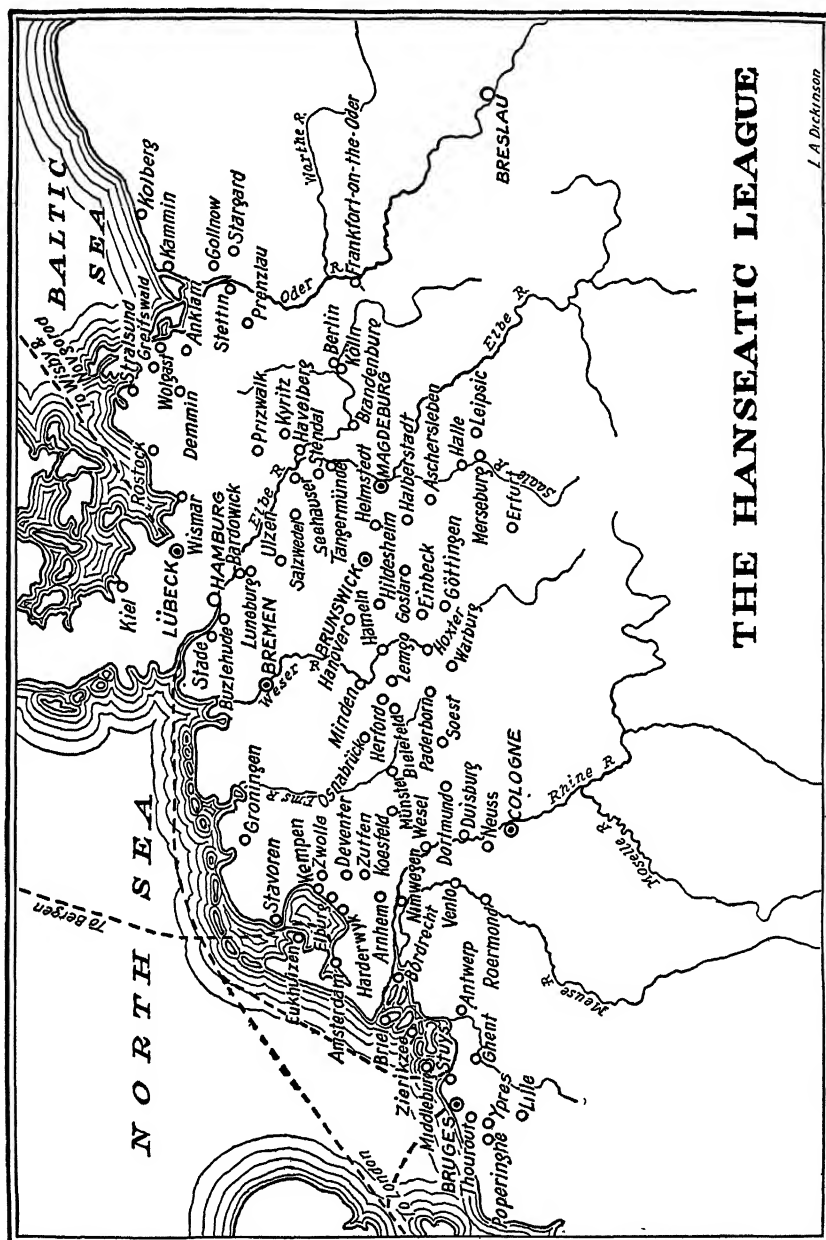
THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

L A Dickinson

(Reprinted from *The Middle Ages*, by James Westfall Thompson. By permission of and special arrangement with Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.)

tic from the North Sea and saved the long and hazardous route around the Sound[1]—hazardous because of rocks and reefs and swirling tides and pirates who infested it. Bremen soon joined with Hamburg and Lübeck and was rapidly followed by all the other cities at the mouths of the German rivers as far eastward as Danzig. Inland towns, as far south and west as Cologne, also came into the League. By 1260–1265 the Hanseatic League was rapidly adding colonies of German merchants abroad already settled in Bruges in Flanders, in London, at Wisby on the island of Gotland in the Baltic, and at Novgorod in Russia.[2]

From Wisby, German merchants had penetrated to Novgorod, following the old Varangian route of the Norse in Russia. Only after the last of these colonies of German merchants abroad (Gotland 1299) united with the Lübeck group, the "little" Hansa, was the Hanseatic League fully formed. By 1370 seventy cities in the Hanseatic League formed a wide network spread from Russia to England and from Bergen, Norway, to Cologne, Germany. Each city preserved its political independence and local administration. But its commerce was governed by the League, the capital of which was at Lübeck, where sat the directors, who were all men of Lübeck.[3]

London, Bruges, Bergen, and Novgorod were known as "factories," [4] each under the management of a "factor" who was sent out from Lübeck. In the fourteenth century Bruges was *the* international metropolis and Flanders the greatest commercial and industrial region of northern Europe. Here was the mouth of the Rhine, the most important trade route through central Europe. Bruges was also the terminus of the Venetian galley route. It was the mart for Mediterranean and Oriental goods. As for London, its chief trade was in German iron from the Ruhr valley—to this day Germany's center of iron manufacture—which was exported *via*

---

[1] The straits of Skagerrak and Kattegat.

[2] All these colonies were older than the Hansa—the London colony antedated the Norman Conquest and the Wisby colony went back to the reign of Emperor Lothair II (1125–1139).

[3] For purposes of administration the home-territory was divided into four circles (*kreisen*): (1) the Wendish (named from the Wends or Slavs who once dwelt there) Circle, of which Lübeck was the center; (2) the Saxon Circle, of which Brunswick was the center; (3) the Prussian-Livonian Circle—the territory of the Teutonic Knights, of which Danzig was the center, and (4) the Westphalian Circle, of which Cologne was the center. All affairs of the League "cleared" through Lübeck.

[4] This word is used in the original sense of a trading post. As late as the eighteenth century the trading posts of the British East India Company were called "factories," as, indeed, the posts of the Hudson's Bay Company in Canada are still denominated.

Cologne.[1] Further north Bergen was a fish-market from which salted, dried, or smoked fish were exported to nearly all Europe. In the East, Novgorod collected and exported furs.

The Hansa sedulously endeavored to keep out of politics everywhere, but it could not avoid conflict with Denmark. The Hansa's fleet captured Copenhagen in 1370, and by the Peace of Stralsund the Hansa was given two-thirds of the revenues of Scania, free passage through the straits for all its shipping, and many other concessions and privileges, including the right to dictate who should be king of Denmark.

Decline of Hanseatic League

The union of Lithuania-Poland in 1386 and the new kingdom's expansion towards the Baltic gradually dispossessed the Hanseatic colonies in Riga, Reval, and Pskov and left the League access into Russia only through Novgorod. In 1478 this city was seized by the Grand Duke of Moscow, Ivan III the Great, the founder of the czardom. In Scandinavia the Union of Calmar, by which Sweden, Norway, and Denmark were united, made a combination too strong for the League to withstand. In Flanders, the commercial policy of the dukes of Burgundy (1380–1477) was ruinous to the Hansa. The turmoils in Flanders during the Hundred Years' War and piracy on the sea throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries jeopardized sea-borne commerce too much to make it profitable. By 1500 the Hanseatic League had shrunk to its original dimension and its original members, Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen.

Swiss Confederation

Never so splendid as the Hanseatic League, the Swiss Confederation, which arose at the same time, proved more capable of survival. The three forest cantons that made up the nucleus of modern Switzerland were Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden lying in the very heart of the Alps. Their position enabled them to control the St. Gotthard Pass (completed in 1237), the most direct, even if most difficult, route between Germany and Italy, a real triumph of medieval engineering. As the St. Gotthard slowly approached completion, Frederick II in 1231, with an eye to the future, took the canton of Uri under his immediate authority and granted the freemen a charter; in 1240 the emperor granted a similar charter to the freemen of Schwyz. In 1291 the two cantons united with Unterwalden for self-protection against their aggressive Habsburg neighbors. In 1309 this confederation was confirmed by Henry VII, who also wished to preserve control of the pass between Germany and Italy. The

---

[1] For this reason the Hansa in London was known as the *Stahlhof* or Steel Yard, where English wool changed hands for German iron.
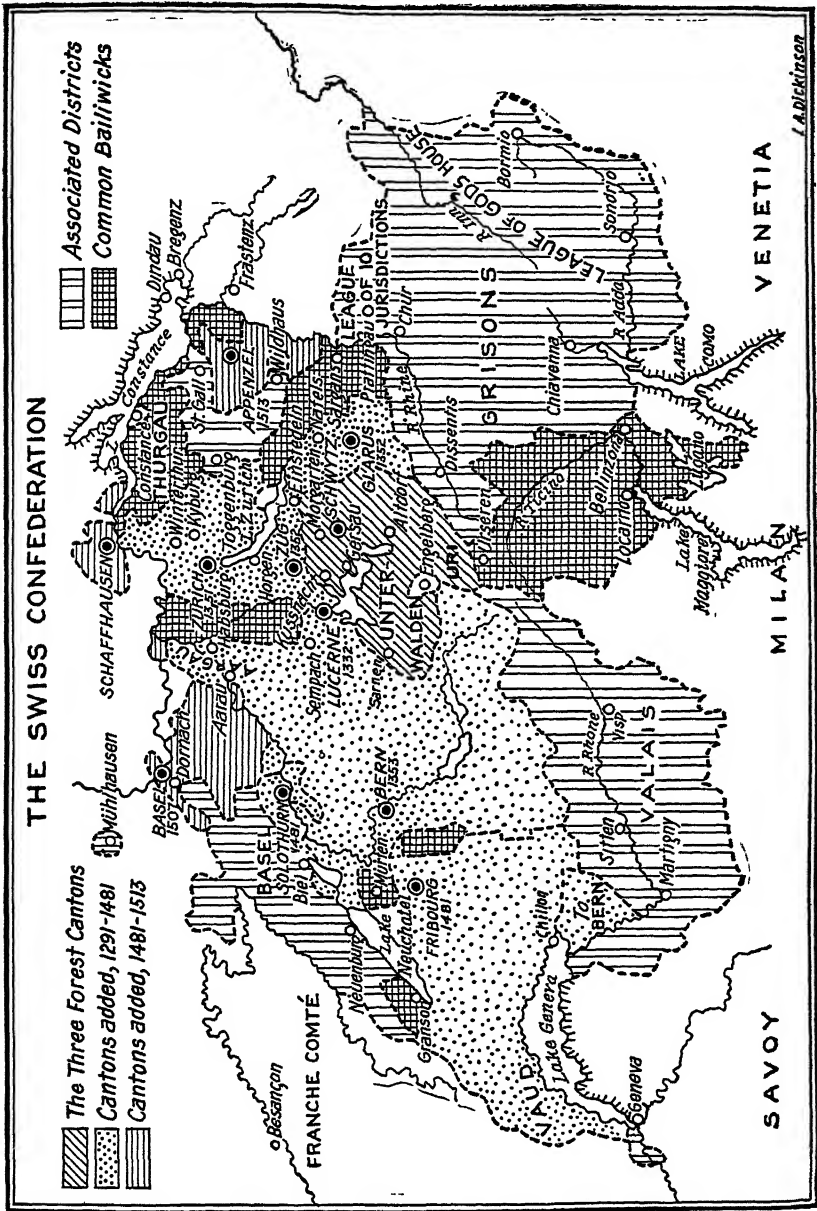
THE SWISS CONFEDERATION

The Three Forest Cantons
Cantons added, 1291-1481
Cantons added, 1481-1513

Associated Districts
Common Bailiwicks

(Reprinted from *The Middle Ages*, by James Westfall Thompson. By permission of and special arrangement with Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.)

legend of William Tell is ascribed to the years between 1291 and 1309.

Fighting constantly with the Habsburgs, they won their first great victory at Morgarten in 1315, and their power grew steadily as they were joined by five other cantons (Zurich, Luzern, Bern, Zug, Glarus). Before the end of the century they definitely established their freedom from Austria in the battle of Sempach (1386). Their pikemen here acquired a European reputation, which the Swiss capitalized on for hundreds of years.

Frederick of Hohenzollern
Very little that happened in Germany in the fifteenth century attracted general European interest. The most important events were related to Church reform, the Hussite heresy, and the religious unrest which were symptomatic of the Reformation in the next century. Highly significant for the political future of Europe, however, were the rise of the house of Hohenzollern and the permanent acquisition of the imperial title by the Habsburgs. Frederick of Hohenzollern, the founder of the house, was a cousin of Rudolph of Habsburg and had a hand in his election. In 1415 the Emperor Sigismund invested another Frederick—a favorite name in the Hohenzollern house—with the Mark of Brandenburg, the electoral vote, and the office of archchamberlain, all as a reward for his assistance in securing the imperial title.[1] In 1423 Sigismund also invested Frederick the Warlike (of the house of Wettin), Margrave of Meissen, with the electoral Duchy of Saxony (Wittenberg). A century
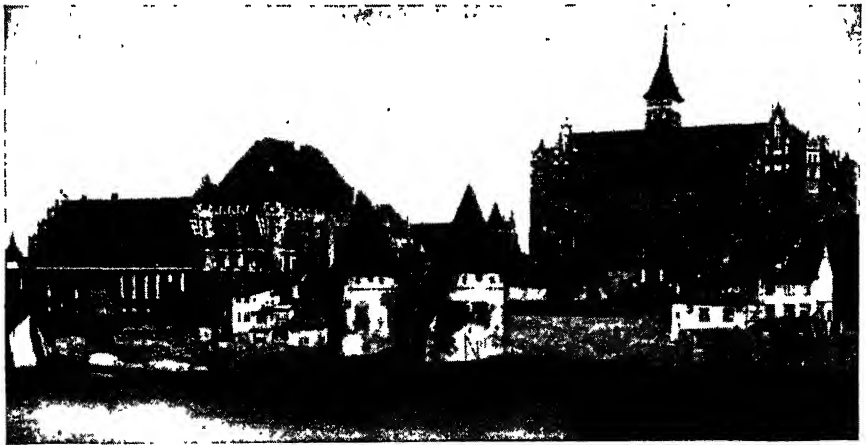
MARIENBURG

[1] It made the fortune of the Hohenzollerns; the last ruling member of this dynasty, Kaiser William II of Germany, did not leave the throne until 1918.

later these two houses (Hohenzollern and Wettin) were destined to play an important role in the Protestant Reformation.

Even more significant was the permanent and final acquisition of *Frederick III* the imperial crown by the Habsburgs. Sigismund, the last emperor of the house of Luxemburg, was succeeded by his son-in-law, Albert of Habsburg (1438–1440) and he in turn was succeeded by his cousin, Frederick III (1440–1493), whose descendants ruled the empire as long as the empire lasted. The reign of Frederick III was the longest in German history, and in all these fifty-three years he did only one thing—he arranged the marriage of his son, Maximilian, to Mary, Duchess of Burgundy.

COLLATERAL READING

G. Barraclough, *Medieval Germany,* 1938, 2 volumes.
J. Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire,* 1904.
E. Emerton, *Medieval Europe,* 1894.
H. A. L. Fisher, *The Medieval Empire,* 1898, 2 volumes.
E. Kantorowicz, *Frederick II,* 1931.
R. Lodge, *The Close of the Middle Ages,* 1901.
S. R. Packard, *Europe and the Church under Innocent III,* 1927.
J. W. Thompson, *Feudal Germany,* 1928.
————, *The Middle Ages,* 1931, 2 volumes.
T. F. Tout, *The Empire and the Papacy,* 1917.

CHAPTER XV

The Medieval Church

THE CATHEDRAL AT CHARTRES

A GREAT modern historian has written: "The history of the Middle Ages is the history of the Latin Church." [1] In the thirteenth century the Church and the papacy reached the height of power and authority. The papal monarchy was the most imposing institution in the world. Even if the attribution of divine foundation were to be left out of consideration, the Roman Church and the papacy, which are inseparable, would yet constitute one of the great institutions known to history.

In form the Roman Catholic Church was and is like a pyramid. Its priesthood rises in dignity and authority through graduated stages of rank from priest to pope, who is the apex of the ecclesiastical structure. The whole body of the clergy together constitute the hierarchy, in which those of each rank direct or control and have authority over the members of the rank immediately below them. Naturally the number of clergy in each grade of the hierarchy is diminished with the increase of authority. The pope alone possesses the plenitude of power (*plenitudo potestatis*). In ascending order the hierarchy is composed of priests, deacons, archdeacons, bishops, archbishops, and finally the pope. [2]

[1] R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of Medieval Thought*, p. 2.
[2] The cardinals are not exceptions; they are distinctly administrative officials of the papacy and not necessarily—at least in the Middle Ages—having

The whole wide area of Roman-and-Latin Christendom was di- *Hierarchy of officials*
vided into dioceses, each governed by a bishop. The origin of the sys-
tem, therefore, although of course *not* the spiritual nature of the
episcopal office, goes back to the Roman imperial form of administra-
tion. The bishop's diocese usually was the territory of the *civitas*. As
need of greater centralization of the Church was felt, in the seventh
century the metropolitan bishop or *arch*bishop appeared, whose *arch*-
diocese corresponded to some former province of the Roman Empire,
and comprehended several contiguous dioceses. Every cathedral,[1] that
is, the official seat or see of the bishop, had its staff of officiating clergy
of different degrees—archdeacons, deacons, prebendaries, canons col-
lectively denominated the "chapter." The lowest members of the
hierarchy were the thousands of parish priests whose parishes, in
country and town, were the smallest administrative units of ecclesi-
astical administration. In the countryside in the Middle Ages rural
parishes of ten were identical with the manors of the proprietary
nobles, or the village-manor-parish.

The duties of a bishop were of a spiritual and temporal nature. *The bishops*
The appointed services of the church and the whole body of the
clergy in his diocese were under his jurisdiction; it was his duty to
see that worship was regularly and decently celebrated, that the
sacraments were reverently administered, that canon law was sus-
tained, that discipline was imposed when necessary upon both clergy
and laity, and that the morals of his community were protected and
evil conditions suppressed or abolished. The cathedral schools were
generally better than those found in the monasteries within the
diocese, and the parochial schools were the only grade schools which
the Middle Ages had. After the tenth century the monasteries aban-
doned their former "outer" schools for children of the neighbor-
hood, and only children who were oblates, that is those given by
their parents to the monastery to be brought up as monks, were
accepted for instruction.

The temporal responsibilities of the bishop were of two kinds.

---

taken holy orders for qualification. Innocent III was a cardinal when elected
pope in 1198, but had to be made a priest before he could become pope. More-
over, the cardinals themselves are titularly of three ranks; cardinal-priests,
cardinal-deacons, cardinal-bishops.

[1] From the Greek word *cathedra*, seat. The word "cathedral" to denominate
the church building, so called, is a derived meaning. There is never but one
cathedral in a diocese. Contrary to widespread opinion the cathedral is not
always the greatest or most magnificent church in the diocese. In Rome St.
John Lateran is the cathedral, although St. Peter's far surpasses it in size and
grandeur. So in London Westminster Abbey is more venerable in the popular
mind than St. Paul's.

The first entailed management of the property and revenues of the church in his diocese. The second arose from his feudal obligations, whether as suzerain or vassal, and often both together. In this latter capacity he administered justice, collected taxes, waged war in fulfillment of his military service to his overlord, and was sent on diplomatic missions. In the feudal period the art of war was an important episcopal accomplishment and, especially after the crusades, an almost consecrated form of service. The prowess of the French bishops and of the papal legates on these adventurous campaigns became proverbial. Among other duties of every bishop were visitation of his diocese from time to time, an onerous duty, for it entailed much hard travel and exposure to the weather, tedious inspection, and examination of ignorant, negligent, or wayward priests. At certain seasons the bishop convened the higher clergy of his diocese for a synod. When the clergy of several dioceses met, usually at the call of an archbishop, such a body was known as a provincial council.[1] In the early Middle Ages preaching rested lightly upon the bishops, and the little that was done outside of the parishes was performed by members of the chapter. Only after what social psychologists call the "group mind" or "community mind" developed in the eleventh century through the associations for the Peace of God, the guild, and, above all, the crusades did the bishops take to preaching more and more, and, although they always wrote in Latin, they preached in the popular tongue. Sermons in the Middle Ages performed the function of the newspaper and the radio today. They were copied and circulated as pamphlets at markets and fairs. The great issues of Church reform, of the strife between the emperors and the popes, and the events and issues born of the crusades were thus presented to the people.

All these multifarious duties and activities of the medieval priest-class from highest to lowest were subordinate in importance to the supreme office of the Roman Church, indeed that for which it was founded and to which it has unalterably and inalienably adhered, namely the administration and enforcement of the sacraments. The sacramental system is the very core and marrow of the Church, by which and for which it lives and has its being. The seven sacraments are (1) baptism; (2) confirmation; (3) eucharist, the celebration of the Last Supper, in the administration of which the bread and wine are not regarded as sacred symbols, as among the Protestants, but, by the miracle of transubstantiation, the substance of these two elements is transmuted into the very Body and Blood of Christ, nothing of the bread and wine remaining except the appearance;

[1] An oecumenical general council could be summoned only by papal authority.

(4) penance, involving "contrition, confession, satisfaction, absolution"; [1] (5) extreme unction, or the sacrament given to the dying, the blessed oil being applied by the priest to the head, hands, feet, and chest of the recipient. These five sacraments are of universal application and common to every Christian person. The other two sacraments are (6) marriage, and (7) holy orders, by which is meant the assumption of priestly office and authority, which is always conferred by a bishop by the imposition of his hands upon the head of the recipient in ordination or consecration. Part of this ceremony was the tonsure, although the tonsure was worn by all clerics and not limited to those who had taken holy orders.

So far we have considered the secular clergy only. It is to be remembered, however, that the monks of many different orders constituted the regular clergy so called because they lived under *regulae* or rules, like the Benedictine Rule in the Roman Church or the Basilian Rule in the Greek Church. Monasticism as a religious ideal and an ecclesiastical form of living rapidly increased in the twelfth and thirteenth century, so much so that these centuries have been described as the Monastic Age as well as the Age of Scholasticism. It requires a distinct effort of thought on the part of most people today to understand the widespread and intense appeal which monasticism made to the medieval mind. In France alone as early as the tenth century there were 543 monasteries, and doubtless the same proportion might be found in other countries. Most of these, it is true, were not large and some were very small, but on the other hand many of them were very great and imposing. The growth of monastic institutions in the succeeding centuries was tremendous. In France alone there were 702 monasteries in the twelfth century. Order after order was founded, either as a reproach to the corruption of the old orders or with the purpose of establishing higher ideals. All exemplified a constant reform of Benedictinism. *Regular clergy*

The most austere of these was the Carthusians, founded by Bruno of Cologne (died 1101), the mother house of which was situated in the wildest region of the French Alps near Grenoble, "built almost above the clouds and very near to God." Pious legend relates that in the spring of 1084 the Bishop of Grenoble dreamed a dream in which he saw the seven stars fall from heaven and come to rest at his feet. Afterwards the seven stars rose and crossed a range of bare mountains to settle again in the Desert of the Grande Chartreuse. At the very moment when the bishop was pondering the meaning of this vision seven travelers appeared. These were the seven co- *The Carthusians*

---

[1] Thus auricular confession is not a sacrament, as many suppose, but a function of penance.

founders of the Carthusian Order—St. Bruno and six companions. St. Bruno explained to the bishop that he and his companions were in search of a retired spot where they might worship God in solitude. "I know," replied the bishop. "God has just shown me the place." Soon the little company were toiling up the narrow footpath. Thus was founded the Carthusian Order and its mother house. The Carthusian "life of solitude is not, however, a life of isolation." Its chief aim is contemplation. Hence its insistence upon austerity, abstinence from all flesh foods, frequent and long fasts, and sudden rousing from deep sleep. Only such manual work is undertaken as is "necessary for health or merely useful, but always in keeping with the religious life." The Carthusian did not labor in the fields. He worked alone in his cell.

The most widespread and influential of the new orders was that of the Cistercians founded in 1098, the first seat of which was at Cîteaux in French Burgundy. In western France in the first half of the twelfth century the Order of Fontevrault spread over the Angevin provinces and Poitou, and its abbey church at Fontevrault was the burial place of the Plantagenets. Henry II and his queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine, and Richard I lie there.

Canons regular

Inevitably the growth of monastic ideals and practices reacted upon the life of the secular branch of the clergy. Cathedral chapters were caught in the coils of monasticism; the canons, who previously might have lived around the cathedral in their own houses, were compelled to dwell together under rules of behavior like the monks, from which circumstance they were known as regular canons. In addition, semi-monastic associations were formed of so-called collegiate canons, chief of which were the Augustinians and the Premonstratensians,[1] the latter founded by the German Norbert of Xanten in 1119 in a marshy tract near Laon in France. A strictly English order of Augustinian canons was the Order of Sempringham, established in 1131 by Gilbert of Sempringham in Lincolnshire, and as localized as that of Fontevrault in France.

The Cistercians

Most of these new communities, whether of monks or canons, devoted themselves to constant and formal worship and gave little attention to anything else. The Cistercians were more socially minded, as well as zealous in religion. In organization and spirit they were a reflection of the age. Unlike Cluny, which was a centralized, monarchically ruled order, the Cistercians were modeled after feudal form. The mother house was "overlord" of those houses

---

[1] St. Norbert claimed that the spot chosen was pointed out (*praemonstratum*) to him by an angel which he saw in a vision. Hence the name.

which it established, which were its "vassals," and similarly every house had supervision over such other houses as it established. The relation was like that of suzerain and vassal in the feudal world. Another difference between Cluny and Citeaux was that the former was an aristocratic order, to which only sons of nobles were admitted. The Cistercians, on the other hand, were largely recruited from the lower classes, the peasantry and bourgeoisie, in consonance with the period when serfdom was breaking down, towns and town-life emerging, and social consciousness of the masses increasing. The Cistercians were great agriculturalists, and the work which they performed in redeeming swamp lands, in clearing forests, and in improving farming methods and breeds of cattle and sheep was of immense social and economic benefit. The actual labor of such enterprises was not, however, done by the monks but by the "lay brothers," peasants from farm and byre "who followed a simplified religious routine" but who were wholly illiterate and were never permitted to sing in the choir or take part in the services. These lay brothers did not dwell in the monastery itself but in community in the granges of the abbey.

Although the Cistercians did much for economic improvement and social relief, they were often indifferent to education and at first actually hostile to art. They reproached Cluny for promoting architecture, painting, and sculpture, as well as for its magnificent ritual, its beautiful and impressive music, and its rich library. The Cistercians, like the later Puritans, abhorred pictures, statuary, and stained glass windows. Their churches had whitewashed walls and no decoration whatsoever. Cistercian service-books were without illumination or any colored inks or pigments. No jewels, silk curtains, or cushions were visible. Crosses were made of wood, painted white; candlesticks were made of iron. The ornamentation and elaborateness of Romanesque and of Gothic architecture drove St. Bernard to fury. To him such things were profane and wholly incompatible with monastic ideals.

It would be far from the truth to assume that all these different *Monastic* kinds of clergy dwelt together or side by side in amity. There was *rivalry* intense rivalry, jealousy, and bickering among them. Many seculars abominated the monks who reciprocated the sentiment. Every order was a rival of every other order for endowments of land and for influence and authority. Monks aspired to become bishops, which the secular clergy regarded as an invasion. When a secular was elected pope, the seculars everywhere rejoiced; when a monk became pope, the monks rejoiced. Eugenius III's election, which he owed to the influence of his friend St. Bernard, filled the Cis-

tercians with joy. Similarly the Benedictines were jubilant when Hadrian IV became pope.

The supreme governing authority over this vast and complex ecclesiastical system was the pope. In the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216) and his successors in the thirteenth century, the papal power reached its height in both a spiritual and a temporal capacity. *The* Church as an organic institution was constituted in the bishops, each one of whom was its chief representative within his diocese. All bishops were immediately and directly responsible to the pope, who alone had authority to summon a general council, as Alexander III summoned the Third Lateran Council in 1179, and Innocent summoned the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, which was attended by 412 bishops and over 800 other clergy, secular and regular. Theoretically the formulation and determination of ecclesiastical dogma reposed in the council, but practically all important decisions were in the hands of the pope. The pope had his cabinet and his secretaries like a secular ruler for the execution and expedition of ecclesiastical administration.

The curia   This cabinet was the College of Cardinals, the ablest or most favored of whom also were papal secretaries in the *curia,* the collective term applied to all governments of the Lateran, which latter palace and *not* the Vatican, was the seat of papal administration.[1] In the thirteenth century there were three fully developed departments or secretarial bureaus: the chancery (or chancellery), the penitentiary, and the camera. Every official document or bull emanating from the papacy was formulated in and issued from the chancery, whose cardinal-secretary was the most important of all the papal officials. The penitentiary was the central office in Rome which dealt with the punishment imposed on those guilty of grave sins; the grand penitentiary was the cardinal presiding over this bureau. The camera (Latin for chamber or large and lofty vaulted room) was the papal chamber of accounts, answering to the English exchequer court.

Papal legates   The pope kept in contact with the Church at large not only by continual correspondence with every bishop [2] but also by requiring

[1] The Vatican became the papal capital during the Italian Renaissance.

[2] Since the pontificate of Innocent III the papal registers of correspondence have been preserved almost intact. The Vatican archives contain over 2000 of these volumes for the years between 1198 and 1590 and probably as many more for the modern period. The number of separate documents in the registers runs into thousands. Boniface VIII issued 63,470 bulls in the single year 1299 and 11,455 in 1302. The Register of John XXII for the first year of his pontificate fills twelve huge volumes. None of the papal registers since 1389 have been published, and few of them even studied as yet.

every bishop at stipulated seasons or under immediate summons to come to Rome, always a long and expensive journey often accompanied by hardship. Further still, from the time of Gregory VII (1073–1085) special ambassadors of the pope known as legates were sent abroad and sometimes resided for years in a particular country; the legates were endowed with plenipotentiary power. These legates almost invariably were cardinals detached from the College for the purpose.

The administrative system of the medieval Church was largely a system of checks and balances. The popes played the secular clergy against the regular clergy, and *vice versa;* archbishops against bishops and deacons against bishops or the reverse; and every monastic order against other monastic orders; and finally the papal legates were the pope's own hands, as it were, in every country. Even factions within the College of Cardinals were thus neutralized. An astute pontiff exercised his supreme authority rarely and sparingly, unless there was a crisis.

The revenues of the papacy from the twelfth century onward grew enormously. Even as early as the pontificate of Leo IX (1048–1054) the papacy had an official banker. The oldest of these revenues was Peter's Pence, a voluntary contribution of the faithful paid annually to the papal treasury for religious and charitable purposes. Gregory VII invented the census, an annual payment for papal protection against violence in the hardest age of feudalism.[1] The papacy exacted a fee—usually a very large one—from every bishop upon his appointment. Theoretically this was the entire revenue of the diocese of the new incumbent during the first year of his administration. Actually it was not as much as that, but it was always heavy.[2] The revenues arising from the penitential system accrued immediately to the local church, but a proportion of all diocesan revenues flowed into the papal coffers. Appeals of ecclesiastical causes from the bishops' courts to Rome were lucrative sources of income, since the fees exacted at every turn were staggering. Dispensations or relaxations or suspensions of ecclesiastical law in favor of a particular person, for example, to marry within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, were costly exemptions

Papal revenues

---

[1] In 1192 the cardinal camerarius Cencius, later Pope Honorius III, compiled the *Liber censuum* or *Book of the Census*, from which we know how great the sum of this revenue amounted to at the end of the twelfth century.

[2] In the case of very rich sees like Cologne, for example, it was a fortune. Many a bishop was compelled to sell or to mortgage his private property or that of his family, or to seek loans from his friends in order to pay the annates (first fruits of his office).

which only the very rich could afford. It was against the canon law for a Churchman to hold more than one Church office, but the popes often waived the prohibition, such practice being known as pluralism. The traffic in pluralities was a material revenue. John Mansell, chancellor of Henry III of England, held nineteen Church offices at the same time. How much the pope received for his dispensation is difficult to say. Indulgences became a prolific source of the papal income after the crusades.[1]

As the head of the Church, the pope was responsible for its doctrine as it was being defined in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It was no accident that the clearer and closer formulation of theology which was first expressed in the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, a professor in Paris in the middle of the twelfth century, coincided with the first intense manifestations of heresy since the Apostolic Age. The two movements were closely related; as the Church more accurately defined its dogmas and hardened its policy of compelling belief, the greater grew the protest against it. These new heresies found such large popular followings that the Church was alarmed. Added to fear of religious revolt was fear of social revolt. Heretical ideas were used as means of expression of a social and economic discontent that threatened the whole social order.

Waldensians   Two groups of heretics seemed particularly dangerous. Peter Waldo was a well-to-do merchant of Lyons, a simple and religious-minded man, who about 1170, shocked by the worldliness and the riches of the Church, began to preach that the Church must return to apostolic simplicity and poverty if it would recover the purity of its pristine spirit. His followers, as one might expect, were largely drawn from the lower classes and the poor, who were attracted by Waldo's idealization of poverty. The Waldensians were also called the Poor Men of Lyons. The Bishop of Lyons and then the papacy took alarm at this attack upon ecclesiastical property and the great wealth of the Church. Theoretically and idealistically there might be virtue in poverty, but the established Church has never manifested any disposition to renounce its wealth and return to "apostolic poverty." Driven out of the towns, where they had first found support from the working classes, the Waldensians found refuge in small villages in Provence and Piedmont, where

---

[1] An indulgence is, specifically, "a remission or reduction of punishment due for sins, granted through the Church and effected by the infinite merits of Christ and the superabundant merits of the saints, which are held to release those who can take advantage of them from part of the period of purgatory, which they would otherwise undergo." *The Universal Dictionary of the English Language,* ed. H. C. Wyld, Oxford and New York, 1932.

many of the peasantry embraced the movement. Here for centuries the Waldensian Church preserved a fugitive existence. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was much persecuted by the dukes of Savoy in whose territories it was widely spread. The Protestant Church in Italy today is descended from the Waldensians.

Far different in teaching and far more formidable to Catholicism *Albigensians* was the sect of the Catharists, whose name was derived from the Greek word *catharos*—pure, clean. This points to a Graeco-Oriental origin. Its spread can be obscurely traced from the Orient westward under various names—Paulicians in Asia Minor, Bogomils in the Balkans, Patarini in Lombardy, and finally Albigensians in France. In the twelfth century the Catharists were most numerous and most influential in the diocese of Albi in the south of France, although they had a strong foothold in Champagne, the Rhinelands, and Flanders. The Catharist doctrine was a medieval form of ancient Persian and Gnostic dualism. The antithesis between good and evil was stressed to an extreme. God was the God of good; Satan was the god of evil. Matter was evil, and therefore the purists among the Catharists advocated celibacy and deplored marriage. The *perfecti* among them, their priests and teachers, abstained, too, from the eating of flesh and were vegetarians. Blood was a thing abhorrent to them. Hence their rejection of the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, the eucharist, and the whole Christian scheme of salvation. The Catharists were not Christians at all, and this is what so excited the alarm and ire of the Church. They taught that one must save himself by growth in perfection. They did not believe in hell or purgatory. Their *consolamentum* or communion meal was consolatory and not expiatory. Strikingly Oriental in nature was the Catharist belief that one's soul at death entered into the body of some animal most like him, thence to pass through cycle after cycle of transmigration until by a process towards perfection at last it might become perfect.

Like the Waldensians at the same time, the Catharists at first were recruited from the lower industrial classes in the towns, but in time many of the feudal aristocracy adhered to them, notably the counts of Toulouse, who for years gave them protection in their territories. They became localized in densest numbers in Albi, in spite of the opposition of the bishop. The noblesse often supported the Catharists as a protest against the growing political power of the Church which was trespassing more and more upon secular authority.

Persuasion and threat alike failed to make the Catharists abandon their religion. At last, in 1208, when the papal legate was assassi-

nated by one of the count's overzealous knights for having excommunicated Raymond VI of Toulouse—a disservice to him comparable to the murder of Thomas à Becket by Henry II's overzealous servitors—Innocent III ordered the extirpation of the Catharists by a crusade.

Albigensian
Crusade

The French king, Philip Augustus, protested that the Count of Toulouse was a grand vassal of the crown against whom the crusade was unlawful. Unless the count were first tried and condemned in the royal court by a due process of law, the king argued, the pope had no right to dispose of French fiefs so summarily. However, Philip Augustus was unable to restrain the movement. The leader of the first Albigensian Crusade (there was a second in 1223–1226) was the notorious Simon de Montfort.[1] From 1209 to 1215 fire and sword devastated the Midi (Toulouse, Albi, Castelnaudary, Beziers). From the Rhone to the Pyrenees almost every other town was made into a shambles; the countryside was reduced to a wilderness; crops were burned, vineyards destroyed, and even the wells poisoned. At Minerve, Simon de Montfort burned alive one hundred and forty Catharists. The fugitives from this inhuman invasion fled to Italy, to Flanders, and to the Rhinelands. Provençal culture, the richest and most variegated not only in France but in Europe, was extinguished. The King of Aragon, who was lord of Montpellier and who came to the relief of Raymond, was defeated in the Battle of Muret (September 12, 1213). The lesser fiefs of the southland were distributed by Montfort among his followers. He took for himself the huge county of Toulouse; the pope was given the city and county of Avignon; Raymond of Toulouse preserved only the marquisate of Provence, and it was in a condition of ruin.

The success of the Albigensian Crusade enhanced the power of the papacy but morally compromised it. What Innocent III had condemned in the Fourth Crusade, that he practiced and approved in the Albigensian Crusade. Fugitive groups of Catharists, principally in the fastnesses of the Pyrenees, survived until the middle of the thirteenth century, but in the end all were extirpated.[2]

The most effective instrument of the Church in achieving this

---

[1] Of a famous family of the Ile-de-France. His mother was the daughter of the Norman-English Earl of Leicester. He had campaigned in the Holy Land, whence he had returned covered with blood and glory.

[2] The annihilation of Catharism is the greatest example in history of the extinction of a religion. There are traces of many ancient religions, even those of ancient Egypt and Babylonia, in religion today. But hardly a vestige of Catharist belief or practice exists. It was utterly destroyed, root and branch.

suppression was the Inquisition, which was established by Pope The Inquisi-tion Gregory IX (1227–1241). This was a system of ecclesiastical tribunals for the detection and prosecution of heresy. The grand inquisitor was resident at Carcassonne, and there were deputy-inquisitors at Toulouse, Albi, and other cities. They could not pronounce judgment without the presence of a certain number of ecclesiastical or lay judges. Since the Church could not shed blood, the torture used for the extortion of evidence and *not* as punishment was inflicted by the secular authority. The Inquisition, therefore, was a co-operation of the Church and the state. The process might be open or secret, and the witnesses known or unknown to the accused, who at first was permitted but later denied counsel. The penalty was imprisonment, usually for life, confiscation of property, or death— often the first and second or the second and third imposed together. If condemned to death, the accused was executed by the secular arm. The Inquisition survived the Middle Ages and, indeed, was aggravated during the Reformation, when the Spanish Inquisition became notorious for its effectiveness and its cruelty.

Almost all the inquisitors were Dominicans. They were an Order The Domini-cans of Preaching Friars,[1] who were regular canons (and technically, therefore, not monks) founded in 1215 by Domingo de Guzman (1170–1221), or St. Dominic, a Spaniard from Castile. The international character of the Dominican Order was evident from the first. The nucleus around St. Dominic was composed of eight Frenchmen, six Spaniards, one Englishman, and one Portuguese. The rapid spread and enormous influence of the Dominican Order was very impressive. Within the century of its establishment it had houses in every country of the Latin Church, even in Poland, Denmark, Greece, and the Holy Land. The master of the papal palace has always been a Dominican since 1218. The Dominicans have given three popes, more than sixty cardinals, and upwards of eight hundred bishops to the Church.

The primary purpose of the Dominicans, and the reason for which they were instituted, was to combat the Catharist heresy, the spread of which alarmed St. Dominic. The *perfecti* among the Catharists were highly educated and astute theologians, and nothing rejoiced them so much as to discomfit the Catholic clergy in public argument. Accordingly the Dominicans laid great stress on education and theology as preparation. Their other important activity was preaching. They were trained in public speaking and pulpit oratory, and they traveled two-and-two, preaching in the language

---

[1] Popularly called Black Friars, because they wore a white habit and scapular with a long black mantle.

of the country to which they were sent wherever they found an audience inside or outside a church. In the universities their professors were always among the most distinguished.

Dominican and Franciscan administration

The administrative organization of the Dominican Order—which the Franciscans imitated—differed from that of any of the monastic orders and introduced a new form. The whole territory of Latin Christendom was divided into "provinces," each under a "provincial" who had supervision over all the priories in the province. In each province there was an annual convocation, composed of representatives from each priory, and at longer intervals, usually from five to seven years, there was the great convocation to which delegates came from every province. These representatives, whether for the provincial or the general convocation, were elected. As the Cistercians had incorporated feudal principles in their organization so the Dominicans incorporate the idea of representation found also in the great secular assemblies of the time, the English Parliament, and the French States-General. Over the whole Dominican Order was the master-general who was elected in the convocation-general.

St Francis vs. St. Dominic

Few contrasts are as striking as the difference between St. Dominic and St. Francis (1182–1226), his contemporary and founder of the Franciscan Order. Dominic was an intellectual, whereas Francis was an emotionalist. The Christian religion, to Dominic, connoted the knowledge of God as found in Christian theology. To Francis, the Christian religion was spiritualized humanitarianism, the principle and the practice of love and charity towards one's fellowmen, as enjoined by Jesus in the four Gospels. Dominic was highly educated; Francis was not. Every act of Dominic emanated from calculated reason. St. Francis's every act was one of natural and spontaneous enthusiasm. Dominic appealed to men's minds. Francis appealed to their hearts. It is characteristic that while Dominic worked among the higher classes of medieval society, Francis sought out the poor.

In the Apostolic Church poverty had been both a condition and an ideal, a condition long since changed, although the ideal was still professed. In St. Francis's eyes a rich Church was a corrupt and degraded one. St. Francis longed for *holy* poverty—the poverty of Jesus. He would reflect and reproduce all the beautiful features which constituted the image of Christ.

St. Francis of Assisi

St. Francis was the son of a prosperous draper of Assisi, whose business often took him and his wares to the rich castles and cities in Provence and Languedoc; Francis was brought up by his father to admire that renaissance of poetic and artistic culture so splendid in southern France until destroyed by the Albigensian Crusade. The

boy had been christened John, but his father called him Francis out of love for France and taught him the French language, or more accurately the Provençal form of it which was spoken all the way from Tuscany to Catalonia. Francis always kept a taste for the poems and stories of southern France. The influence of this romance culture upon Francis was profound, but, after his sudden and marvellous conversion, interest in it became secondary to his passionate love for his fellowmen.

Francis was twenty-four years of age before his vision became clear. A short experience of knight errantry had disillusioned him of the joy in feats of arms. A sudden emotional revolution changed him into a creature of purity and sincerity. Dressed in an old cloak that had once belonged to his father's gardener, he lived alone in a hut made of branches, and at other times he made himself useful in the kitchen of a monastery in return for his keep. So convincing was his way, so persuasive his pleading, so charming his manner that soon several other young men of Assisi, of very different social strata, joined him. When they were twelve in number—the number of the original apostles, they went to Rome and secured the approval of Pope Innocent III. When Francis suddenly left Umbria for a year to join the crusades, to visit Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, not as a soldier but as a missionary "to chant the praises of God among the Mohammedans," some of his followers organized the order. The hard-headed pope, the former Cardinal Ugolino, who had known Francis in his youth, saw clearly that, without organization, without rites and observances, and without studies, the Grey Friars might degenerate into a ragged regiment of vagabonds and become a scandal.

In spite of St. Francis—who never wished to found an order— a formal rule was adopted. St. Francis accepted it since it was sanctioned by the pope. In the rule the ideal of absolute poverty was reconciled with the temporal possessions of the order by resorting to the fiction that the order was a holding company for the wealth which poured in upon the Franciscans but that they individually possessed nothing. It was a compromise between world necessity and idealism, which within a century split the Franciscans into two groups, the idealists among them being known as the "Spiritual" Franciscans.

The Franciscans caught the imagination of Europe. They appealed to the lower classes among whom they labored. Their houses were always in the towns and generally situated in the slums. So rapidly did the order increase that at the first general chapter more than five thousand friars were present. In form of government the

Franciscan Order is similar to that of the Dominicans, having a minister-general, provinces, and provincial rulers, provincial assemblies, and elective representation.

The Franciscans and Dominicans revived the earlier missionary spirit of the Irish and English monks of the seventh and eighth centuries and were the creators of modern missions in Asia and Africa. They also—or rather St. Francis himself—exercised a very great influence upon poetry and art in the later Middle Ages.[1]

THE DECLINE OF THE PAPACY

With all the advantage that the Church derived from so effective a tribunal as the Inquisition, and from so vital a new monastic contribution, no successor of Innocent III was ever so strong as he had been. Nor did the ruin of the empire at Frederick II's death in 1250 really guarantee world supremacy to the pope. Many new forces which had opposed the empire were forces which would oppose any claim to universal rule, and it was no accident that the temporal supremacy of the papacy did not long outlast that of its great rival, the medieval empire.

Boniface VIII (1294–1303) was the last pope in the great tradition derived from Gregory VII and so fully embodied in Innocent

Boniface VIII

---

[1] Francis could read French, Latin, and *Roman,* or Provençal, but could not write and was obliged to have a secretary. He never pretended to be a scholar and, indeed, had no great admiration for scholars and scholarship. He was "romantic" in the highest and purest sense of that word. He never lost his liking for old French poetical romances. Even after he was converted, in his heart he thought of himself as the paladin of his liege lady, Lady Poverty, who was his ideal of virtue, as Beatrice was to Dante. To the end of his life he was a troubadour—"God's troubadour." One day when a novice asked the saint, if despite his vow to possess nothing save the clothes which he wore, he might own a book of psalms, Francis burst out and asked the young man why he should wish to read his prayers from a book. "Did the Emperor Charlemain or Roland or Oliver, did the paladins, the heroes and the knights of old, content themselves with reading? No! they fought and wrought and labored and bled and died to get their famous victories." Poetry and music were inspiration and consolation to him. One day, being very ill and temporarily stricken with blindness, he fell into a trance and, on awakening, recited the magnificent *Hymn of the Sun* which is his great contribution to Italian literature. It is almost pagan in its worship of nature, but the sun is the very symbol of the Most High. When on the verge of death, St. Francis picked up two sticks of wood and, scraping the one upon the other as if it were a viol, he improvised songs in Provençal. St. Francis was the first Italian poet to write in the vernacular, "half inventing a language not yet in full flower, which in another hundred years shall offer its reddest rose to Dante." On early Renaissance art, especially upon Giotto, St. Francis's influence was very great, and the incidents of his life provided themes for painters and sculptors second only in influence to subjects drawn from the Bible.

III. Resolved to rule as they had done, he sadly underrated the growth of royal power and national states during the thirteenth century. He was very successful in adding to his family estates at the expense of other great Roman families like the Colonna, and he expected victory over the kings of France and England to be no more difficult. He was cruelly undeceived.

In 1294, when Boniface became pope, England and France were at war. He offered to intervene, and the kings of both countries declined his offer. He determined to coerce them by cutting off the subsidies they were raising for their war, and in 1296 issued the first of a great series of bulls, *Clericis laicos* (1296), which forbade any taxation whatsoever of Church property anywhere without the pope's consent. Edward I's reply was to declare the Church of England outside of the protection of the law, since the Church would pay nothing for the protection it got from government. Philip IV forbade the export of gold and other precious metals and jewels out of France, which effectively deprived the pope of Peter's Pence and all other revenues derived from the Church in France.

Humiliation of Anagni

An acrimonious correspondence between the kings and the pope culminated finally in 1302 in the bull *Unam Sanctam*. "We declare, affirm, define, and pronounce that it is altogether necessary unto salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff." Submission to papal authority was declared to be an article of faith. Philip replied by sending his minister, Nogaret, across the Alps to seize Boniface and bring him to France for trial before a general council of the Church. Nogaret was joined by Sciarra Colonna, and they stormed the pope's palace at Anagni and arrested him. He refused to yield to their terms, and they released him in a few days. A month later (October 1303) he died, and the temporal supremacy of the papacy ended.

Papacy at Avignon

The victory of the king of France over the papacy was soon demonstrated to the world. Pope Clement V removed the papal court from Rome to Avignon on the Rhone in 1309 and there the popes (all French) remained for nearly seventy years. The court at Avignon was luxurious, and increased papal expenditure required increased papal revenue. Fees for the appointment of bishops and abbots greatly increased, and the fee-system was extended to almost every other office in the Church. Pluralities were lucrative sources of revenue. The popes enormously extended the appellate jurisdiction of the Holy See, so that cases which heretofore had got no further than the bishops' courts now were remanded to the *curia*, in which the fees exacted were of a staggering magnitude. The administrative system at Avignon was a bureaucracy, a maze of seals

and fees. The prodigal circulation of indulgences was another source of revenue.

Most contemporary ecclesiastical writers who condemned the corruption of the Church did not attack the office of the pope or impugn his authority or governing power but protested against the corruption and abuses in the papal practice. Political resentment grew in England when the popes sustained the kings of France during the Hundred Years' War by loaning them money which the faithful in England paid into the papal coffers.

Rome itself suffered terribly from the absence of the popes. The States of the Church were invaded, and patrimonies, towns, and even provinces were seized. Rome and the Campagna bristled with fortified strongholds. The Colosseum, the arches of Titus and Severus, the theater of Marcellus, and other ancient imperial structures were converted into castles and garrisoned with hired soldiery. For some years the romantic Cola di Rienzi maintained a Roman republic, but his success degenerated into excess and he was killed in 1354 by the furious populace.

The medieval popes were never popular with the Romans, but the people appreciated the value of the papal office to them. Rome was not a city of commerce or trade. It lived on the business brought to the *curia* and on the pilgrims who came to visit the shrines there. All this prosperity vanished when the popes removed to Avignon. Accordingly when Gregory XI died in Rome, the municipal officials clapped the cardinals who had accompanied him into prison and declared that they must elect a pope who would restore the papacy to Rome. A mob from Trastevere, where the lower working class lived, invaded the residence of one of the Italian cardinals, to whom the leader said: "Since the death of Boniface VIII France has been gorging herself with gold. It is time that we Romans had a chance." The frightened cardinals were in a flutter of apprehension. They were so divided that they could reach no agreement. Of the sixteen cardinals, six were Italians, and only four were pro-French. No party was strong enough to command the eleven votes required to elect a pope.

The clamor of the people of Rome who wanted a Roman or, at least, an Italian became so violent that the cardinals were terrified into a hasty election and chose the bishop of Bari, a subject of the half-French Angevin dynasty of Naples, who was not even a cardinal. He took the name of Urban VI. As soon as released, the frightened cardinals, except five who remained in Rome, fled for their lives. The new pope himself remained in hiding for some time. Thirteen cardinals assembled at Anagni, after declaring Urban

VI's election invalid as having been under compulsion, and elected
Robert of Geneva who took the name of Clement VII.

Great Schism   The religious and ecclesiastical allegiance of Europe was thus
divided between pope and anti-pope, although which was which no
one could determine. One pope reigned from Rome, while the other
from Avignon. Since neither pope would abdicate, the simple solu-
tion would have been that, when one of the rivals died, his parti-
sans would have recognized the other as pope. Instead, each party
continued to elect successors; thus the schism was prolonged for
years, and Europe was split into two ecclesiastical obediences. The
influence of Charles V of France was so great that he drew most
of the Latin nations—as well as Scotland—to the side of Clement
VII. England, since she was at war with France, adhered to Urban
VI, as did also the Emperor Charles IV and most of the German
princes.

Sincere Christians felt wounded in spirit and were sorely distressed·
over their salvation. Which sacramental system was effective? For
each pope declared the other to be anti-Christ. Urban VI died at
Rome in 1389, but the Roman cardinals lost no time in electing
the cardinal-bishop of Naples as Boniface IX. Five years later the
door to a settlement seemed to be opened when Clement VII died
(1394). At the instigation of the University of Paris, Charles VI
of France sent a message to the cardinals of Avignon asking them
to suspend the election of a new pope until some measures could
be adopted in the interest of reunion of the Church. Unfortunately,
Peter de Luna, Cardinal of Aragon, had already been elected. Bene-
dict XIII and Boniface IX faced each other as rival popes, and the
schism was continued. Boniface IX's pontificate was one of shame-
less covetousness and traffic in church offices. His successor, Inno-
cent VII, made a gesture for the termination of the schism to Bene-
dict XIII, but neither took a step towards its accomplishment. When
Innocent died in 1406, the Roman cardinals made a half-hearted
overture to the French cardinals with a view to composing the dif-
ferences. The agreement provided that the new pope' should be
bound to resign in event of the two colleges of cardinals demand-
ing it in order to promote the concord of the Church. On this con-
dition Gregory XII was elected. Savona, near Genoa, was chosen
as the place for conference. In 1407 the anti-pope (if he was anti-
pope) arrived there, but Gregory XII refused to come.

Council of   By this time the deadlock had prevailed so long and the issue
Pisa   was so intense that the University of Paris proposed that a general
council be called to settle it. In 1409 a self-constituted synod, which
called itself a "council," met at Pisa, declared the deposition of

both popes, and elected Alexander V, the Cardinal of Milan, who was an old man. He died within a year and was succeeded by John XXIII. There were now three popes, "One for each Person of the Trinity," it was said by a blasphemous Italian wit. The faculty of the University of Paris, led by its noble-minded and scholarly rector, Jean Gerson, had long been arguing that the sole solution of the schism was for a General Council to be convened. But who could call it? Since Gregory VII's time only the pope had authority to summon a General Council. But among three popes, which one was *the* pope? Until that question was settled, no council could be said to have legal validity. This had been the defect with the "council" of Pisa. The Emperor Sigismund finally called the council, grounding his authority to do so on the action of Constantine who had called the Council of Nicaea in A.D. 325.

The Council of Constance (1414–1417) has always been reckoned as the seventeenth General Council. Its first act was to depose John XXIII; Gregory XII, who had been deposed at Pisa, abdicated. There remained Benedict XIII, who refused to submit to the Council, but was deposed.[1] *Council of Constance*

Before electing a new pope, the council considered the problem of a virulent heresy rampant in Bohemia, where John Huss had substantially adopted the views of Wyclif. John Wyclif (died 1384), an Oxford professor, had opposed the pope at Avignon on political grounds, and then broke away from Church doctrine and became a heretic in the first year of the Great Schism (1378). Wyclif held that Church and state are independent, that each is supreme in its sphere, and the Church had no right to lord it over the state. The Bible was the fundamental source of the Church. There was no warrant for the doctrine of the Petrine supremacy in the New Testament. Canon law and tradition were without authority. For use by his Lollard preachers and in order to make the Bible an open book to the people, Wyclif translated the Vulgate into English. *John Wyclif*

John Huss, rector of the University of Prague, which the Emperor Charles IV had established in 1348, was inspired by Wyclif's writings and preached his theological and political doctrines. He added only one new demand to Wyclif's teachings—that the laity should have the right to partake of the wine of the communion service and not the wafer only. This was known as the Utraquist doctrine, or communion in *each* (*uterque*—each) element of the *John Huss*

---

[1] He retired to his ancestral château at Luna in Aragon and when he left Avignon he took nearly one-half of the rich papal library with him. He died in his ninetieth year (1424), still claiming to be pope and so signing his letters, and still with a few cardinals around him.

Mass. Huss came to Constance with a safe conduct from the Emperor Sigismund, but the council paid no attention to it. Huss and his disciple, Jerome of Prague, were found guilty of heresy and burned at the stake.

The most urgent problem of all, the general reform of abuses in the Church, was discussed at length, but no agreement could be reached in any particular measure of reform. Finally the council decided to leave reform to the new pope and a future council. They proceeded then to elect Cardinal Otto Colonna.[1] He took the name of Martin V (1417–1431) and removed the papacy to Rome —the Rome of the Renaissance.

The Council of Constance ended the Schism; it "scotched" but did not suppress the heresy of Huss; but it failed to reform abuses in the Church. The failure to reform the Church in the fifteenth century was, indeed, the primary cause of the Reformation in the sixteenth century.

After the burning of Huss, his followers took up arms, burned monasteries, and drove priests from their parishes. The pope pro-

Ewing Galloway

PALACE OF THE POPES, AVIGNON, FRANCE

[1] Great-grandson of that Sciarra Colonna who had conspired with Philip IV of France to remove Boniface VIII from the papal throne.

claimed a crusade, and a great army of Germans invaded Bohemia. A great military genius, John Ziska, drove the crusaders back, and new crusades after his death failed. Martin V was practically forced by public opinion to call the Council of Basel to deal with the heresy. He died before the council met, and his successor, Pope Eugenius IV, tried first to postpone it, and then have it meet in Bologna. The council refused to obey and proceeded to work out a satisfactory compromise with the Hussites (allowing communion in both kinds). Then the council discussed reform and passed some decrees which Eugenius IV accepted. The council passed more decrees limiting papal power, which Eugenius IV could not accept, and a long conflict followed, in the course of which the council by its violence lost more and more popular support. The pope called his own council, which met in Ferrara and then moved to Florence, and effected a fleeting union with the Greek Church. The apparent success of the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1439) exasperated the members of the Council of Basel, and they set up an anti-pope. This action discredited them completely, and it was clear, long before the council was actually dissolved in 1449, that the pope was again supreme in the Church. The conciliar movement that had seriously threatened to establish a kind of representative government in the Church had failed hopelessly.

Council of Ferrara-Florence

COLLATERAL READING

S. Baldwin, *The Organization of Medieval Christianity*, 1929.

W. F. Barry, *The Papal Monarchy*, 1902.

L. E. Binns, *Decline and Fall of the Medieval Papacy*, 1934.

G. G. Coulton, *Life in the Middle Ages*, 1931.

A. C. Flick, *The Rise of the Medieval Church*, 1909.

The Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII. Translated by E. Emerton, 1932.

The Little Flowers; The Life of St. Francis; and *The Mirror of Perfection*. Translated by T. Okey, E. G. Salter, R. Steele, 1910.

S. R. Packard, *Europe and the Church under Innocent III*, 1927.

P. Sabatier, *St. Francis*, 1930.

D. S. Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, Volume V, *The Middle Ages*, 1907.

E. Vacandard, *The Inquisition*, 1908.

CHAPTER XVI

Medieval France and England

BATTLE OF HASTINGS

WITH the deposition of Charles the Fat (887), the political unity of the Carolingian empire was forever destroyed. Each country flew off on an orbit of its own, and within each country—in France more rapidly than in Germany or Italy—royal power disintegrated. As the monarchy weakened, great fiefs split off and became virtually independent. The principal feudal states in the north were Francia, Flanders, Burgundy, Brittany, Anjou, and later Normandy; in the south Toulouse, Aquitaine, Gascony, and Auvergne. The duchy of Francia [1] was the strongest of these states, and its ruler, Odo, Duke of Francia, and Count of Paris, was chosen king to replace Charles the Fat. Odo had just won a great reputation for his brilliant defense of Paris against the Norsemen, but he accomplished very little as king, and at his death (898) a Carolingian prince, Charles the Simple, succeeded to the throne. Charles the Simple proved wise enough to put an end to the constant warfare between the Franks and the Norsemen by recognizing the Norse chieftain Rolf as a vassal and creating him duke of a new

[1] "Francia," was the territory north of the Loire, the core of which was the basin of the Seine, with Paris its center of gravity. When in 987 Hugh Capet, a grandson of Odo's brother, Robert of Paris, was made king, the term *Francia* was extended to the whole kingdom, and the duchy of Francia became known as the Ile-de-France. The territory represented the royal domain of the early Capetians.

principality, the Duchy of Normandy (911). The only condition, other than the customary feudal obligations of a homage and service to an overlord, was that the Norsemen should abandon their heathen religion and become Christian.

After the creation of Normandy, Charles the Simple tried to extend his power in Lorraine, but he failed and was deposed in 922 by a feudal coalition, headed by Odo's brother, Robert, Duke of Francia. Robert became king, but he was killed the next year and was succeeded by his son-in-law. Rudolf, Duke of Burgundy. When Rudolf died, Carolingian influence was strong enough to secure the election of the exiled son of Charles the Simple, and Carolingian rule continued to 987 (Louis IV, 936–954; Lothair, 954–986; Louis V, 986–987). The last Carolingian rulers were kings in name only, for they were never able to exert any authority over the great fiefs. Particularly impressive was the growth of the power of the dukes of Francia, Hugh the Great (923–956) and his son, Hugh Capet (956– 996).[1] In 987 when the Carolingian line ended, Hugh Capet, the most powerful feudal prince, was elected king.

The year 987 is a critical date and marks the beginning of the French monarchy as the Middle Ages knew it. Nevertheless at the moment it was not a new era. The royal authority of which Hugh Capet became possessor could not recover at once. The Church and the great barons were the real power in the realm. Hugh Capet, chosen and crowned by the Archbishop of Rheims, was only a baron among barons before he was consecrated to be king. At the moment of his coronation he was unable to exercise the royal authority outside of his own domains. He and his immediate successors ruled only the territory around Paris and Orléans, the Ile-de-France, Brie, Beauvais, Valois. The Bishops of Beauvais, Noyon, Châlons, Laon, Orléans, Langres, and the Archbishops of Rheims and Sens were the king's vassals. The monarchy founded by Hugh Capet emerged from the feudal society which was formed in the ninth and tenth centuries. Feudalism had produced its own royal dynasty and its own peculiar form of government. Hugh Capet was at once the first of feudal suzerains *and* king. The new king's position was in harmony with the new feudal society. An hereditary seigniorial authority, based upon substantial landed possessions, was combined with the kingship, whose prerogatives, although at the time attenuated

---

[1] Hugh Capet's surname derived from the fact that he habitually wore a short cape in imitation of an abbot's cape indicative of his office of lay abbot of St. Martin of Tours. It was a studied pose in order to ingratiate himself with the monks of the many monasteries which he controlled, for they were not without influence.

CAPETIAN KINGS OF FRANCE

Hugh, the Great

HUGH CAPET
987-96

ROBERT, 996-1031

HENRY I., 1031-60

PHILIP I., 1060-1108

LOUIS VI., 1108-37

LOUIS VII., 1137-80

Margaret ═ Henry, son of Henry II.   PHILIP II., Augustus
of England   1180-1223

LOUIS VIII., 1223-26

(St.) LOUIS IX., 1126-70

PHILIP III.   Robert, D. of Clermont
1270-85   (ancestor of the
Bourbons)

PHILIP IV., 1285-1314   Charles, C. of Valois
d. 1325

LOUIS X.   Isabella ═ Edward II. PHILIP V.   CHARLES IV.   PHILIP VI.
1314-16   of England   1316-22   1322-28

to mere theories, nevertheless in strong hands might be revived and become effective again. In theory the French monarchy was not feudal but royal. The monarchical idea had in fact been transmitted without a break. The accession of Hugh Capet marked only a dynastic not a political or social revolution. Nothing new was founded. What the Carolingians had claimed as kings, the Capetians also claimed and asserted. Consecrated by the Church, the Capetians regarded themselves the legitimate successors of the two previous Frankish dynasties. The hereditary principle was combined with the custom, introduced by Hugh Capet, of crowning the heir during the lifetime of the reigning king (*coöptation*). Thus gradually a fixed rule of hereditary succession obtained, and the elective principle was destroyed.

Coming to the throne by ecclesiastical influence, the French monarchy from the first leaned upon the support of the Church. The royal officials were clericals, the Church furnished the chief ministers of the crown, of whom Suger, Abbot of St. Denis and chief minister of Louis VI and Louis VII, is a shining example. The power of feudalism, which everywhere sought to control the local church, drove the Church to the king's side for protection. Bishops and abbots constantly asserted that they owned no other lord than the king. The royal prerogative of *regale,* which gave the king ecclesiastical control during the vacancy of a see, tended to increase the royal power in regions outside of the royal domain. The kings managed to keep control over episcopal elections and always to exact the oath of fealty from new bishops immediately after consecration. *Church influence*

The crown also kept the monasteries subservient through control of their temporalities. It must be remembered that during the early Middle Ages feudalism had made heavy inroads upon monastic property. The king himself, as patron, protector, and advocate of certain abbeys, ultimately became their lay abbot. Hugh Capet and his successors were lay abbots of St. Martin of Tours, of St. Germain-des-Prés, of St. Germain d'Auxerre, of Morienval, and other abbeys. *Importance of monasteries*

Thus the Church aided the crown in three ways: (1) politically —bishops and abbots were frequently the king's ministers; (2) financially—the Church furnished the largest portion of the king's revenue; and (3) militarily—the contingents furnished by the Church constituted the largest part of the royal army.

For the management of the royal domain the kings created a local administrative machinery which stood them in good stead. Upon every separate domain was a provost (*prévôt*) who was held *Local administration*

accountable for the royal revenue and for the administration of justice. Hundreds of charters addressed to the *prévôts* survive, showing the solicitude of the kings for efficient government of their domain. Besides these officials the kings made large use of bishops and abbots in matters of administration.

Great as these Capetian advantages were in the long run, the monarchy under Hugh Capet and his immediate successors was still very weak. Three reigns spanned the eleventh century (Robert II, 996–1031; Henry I, 1031–1060; Philip I, 1060–1108), and this fortunate longevity of the Capetian kings did much to establish the principle of hereditary succession.

Philip I

Thus the French monarchy grew slowly, but it hardened as it grew. Each increase of authority, each acquisition of territory, however small, enlarged the royal power in just that degree. Lands added to the royal domain at the expense of the feudality gradually gave the crown a growing preponderance. Still the king of France was so far from being actual ruler of his kingdom that the two most critical events in French history during the long reign of Philip I (1060–1108) were events in which the king took no part—the Norman conquest of England (1066) and the First Crusade (1095). One notable service, however, Philip did achieve for the monarchy: he arrived at a successful compromise of the investiture controversy with the pope. He gave up formal investiture of bishops and abbots, although he kept his control over ecclesiastical elections. This compromise not only paved the way for the end of the investiture difficulties in England and the empire (1122), but it inaugurated that alliance between France and the papacy which became a cardinal factor of European history.

It was with the support of the Church that Philip I's son Louis VI (1108–1137) proceeded to establish royal power so effectively that he has been called the real founder of the French monarchy. He deliberately restricted his field of activity to the Ile-de-France, Paris, and the immediate vicinity, and within narrow limits he did a great work. Fighting constantly against the robber barons that infested the roads, he achieved free communication between Paris and Rheims, Beauvais, and Amiens to the east, and Orléans, Chartres, and Bourges to the south. As trade increased and communes arose, the king took them under his protection whenever they appeared on the lands of his vassals. On his own domain he could oppose them very grimly.

Successful as Louis VI was in his reduction of the petty lords of the Ile-de-France, he was never able to control the great feudatories. Against the greatest of them, the Duke of Normandy, he fought

MONARCHICAL DOMAIN

FIEF HOLDINGS OF THE COUNT OF BLOIS

ECCLESIASTICAL TERRITORIES

OTHER CROWN FIEF HOLDINGS

ROMAN EMPIRE BOUNDARIES (GERMAN
NATION) HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

FRANCE IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

for twenty-five years with no hope of victory. This duke of Normandy was Henry I (1100–1135), King of England, whose power was so great as to threaten the very existence of the French monarchy. The threat grew even more menacing when, after his only son was drowned, Henry I arranged for the succession of his widow's daughter, the Empress Matilda, and married her to Geoffrey, Count of Anjou. Fortunately this situation was retrieved by the marriage arranged in the last year of Louis VI's reign for his son, the young Louis VII. Prince Louis was chosen by the Duke of Aquitaine to be the husband of his daughter and heiress, Eleanor, and Louis VI could die happy in the thought that he had at least counterbalanced the English-Norman-Angevin preponderance in France.

The death of Louis VI (1137) made little change in the government, for his chief minister, Suger, Abbot of St. Denis, became the real ruler and continued his policies very effectively. While Louis VII (1137–1180) and Eleanor were in the East for three years on the Second Crusade, Suger was regent of the kingdom. The king and queen came back from the crusade on very bad terms, but Suger managed to prevent a divorce during his lifetime. He died in 1151, and early in 1152 the marriage was dissolved. Queen Eleanor went home to Bordeaux and speedily married Henry Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, Duke of Normandy, soon to be king of England (1154). A Plantagenet empire was created that reached from Scotland to the Pyrenees.

Possessing infinitely less ability than his father, Louis VII had to oppose a vastly greater danger. Fortunately, most of Henry II's time had to be spent in England, and he could give only intermittent attention to his continental affairs. It was impossible for him to consolidate an agglomeration of provinces which differed from one another in nature, culture, and historical development. The Angevin empire was merely a physical combination of territories loosely held together by the circumstance that each of them had the same ruler, but there was no accord between them. Louis VII did what he could to foment rebellion among Henry II's vassals and to stimulate every element of disunion, but he was never able to weaken the Plantagenet position.

In 1165 he was encouraged by the birth, at long last, of a son, Philip Augustus, in whom he centered all his hopes. As soon as Philip Augustus (1180–1223) became king, the situation of the monarchy began to improve. The young king was perfectly clear in his aims: the acquisition of territory at the expense of the Plantagenets; the increase of the royal power and development of a strong government; and the augmentation of the resources and revenues of the crown.

The Plantagenet problem came first, and Philip II was always ready to join the sons of Henry II, some of whom were always in revolt against their father. So long as Henry II lived, Philip II gained very little, and in spite of all his efforts he failed against Richard Lion-heart (1189–1199). He went on the Third Crusade with Richard, deserted him at Acre, and came home to seize lands on the Norman border. Fortune seemed to favor the King of France, for Richard, returning from the crusade, was captured (by Leopold of Austria) and held for ransom by the Emperor Henry VI. However, as soon as he was set free (1194), Richard's military genius enabled him to recover all that Philip had seized, and then he erected the great Château Gaillard on a height on the Seine above Rouen in order to protect Normandy.[1]

Plantagenet problem

In 1199 Richard was killed besieging a castle in Aquitaine and was succeeded by his youngest brother, John (1199–1216). Now Philip found his real opportunity. England and Normandy at once accepted John. But the Angevin provinces, Anjou, Touraine, Maine, and Brittany, supported by the French king, acknowledged John's nephew, Arthur of Brittany. Arthur was captured and sent to Rouen where King John was. Although no particulars are known, there can be no reasonable doubt that his uncle secretly murdered him, probably with his own hand.

Angevin revolt against John

The failure of the movement in favor of Arthur stirred Philip Augustus, who hitherto had been watchfully awaiting events, to action. In 1200 John had married Isabel of Angoulême who was betrothed to Hugh of Lusignan, John's vassal. This vassal appealed, as he had the right to do, to John's feudal overlord, no less a person than the King of France. Philip Augustus saw his chance and summoned John to appear before his court in Paris to show cause why he should not be condemned for "failure of justice" (*defectus justitiae*) toward his vassal. John ignored the citation, and the case went by default against him. In feudal law the severest penalty an overlord could inflict upon a recalcitrant vassal was to deprive him of his fief.

Europe was astonished when in 1204 the King of France declared that the King of England had forfeited the provinces of Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, Maine, and Poitou. Half of the An-

Loss of Normandy

---

[1] Richard Lion-heart was no administrator, but he was a consummate soldier and a really great military engineer. Until this time Europe had never seen so stupendous a castle. It covered acres of ground, and its walls were from eight to fourteen feet thick; it was protected by seventeen bastions and towers and triple lines of outworks between which lay deep moats. It was impregnable to everything except treason or starvation. The English king had learned a good deal about military architecture, some of it Saracen, when in the East.

gevin "empire" in France was annexed to the French crown. At a single stroke, Philip II doubled the territory of the French monarchy, his military and financial resources, and the royal power. England still held Guienne and Gascony in the southwest of the French kingdom, but they could now be reached only by sea. All the territory between the Channel and the Loire river had been lost to England. The English loss of Normandy and the adjacent provinces was a major event in medieval history.

Battle of Bouvines

In 1213 the issue acquired European dimensions and became telescoped with international problems. Innocent III had repudiated Emperor Otto IV and elevated young Frederick II against him. At the same time the pope was in conflict with John of England who was Otto IV's uncle. John and Otto IV formed an alliance, which was joined by the Count of Flanders, who dreaded French invasion. The defeat of France would not only weaken the pope, but might also compel Philip II to restore some or all of the former provinces of England in France, which John had lost in 1204.

The great battle, which like Alexander's sword cut many Gordian knots, was fought on July 27, 1214, at Bouvines. It was a great French victory. French historians have unanimously regarded Bouvines as a milestone on the road to the formation of modern France, the first truly national achievement.[1] The victory at Bouvines guaranteed to Philip the possession of Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine, and marked the complete success of his first aim, the reduction of Angevin empire. In his other policies, the increase of royal power and of crown revenues, he was no less successful.

Bailiffs or baillis

Philip's first important administrative innovation was made in 1190, in anticipation of his departure for the Holy Land. This was the creation of the bailiffs. When he came to the throne, the local officials of the monarchy were the provosts (*prévôts*) and their subordinates, vicars and beadles in the towns. These officers collected the royal incomes and administered local justice. Experience showed that the provosts abused their authority and further needed to be checked because of the tendency of all feudal offices to become hereditary, and thereby independent of the royal authority. Accordingly in 1190, Philip II combined a number of adjacent *prévôtés* into a larger circuit called a bailiwick (*baillage*), the official over which was called a bailiff (*bailli*). He was a royal appointee and was paid a fixed salary instead of the ancient custom of collecting fees, which was always a temptation for tyranny and petty graft.

---

[1] Philip II owed the victory less to his feudal cavalry than to the militia of the French towns. It was the second instance—the battle of Legnano in 1176 was the first—when burgher infantry had prevailed over feudal cavalry.

The bailiff was at once the local political, judicial, fiscal, and military agent of the monarchy in the royal domain only. In a smaller sphere the institution of the bailiffs was not unlike the English sheriffs.

The most important administrative change effected by Philip II, however, was in the working of the central government. The chief organ was the *curia regis,* the royal court. This was a loose body composed of such bishops and great nobles as happened to be in Paris, a number of the king's vassals (small barons whom the king could easily control), the princes of the blood, and the chief officials of the court—seneschal, butler, chamberlain, and, above all, the chancellor, who was always a Churchman. This *curia* was at once an advisory council, a legislative body, and a court of justice. Its functions were varied; it had no fixed seat, although the preference of the king for Paris made that city the usual place of its sessions. The increase of the authority and power of the crown reduced the importance of the feudal and clerical element in the *curia regis.* Two factors were responsible for this feudal decline. One of these was the formation of a lawyer class imbued with the ideas of royal prerogative arising from the revived study of the Roman law; the other was a development of a distinction in the membership of the court itself—the peers. The first led to the growth of a corps of technically trained judges, the second to the formation of a group of preferred high nobles whose rank, wealth, political influence were utilized by the king for the coercion of a restless and reckless feudality, impatient of being controlled. *Curia regis*

The enormous increase in the military resources of the French crown by the annexation of the former English fiefs, the nobles in which became French vassals after 1204, is self-evident. It is not possible to make a map of the royal domain or to determine the annual receipts in Philip II's reign. But one figure which has come down is in itself significant. An old manuscript found in 1879 reveals that Louis VII in his last years hardly disposed of 19,000 *livres* per month, whereas in 1223 Philip II had a daily income of 1200 *livres,* or nearly double his father's revenue. *Income of French crown*

Paris became the most splendid city in Christian Europe in the reign of Philip II. He built the oldest unit of the palace of the Louvre; he laid down the first pavement in Paris; he founded the University of Paris in 1200. The magnificent cathedral of Notre Dame was begun in 1182 and completed in the first quarter of the next century. *Paris*

The long and splendid reign of Philip Augustus was followed by the regrettably short reign of Louis VIII (1223–1226), who con-

tinued his father's strong administration and added to the royal domain in Languedoc. His sudden death, and the accession of his twelve-year-old son, Louis IX (1226–1270), provoked a crisis.

The enormous increase of the royal authority in France under Philip II and Louis VIII occasioned a violent reaction immediately after Louis IX came to the throne; the uprising was crushed by the energy and ability of the queen-mother, Blanche of Castile. Medieval history can point to no nobler woman than this queen. Her mother was Eleanor, a daughter of Henry II of England and the famous Eleanor of Aquitaine. Blanche inherited the best qualities of her maternal ancestors and transmitted them to her son. The just and gentle character of Louis IX was formed by his mother. The regency lasted until 1236, but until her death in 1252 Blanche exercised great influence over the administration.

In the course of the reign the French crown absorbed the great province of Toulouse and its dependencies, as the result of the shattered condition of things in the south of France after the Albigensian Crusade, so that the royal domain extended from the Channel to the Mediterranean. The king's piety, in spite of his gentle nature, would not brook heresy and he had no compunctions in profiting politically from the effects of the crusade.

Under Louis IX there was a notable development of the French monarchy as an institution. This was in direct continuation of the policy of Philip Augustus, who had done much to eliminate the feudal element in the king's high court of justice and introduced the principles of Roman law to the extrusion of feudal law. Louis IX completed this process, and in his reign the Parlement of Paris emerged as a trained body of judges, no one of whom was of either feudal or ecclesiastical status. The beginnings of the absolute monarchy of France are found in the reforms of the judiciary made by Louis IX. In fact, Louis IX created a new class, the *noblesse de la robe,* an administrative nobility. This new principle was also extended to other officials—seneschals who were set over the bailiffs and provosts, and special commissioners known as *enquêteurs,* whose duty was to supervise the administration of justice, always a matter of deep interest to the king. Legislation was expressed in the form of royal ordinances framed by the king and his counsellors, which later were collected into the code of laws known as the *Establishments of St. Louis.* Justice and efficiency characterized Louis IX's collection of taxes.

All in all, the king was an excellent embodiment of medieval kingship, and although he was canonized after his death for his piety, he equally deserved to be so honored because of his enlight-

FRANCE in 1270

Royal Domain—Boundaries, Kingdom of France
Domains of Kings of England
Lands—Alfonse of Poitiers (By Treaty 1259-1279) (Joined in Domains, 1271)
Lands—Charles of Anjou
Lands—Robert of Artois
Sundry other Tenures

FRANCE about 1224

Extent of Royal Domain on Philip's Accession
Acquired from Plantagenets
Acquired from other Liegemen
Plantagenet Lands (1223)
Lands of other Liegemen

ened administration of justice and the mildness and intelligence of his rule. His nature was as sincere and as beautiful as that of St. Francis. Louis IX was the perfect gentleman and, indeed, was as proud of the title, "The first gentleman of France," as he was of being king. He was deeply religious, but he was not pious in any narrow sense. He liked good company and conversation and was the first French king who was fond of books. The universal esteem in which Louis IX was held by all Europe is a tribute to his character. No writer has written a disparaging word of him. Even the Mohammedans respected him, although he made two crusades against them.[1]

Unfortunately the happy equilibrium created by Louis IX between the monarchy and the feudality could not last. A strong monarchy in the hands of a just and able king was a blessing, but a strong monarchy in the hands of an ambitious and unscrupulous ruler was oppressive. The reign of Philip III, le Hardi, or the Rash (1270–1285), was a period of transition. To the old and reduced, if not vanished, evils of too much feudalism succeeded the excesses and abuses which spring from strong but irresponsible kingship. Except for these sinister manifestations, the reign of Philip III is remarkable only for his unsuccessful war with Aragon in order to avenge the affront of the Sicilian Vespers—the massacre of the French in Sicily in 1282.

The evils which were foreshadowed under Philip III became realities with the accession of Philip IV the Fair (1285–1314). The administration of Philip IV is a landmark in the growth of the French monarchy which now verged upon absolutism. The great instruments of the central government developed fully in the reign of Philip. These instruments included the Parlement of Paris, the chamber of accounts, and the court of aids, which dealt exclusively with causes in feudal law, which by this time were of inferior importance to *cas royaux,* or "royal causes," requiring the immediate and direct jurisdiction of the crown. The grand officials of the king, in this time, became powerful ministers of state. That preponderance of the monarchy over feudal power and authority which began in the reign of Philip II was almost whole and complete under

[1] One must read the charming biography of him written by the Sire de Joinville, for forty years his equerry and his friend and confidant, if one would really understand the king. Of Louis IX's zeal for the Church, Joinville says: "As the transcriber illuminates the book which he is writing with gold and azure, so the king illuminated his realm with the fine abbeys which he built, with *maisons-dieu* (hospitals, literally houses of God), and houses for the friars preacher (the Dominicans), the Franciscans, the Carthusians and many other religious orders."

Philip IV. The king's ministers, the great legists, Guillaume de Nogaret and Pierre Flote, derived their theory of royal supremacy from the Roman law of absolutism, and they proceeded to crush any opposition, whether it was feudal, ecclesiastical, or even papal. It may have been the legists and not the king himself who initiated this policy of royal absolutism.

The energy and ability which Philip IV and his ministers displayed in every branch of government—justice, taxation, finance, regulation of commerce and trade and of weights and measures—are astonishing. Some of his measures are notorious, especially those which had to do with money and finance, for the king was in constant need of money.

Fall of the Temple

It was his need of money that led him to tax ecclesiastical property and to become involved in the controversy with Boniface VIII. After his triumph over the papacy, he destroyed the Order of the Knights Templars in order to confiscate their wealth. They had lost their real reason for existence with the fall of Acre, and, as they had long been the chief bankers and moneylenders in Christendom, they were pretty generally disliked. It was easy for Philip IV to excite popular animosity against them, and almost overnight these former heroes of the crusades were believed to be heretics and guilty of monstrous crimes and immoral practice. Most, if not all, the charges were trumped up and sustained by false witnesses and forged evidence. In one day fifty-six Templars were burned alive in Paris. Clement V, the first French pope who succeeded Boniface VIII, was a tool of the king and consented to the destruction of the Templars (1312). Every government in Europe imitated the example of Philip IV, and within a few years the great Templar Order was exterminated, and all its wealth confiscated. The property of the Knights Templars was to be given to the Knights Hospitallers, but the transfer was made by the royal officials, and it was the king who profited.

First Estates-General

In 1302, in the midst of his controversy with Boniface VIII, Philip IV called the first Estates General. In order to secure the support of the whole nation, he summoned not only the clergy and the nobles but representatives from the third estate—from the towns. He called them again in the affair of the Templars, and during his difficulties in Flanders. By the end of his reign representative government seemed to be as well established as it was in England at the same time (Model Parliament 1295). The Estates General, however, was never to become a major factor in the government of France.

War with England

The long conflict between England and France was now rising to a climax, as the old issue (ever since 1066) of the feudal relation of the two crowns was complicated by commercial rivalry. English and

French interests were opposed to each other in the wool trade of Flanders, the wine trade of Gascony, and the fisheries of the North Sea. The war began in 1292. In vain Boniface VIII attempted to arbitrate. In 1302 Philip IV invaded Flanders but was beaten by an army of Flemish town militia at Courtrai. The war came to an indecisive end because both kings were involved with the pope, but the issues remained, to be finally resolved in the Hundred Years' War.

Philip IV died in 1314, and his three sons reigned in rapid succession (Louis X, 1314–1316; Philip V, 1316–1322; Charles IV, 1322–1328). With the death of Charles IV, the direct line of the Capetians ended. The nearest male heir was Philip of Valois, a nephew of Philip the Fair, who became Philip VI (1328–1350). His succession, however, was contested by England's Edward III, whose mother was a daughter of Philip IV, and by Charles (the Bad) of Navarre, who was a great-grandson of the same king through his mother. To forestall both of these claims to the French throne the legists invented a new construction and application of the ancient law of the Salian Franks which prohibited succession to real property through the female line. It was an ingenious and novel device to apply to the realm of France, a law which originally was applicable only to homestead property (sal).

MEDIEVAL ENGLAND TO THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

In the later ninth century, when the Carolingian empire was dissolving into many feudal kingdoms, England was being united by Alfred the Great (871–901). He inflicted a decisive defeat on the Danes and recovered nearly half of Anglo-Saxon England for his kingdom of Wessex. He reorganized the administration, promoted trade, and fostered a notable revival of learning which featured the study of English as well as Latin. The first work of the period, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* was the first history written in a modern language.

Alfred's work was so brilliantly continued by his successors in the next half century that all England was united under Wessex. Then the Danes came again and had to be bought off by the payment of the "Danegeld," a special tax raised for this purpose. Finally, in 1017, the Danish king, Canute the Great, conquered England and added it to his Scandinavian empire. His reign (1017–1035) made little change in English institutions, and in 1043, when Canute's line died out, Edward the Confessor (1043–1066), of the house of Alfred, became king. Half Norman by birth, he had spent his years of exile in Normandy, and throughout his reign Norman influence

ENGLAND

Gloucester
London
Southampton Portsmouth
Exeter
Plymouth

Dover

ENGLISH CHANNEL

Antwerp
Liège
Brussels
Ostend
Calais
Agincourt
Amiens
Arras

FLANDERS

PICARDY

Rouen
Harfleur
Cherbourg
St. Lo
Bayeux
Caen
Falaise

NORMANDY

Evreux
L'Aigle Verneuil

PERCHE

Chartres

MAINE

BRITTANY

Rennes
Nantes

ANJOU
Angers
Loire

POITOU

ATLANTIC OCEAN

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Verdun
Donremy
Rheims
Châlons
Troyes
CHAMPAGNE
Meaux
Paris
Sens

BURGUNDY
Nevers

BERRY
Orléans
Blois
BLOIS

LA MARCHE

LIMOUSIN
L. of Geneva

GUYENNE
Cahors
Garonne

GASCONY

BEARN

ARAGON

Lyon
LYONNAIS

DAUPHINÉ
Vienne
Valence

Nîmes
Avignon
Arles
Aix
PROVENCE

Rhône
Rhine
Moselle
Meuse
Saône
Seine

FRANCE
at the Death of Henry V,
1422.
Showing the Results of
The Second English Invasion.
Territory which recognized the English king as
King of France:
Territory which remained loyal to the Dauphin:
French Allies of the English:

English Miles.
0   50   100   150

ENGLAND

Gloucester
London
Southampton Portsmouth
Exeter
Plymouth

Dover

ENGLISH CHANNEL

Ostend
Liège
Brussels
Calais
Boulogne
PONTHIEU
Crecy
ARTOIS
Amiens
FLANDERS
RACE

Rouen
Bayeux
NORMANDY
Evreux

BRITTANY
Rennes
Nantes

MAINE

ANJOU
Angers
Loire

POITOU
Poitiers

ATLANTIC OCEAN

Bordeaux
Bayonne
GASCONY

NAVARRE

GUYENNE
Angoulême
Limoges
LIMOUSIN
Dordogne
QUERCY
Rodez
Abi
ROUERGUE
Toulouse
COMMINGES
Bigorre
FOIX

ARAGON

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Soissons
Coucy
Oise
Paris
Chartres
Sens
Chalons
Reims
Verdun
Toul
Bar
BAR
Brienne
CHAMPAGNE
Troyes
Dijon
Chalon
BURGUNDY
Autun
Nevers
BOURBON
Bourges
BERRY
BLOIS
Orléans
LA MARCHE
AUVERGNE
FOREZ
Lyon
L. of Geneva
DAUPHINÉ
Valence
PROVENCE
Avignon
Aix
Arles
Narbonne

FRANCE
FRANCE

FRANCE
at the Peace of Bretigny,
1360.
(The First English Invasion.)

French Crown Lands:
English Possessions:
Other Vassal Lands:

English Miles.
0   50   100   150

SAXON AND
DANISH ENGLAND

Colony of the Danelaw
Settlements of the Norsemen

SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100

grew stronger and stronger. Edward the Confessor died in January, 1066, leaving no direct heir, and the throne was disputed between his brother-in-law, the powerful Earl Harold, and his even more powerful cousin, William, Duke of Normandy. The Witan (council of nobles) chose Harold, and the Duke of Normandy organized an expedition to conquer the kingdom. By accepting the crown, Harold became guilty of perjury since he had once made a solemn vow to support William's claim. The Church was thus involved, and Pope Alexander II gave William his blessing and moral support against the perjurer. In September of 1066 William crossed the Channel with a great army which included many adventurers and landed near Hastings. King Harold, who had just repelled a Danish invasion in the north, rushed south to meet the new invasion. At Hastings, on October 14, the battle was fought that changed history as few events have done. Harold was defeated and killed, and William was accepted as king. London opened its gates, and on Christmas Day he was crowned in Westminster.

For England it was the end of an epoch and the beginning of a new era—the passing of Anglo-Saxon England and the beginning of Norman England, from which time England was governed for two centuries by a foreign ruling class, sprung from three different provincial dynasties of France—Normandy, Blois, and Anjou. English institutions were profoundly changed by the amalgamation of Norman institutions and processes of law with native English institutions, and the domestic and the foreign history of both England and France was greatly influenced by the history of the other country.

William, by virtue of the fact that he had *conquered* England, was master of it as no other king. The immense private lands of Harold and his kindred were seized immediately, and all the land of England was declared forfeited. Thousands of landowners bought back their land at a heavy price. The king had to reward his chief supporters in achieving the conquest, and to this end he distributed the best land in the country among them as "knights' fees" or fiefs. There is very great difficulty in ascertaining the exact number of these, but the traditional number is 60,000. From the beginning William kept the administration of the government in his own hands. The *curia regis* or "court of the king" was at once an executive, judicial, and fiscal body, but it was a more compact assemblage than the *curia regis* of the French king. Bishops and barons sat together in William's court. It met periodically. The king affected great state and held splendid court thrice a year customarily at Westminster (London), Winchester, and Gloucester. There was necessarily a small, permanent group of officials selected from the

curia for constant attention to the routine business of administration.

William preserved and continued the Anglo-Saxon shire system but took care that the magnates should not get their clutches upon it, as feudalism had engrossed the Carolingian count-system in France. The sheriffs were chosen from among the lesser barons.

The Conquerer handled the Church as rigorously as he handled *William's* secular institutions. Bishops were barons. Almost every English *Church policy* bishop was deposed, and his place was filled with a Norman. In his ecclesiastical policy he had the support of Lanfranc, the great Archbishop of Canterbury, who was a Lombard from Pavia and had attained eminence as a lawyer before he became a monk at Bec in Normandy, the school of which he made famous. In 1070 he was called to Canterbury, where he remained until his death in 1089.

The supreme monument of William the Conqueror's genius as *Domesday* a ruler is the *Domesday Book*. This was a general survey and valua- *Book* tion of the land ordered in 1085. It was a census to which no other similar inventory made in the Middle Ages may be compared. So few areas were omitted that the statement in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is nearly true that "so very narrowly did he commission them to trace it out that there was not one single hide nor a yard of land (quarter acre), nay, moreover—it be shameful to tell, though he thought it no shame to do it—nor even an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine, was there left that was not set down in this book."

There have been few abler men or greater rulers than William the Conqueror. "No man ever did his work more effectually at the moment; no man ever left his work behind him as more truly an abiding possession for all time." He was intelligent, masterful, and strong of will. In a hard age, he was one of the sternest of men, and he hammered England into a compact entity, as a smith might hammer iron upon his anvil, to make it the most united kingdom in western Europe. No lord in England might build a strong keep without royal consent, and no man could refuse the king entrance into his castle.

When the Conqueror died in 1087, England and Normandy were *Henry I* separated for some years. The second son William II, surnamed Rufus from his red hair and ruddy complexion, got the crown and the kingdom of England; Robert, the eldest, received Normandy, and Henry, the youngest, got the Cotentin, the peninsula of Normandy. In 1095 Robert mortgaged his duchy to William II for funds to enable him to go on the First Crusade. William Rufus was killed by a mysterious arrow when hunting in the New Forest on August 2, 1099, and Henry I (1100–1135), the youngest son of the

Conqueror, lost no time in seizing Normandy and England while his brother Robert was in the Holy Land. When Robert returned, he was promptly imprisoned in Gloucester Castle, where he died eighteen years later. King Henry I had his father's genius for politics and war, his determination and clear-sightedness united with an astuteness and subtlety of his own. He granted a charter to the people of London, and in 1108 effected an amicable settlement of the relations of Church and state in England.

A perfecter rather than an innovator, Henry I polished the machinery of Anglo-Norman government until it ran with more smoothness and efficiency than under his father; he made it strong enough, indeed, to withstand the reaction in his successor's reign. Across the Channel Henry I's continental policy was so formidable to the French king that English and French history telescoped together. A king of France less able than Louis VI might well have been overwhelmed.

In 1135, when Henry I died, all his carefully laid plans for the permanency of the union of England with Normandy and the Angevin possessions were thwarted by events which he had not anticipated. His daughter, the Empress Matilda, whose succession he had arranged, and whom he had married to Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, was opposed by her cousin, Stephen of Blois, a son of William the Conqueror's daughter, Adele. A long and cruel civil war followed. Finally in 1153, Stephen's only son died, and a compromise was effected which provided for the succession of Henry Plantagenet, Matilda's son, to the throne when Stephen died—as he did the next year (1154).

KINGS OF ENGLAND FROM THE CONQUEST TO HENRY III.

WILLIAM I., the Conqueror

| Robert, D. of Normandy d. 1135 | WILLIAM II. 1087-1100 | HENRY I. 1100-35 | Adela=Stephen, Count of Blois |

Matilda=Geoffrey of Anjou

STEPHEN 1135-54

HENRY II. *m.* Eleanor of Aquitaine 1154-89

| Henry | Geoffrey | RICHARD I. 1189-99 | JOHN 1199-1216 |

Arthur of Brittany d. 1203

HENRY III. 1216-72

ANGLO-SAXON KINGS

EGBERT
802-39

ETHELWULF
839-58

| ETHELBALD | ETHELBERT | ETHELRED I. | ALFRED |
| 858-60 | 860-66 | 866-71 | 871-901 |

EDWARD, the Elder   other Children   Ethelflaed = Ethelred
901-25   Lady of   Ealdorman
                                              the   of the
                                          Mercians   Mercians

| ATHELSTAN | EDMUND I. | EDRED |
| 925-40 | 940-46 | 946-55 |

EDWY   EDGAR
955-59   959-75

EDWARD,   ETHELRED II., the Unready   (1) Ælflaed
the Martyr   979-1016   (2) Emma of
975-79   (1)   (2)   Normandy

EDMUND IRONSIDE   EDWARD, the Confessor
1016   1042-66

Edmund   Edward

Edgar, the Atheling   Margaret = Malcolm Canmore of Scotland

Matilda = Henry I. 1100-35

Henry II (1154–1189) added England to a Plantagenet empire which had just been doubled in size by his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine (1152). Although he was never free to devote himself for any length of time to purely English administration, his achievements in England mark an epoch in English constitutional history.

The genius of Henry II's government was Norman *and* English. *Policy of* Henry II had all the ability of his Norman ancestors and all the *Henry II* Angevin thoroughness. His rule differed from that of his predecessors in that he had what the other foreign kings of England did not have, certain definite principles of government which applied as nearly uniformly as he could make them to all his lands. William I had been two different men in Normandy and England. Henry II was the same in England and Aquitaine; in Normandy and Anjou, in Maine and Touraine, in Brittany and Ireland. As far as circumstances would allow, his policy was identical in purpose and in application. We see his one aim extending over all his lands in his un-

varying practice of securing possession in his own hands of the castles of the great barons. "The visitation of the castellanships was made a regular article of the commission of the judges and the governors were frequently changed so as to get the posts gradually and entirely in the hands of the king's officers." [1] This policy originated in a prerogative of the dukes of Normandy. Henry II applied it to all his realms.

The origin of the jury system is to be found in Normandy, not in England. The early dukes of Normandy had continued the Carolingian sworn inquest or procedure of proof, and Henry II introduced the practice into England. The number of witnesses became fixed by custom at twelve. Trial by battle henceforth was confined to criminal cases. Ultimately the witnesses of the Frankish inquest became the jury of modern law.

Henry II introduced Norman *recognitiones,* or inquests under writ, into England under the name of assizes. Several of Henry II's assizes were of great importance. In 1159 when the King was at war with Louis VII and the English barons showed reluctance to serve across the Channel, Henry II commuted the service for a money payment; this was called *scutage* (from *scutum,* shield) ; it had the advantage of providing the king with funds with which he hired mercenaries who would fight as long as they were paid, and it freed the king from the inconvenience of seeing his army dissolve after the fulfillment of the forty days' military service required by feudal law. In 1166 the Assize of Clarendon was issued by which the administration of criminal law was reformed. Ten years later (1176) this was followed by the Assize of Northampton by which the shires of England were organized into six judicial districts nearly corresponding to the judges' circuits of the present day. Itinerant justices, called "justices in eyre" (from *iter,* circuit) and chosen from the *curia regis,* were appointed for each circuit to hear causes which had formerly been cognizable by the King's Court only, and to act as justices in cases appealed from the sheriff's courts. At the same time the King's Court (*curia regis*) was separated into two courts, one the King's Bench, the other the Court of Common Pleas. These two courts sat at London. Formerly the *curia regis* could only be held in the king's presence, wherever he might be. Hence litigants often had to travel far and suffer long and expensive delays. Exchequer business had already existed as a special department of the *curia regis,* and before the end of the reign the Court of the Exchequer emerged, which had to deal with fiscal and taxation cases.

In his extension of royal jurisdiction Henry II came into collision

[1] Stubbs, Preface to Benedict of Peterborough, II, LI.

ENGLAND

ENGLISH CHANNEL

Dover Strait

FLANDERS

Montreuil

Meuse R.

Amiens

Rouen

NORMANDY

Seine

Rheims

Brest

BRITTANY

DOMIN

Paris

CHAMPAGNE

Troyes

Rennes

Sens

ANJOU

Orleans

Blois

Nantes

Angers

Loire R.

Tours

BURGUNDY

OF

Bourges

HENRY

POITOU

Poitiers

Loire R.

BAY OF

II

Limoges

Lyons

BISCAY

AQUITAINE

AUVERGNE

Rhone R.

Bordeaux

Garonne R.

Avignon

GASCONY

TOULOUSE

Aix

Toulouse

Aigues Mortes

Marseilles

Narbonne

MEDITERRANEAN

SEA

FRANCE AND ENGLAND
in 1189

Royal Domain

Possessions of the House of Blois

— — — Kingdom Boundary

••••••• Border of Henry II's Dominions

with Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, over the issue of criminous clerks, whom the king wished to bring into the royal courts for trial. Becket, as chancellor, had been the most zealous exponent of royal authority, but, as archbishop, he resisted every royal encroachment on the rights of the Church. The quarrel continued for years, until four Norman knights, who took some angry remarks of the king too literally, murdered the archbishop before the altar of his cathedral in Canterbury (1170). Henry II had to do penance, and give up his attempt to try criminous clerks and to re- strict appeals to Rome.

Through the last years of the reign his sons, always supported by Philip Augustus, were in constant rebellion. He was at war with his sons, Richard and John, when he died at Chinon (1189).

Richard I (1189–1199) rarely visited England after his corona- tion, but royal power suffered very little from his absence. The justiciar, Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, continued very effectively the strong rule of Henry II. With the accession of John (1199–1216) really serious trouble began at once. No sooner had he lost Normandy (1204–1205) than he was involved in a conflict with the Church and the papacy, and soon the baronage was drawn into the war.

When the Archbishop of Canterbury died, the monks of Christ Church (the electoral body for election of an archbishop) chose their prior. John demurred and made his own nomination. Both nominations were set aside by Innocent III, who designated Stephen Langton, a great Churchman; when the monks of Canterbury ac- cepted Stephen, John expelled them and seized their property. Thereupon the pope placed England under interdict, and in retalia- tion John seized the goods of the clergy. In 1212 Innocent III, as Gregory had done before in Germany, absolved all Englishmen from their allegiance to the king and authorized Philip II of France to invade England. The country fell into anarchy. Highway robbery abounded. The Channel and the Irish Sea were infested with pirates. The Welsh ravaged the marches, and King John prepared to invade Wales but desisted when warned that his barons were plotting to betray him into the hands of the French. In the face of the French invasion and the opposition of the English baronage in May, 1213, John reconciled himself with the Church. On May 13 he did homage to Pandulph, the papal legate, for his dominions. England became a fief of the papacy.

The barons of England, led by Archbishop Langton, continued to resist the king and, after John's defeat at Bouvines (1214), pre- sented a formal demand for redress of certain specified grievances.

Although the document was couched in the language of petition, practically it amounted to a demand. The king fenced for time in hope of dividing his opponents. Late in the spring, as John continued to temporize, the barons in assembled array entered London. On June 15, 1215, at Runnymede near Windsor, John was brought to bay and compelled to concede the Great Charter (Magna Carta).

Magna Carta was a feudal document: it was an enlargement of the coronation oaths; it demanded adherence on the king's part to recognized feudal principles and practices which the barons asserted to be their historic rights and privileges. "It was a statement of custom, or of what was regarded as a legitimate restatement of custom. . . . Much of it had long been needed, some of it restates earlier legislation, all of it was consistent with tradition." [1] Even the "security clause," by which John was compelled to recognize the right of the barons to rebel against royal misgovernment, contained nothing new. The right of a vassal to rebel against his lord in case of failure to do justice was inherent in the theory and the practice of feudalism. In a crude form Magna Carta expressed the idea of limited monarchy of a feudal nature. Magna Carta aimed far more to correct abuses, such as the selling of justice, unlawful seizure of property, illegal arrest, unjust taxation, tyranny, cruel forest laws, than to assert new principles of law and government. "It did not assure trial by jury nor taxation by parliament. A regular scheme of taxation to meet ordinary expenses of government was as yet unknown. As for the representative idea of parliament, even had the king been willing, the barons almost certainly would have opposed it." [2]

However little novelty there was in Magna Carta, John had no intention of keeping his oath. He renewed the war, and his overlord, Pope Innocent III, annuled Magna Carta and excommunicated the barons. They offered the crown to Prince Louis, husband of Blanche of Castile (John's niece), and he accepted and crossed the Channel in the summer of 1216. Then the king's sudden death (October) reversed the whole situation. Louis returned to France, and the barons accepted John's young son as king, when the regents reissued the charter and promised to obey it.

Misrule of Henry III — The regents ruled extremely well, but in 1227 Henry III began his personal rule, and conditions changed rapidly for the worse. He surrounded himself with foreign favorites and aroused widespread resentment as he resorted to more and more extortionate taxation to satisfy their demands. He allowed the papal legates to raise enormous

[1] F. W. Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, 122.
[2] W. A. Morris, *Constitutional History of England* to 1216, p. 399.

sums from the clergy for the war the pope was waging against the Hohenstaufen. The highest offices in Church and state were filled with foreigners, and national indignation mounted.

From the first, Henry III pursued a grandiose foreign policy, and it was his failure in Wales, in Scotland, and finally in France that really precipitated a crisis in 1258. The Earl of Leicester, Simon de Montfort, son of the leader of the Albigensian Crusade, headed the baronial opposition to the king. The Provisions of Oxford were dictated by baronial, rather than popular, interest and gave a small group of greater barons actual control of the government. Henry III and his son Edward at first accepted the Provisions of Oxford and then repudiated them; civil war followed. Simon de Montfort and the barons defeated the royal army at Lewes (1264) and for a year controlled the government. In January, 1265, a "parliament" was summoned which included not only bishops and peers, but one hundred of the lower clergy, two knights from each shire, and two citizens from each chartered town. This precedent was followed by Edward I in the Model Parliament (1295).

Simon de Montfort's Parliament marked the height of his power. Later in the same year he was defeated and killed at Evesham, the rebellion collapsed, and Henry III reigned seven years more. Prince Edward went on a crusade and returned to England only after his father's death (1272).

Edward I (1272–1307) was one of the greatest kings in English history. He had the energy and will power of Henry II, and along with these capacities "the old demoniac fury" and fierce ruthlessness of his Plantagenet ancestors. In the progress of law and government, Edward I's reign was as important as that of Henry II. Edward permanently conquered Wales (1283) and temporarily subdued Scotland. The Hundred Years' War really began with him.

As a law-giver, Edward I was the author of the First Statute of Westminster (1275), which regulated freedom of elections and fixed the rates and occasions of feudal aids and reliefs. In 1279 the Statute of Mortmain was ordained to restrain the bestowal of estates on religious foundations, which was a frequent form of evasion of taxes. In an effort to buttress the principle of primogeniture, the Second Statute of Westminster (1285) founded entails, or the succession of an estate inalienably in a particular line of descent.

It is noteworthy that almost all this legislation had to do with the regulation of feudalism; Edward I reigned according to feudal law, which he defined and altered to meet the needs of the time. He was open-minded enough to perceive the merit in parliamentary institutions in spite of the fact that the Parliament of 1265 had been an

instrument of an enemy to the crown. Accordingly, Edward I encouraged the Model Parliament of 1295. This Parliament made general and permanent institutions out of the practices which had been used in 1265. In the earliest stage of its history the Parliament did not legislate but might advise the king with reference to laws which he contemplated. Later the commons developed the practice of presenting petitions to the crown, which, if affirmed by the lords and accepted by the king, became laws.

Under Edward I's hopelessly weak successor, Edward II (1307–1327), Parliament established itself firmly at the expense of the crown. After the king lost Scotland (Bannockburn, 1314) the opposition of the barons steadily grew, and finally Parliament deposed him in favor of his young son, Edward III.

The Hundred Years' War (1337–1453)

The Hundred Years' War began in Flanders when Philip VI intervened to sustain Count Louis, whose bourgeois subjects in Ghent and many other towns were in a state of revolt. The militia of these rebellious towns was badly defeated at Cassel (1328). In the reprisals which followed, ten thousand Flemings were put to death, the privileges of the towns revoked, and the guilds abolished. Many Flemings escaped to·England. The English government viewed these events with alarm, for they constituted a blow to the English wool trade with Flanders. French domination of the Low Countries would be ruinous to England.

England declared war against France in 1337. The *alleged* ground was Edward III's dubious claim to the French throne. The *real* ground was French ascendancy in Flanders and the threat to the English wool trade, although the English-French friction over Gascony was an additional irritant. Flanders was torn between two parties. The count and the nobles, partly French, sustained France. The urban classes, dependent on the wool trade, sided with England. The leader of this pro-English bourgeois party was James Van Artevelde.

As Europe envisaged the situation, the odds seemed to be with France, then the foremost nation in power and wealth. England's population was not over five millions, while France's was around sixteen millions. Scotland menaced England on the north, and the Welsh were far from tractable, whereas France had no foreign enemy. Moreover, England as the aggressor was compelled to fight across the Channel, and France, on the defensive, could fight on inside lines. Philip VI foolishly thought that he could duplicate William the Conqueror's feat and invade England; he collected a

fleet for that purpose in the estuary of the Sluys in Flanders. The deficiency of French sea power was supplemented by the hire of some Genoese galleys. Edward III, informed of the preparation, took time by the forelock and attacked the French fleet in the harbor and almost destroyed it. A few of the galleys which were rowed, and consequently were independent of the wind, escaped (June 24, 1340).

The blow to France was so great that the war practically lapsed for five years. In the summer of 1346 Edward III invaded Normandy with a force of about ten thousand men and moved up the Seine almost to Paris, pillaging and burning, sacking towns and even churches and monasteries. From the Seine he marched toward Flanders, and at Crécy he was attacked by a French army, many times larger than his own (August 26). The great battle that followed opened a new era in military history; the heavily armed French knights proved hopelessly ineffective against the English longbowmen, whose arrows easily penetrated the heaviest armor. Crécy demonstrated to all Europe the supremacy of infantry over feudal cavalry. The battle ended in a rout, and Edward proceeded to besiege Calais. After a siege that lasted almost a year the city surrendered (1347). Now a truce was concluded, and the war was not resumed for nearly ten years.

The truce had run hardly more than a year before France—and all Europe—was visited by a worse scourge than war—the Black Death (1348–1349), the greatest epidemic in history.[1] The mortality was frightful; in many parts of Europe half the population perished.

In 1356 Edward III's eldest son, Edward, the Black Prince, led an army north from Gascony and ravaged the French border provinces. John II (1350–1364), now king of France, moved south to meet him, and at Poitiers (September 19) the French suffered a worse defeat than Crécy. King John and three of his sons, with many nobles, were captured and taken to England.

The defeat at Poitiers precipitated a general crisis in France. The Dauphin Charles had scarcely assumed the regency when a double revolution broke out. The burden of sustaining the long conflict which by now had been waged, off and on, for nineteen years had chiefly fallen upon the bourgeoisie of the cities and towns, since the nobles' sole obligation to the government was discharged in military service. The strain was great, and there was nothing but a series of

---

[1] It began in China, spread to India and central Asia, invaded western Asia, eastern Europe, Egypt and Africa, and gradually spread westward until all Europe was enveloped by it. Its course can be followed, for it expanded along the trade routes of both land and sea. The first appearance of it in every country was in cities and port towns of commercial importance.

reverses and defeats to show for it. The countryside wherever the foe
had passed was in ruin.

*Étienne
Marcel*

The chief of the municipality of Paris at this time was a draper
named Étienne Marcel, who was provost of the merchants, that is to
say, of the associated guilds who controlled the city administration.
In a business capacity Marcel had visited Flanders and seen the
independence and power of the Flemish towns. He was ambitious
not only to make Paris as independent as Ghent but also to check
the growing power of the crown in France. When the Dauphin
called the Estates General, they were able, under Étienne Marcel's
leadership, to secure for a short time practical control of the govern-
ment. The Dauphin Charles left Paris, and Marcel tried in vain
to win any really national support for his regime. He was assassi-
nated (August, 1358) by one of his own city officials, and with his
death the first attempt of the people to limit royal power failed
completely. The Dauphin returned to Paris in triumph.

Jacquerie

Now a new terror broke out in the country east of Paris. This was
a rebellion of the peasantry known as the *Jacquerie*. Serfdom every-
where had become worse after the Black Death, and the conditions
of the French peasants was aggravated by the devastation of the war
and the added burden of being compelled to contribute to the
ransom of the hundreds of nobles who had been captured in the
battle of Poitiers. The exasperated peasants burned castles and
manor-houses and slaughtered the defenseless women and children
there. The Champagne country was a shambles for six weeks in the
summer of 1358, until the revolt was mercilessly suppressed. The
Jacquerie failed equally with the insurrection of Paris.

*Peace of
Bretigny*

The Dauphin saw clearly that the continuation of the war was
impossible and that peace would have to be made, almost at any
price. In 1360 the Treaty of Bretigny was concluded. Edward III
renounced his claim to the French throne and the title "King of
France," which he had assumed; France gave up its claim of suze-
rainty over all the provinces of England in France, acknowledged
the loss of Calais, and contracted to pay a ransom of 3,000,000 *écus
d'or*, payable in six years, for King John.

*Charles the
Wise*

The accession of Charles V (1364–1380) turned a new page in
the history of France. There was nothing military in his character.
He could scarcely ride a horse. He had been a student in the Univer-
sity of Paris, and he always retained bookish inclinations. He ruled
France from his cabinet in the Louvre—a closet-king. He began
immediately great administrative reforms. Internal peace hastened
economic recovery in country and town, justice was enforced, the
finances were rehabilitated, taxes were collected and intelligently

expended, and the important cities were rewalled, fortified, and garrisoned against the day when the war would be resumed. He never forgot the troubles of his regency, and he was always hostile to the Estates General. He called them only when it was absolutely necessary, and he very cleverly arranged for them to grant him permanent taxes. Once he had an assured income he called them less and less frequently, and they became less and less dangerous to the crown.

In 1369 Charles V renewed the war, naming Bertrand du Guesclin as constable or commander-in-chief of the French army.[1] Du Guesclin, a hard, notoriously ugly Breton, was a military genius. Edward, the Black Prince, furiously invaded the French provinces, sacked Limoges, and put the civil population to the sword. Du Guesclin followed Fabian tactics, constantly harrying the foe but never closing with him. The country folk were gathered with their produce and livestock into the walled towns, and the fields were burned by the French. Before long the Black Prince's army was starving. At last Edward abandoned the struggle, complaining that he would not "fight with rats," and went back to England. Du Guesclin triumphantly overran the English provinces, while Jean of Vienne, the first great French sea captain, beat the English on the sea. Times had changed. England was now the underdog. By 1378 only Calais, Bordeaux, and Bayonne were left in English possession. France was a united country and out of the struggle the new sentiment of nationality was born. Charles V and his great constable died within two weeks of one another in July, 1380. It was the end of an era.

In England at almost the same time the death of Edward III (1377) marked the end of the first period of the war, in which England had won the great battles but had lost the war. Edward III, unlike Charles V, was not able to prevent Parliament from encroaching on the royal prerogative. The king's constant need of money to carry on the war required him often to appeal to Parliament, which refused to make grants without concessions and some redress of grievances. Edward III and Parliament joined in resisting the Angiven popes. Edward III once, in protest against papal extortion, told the Holy Father that he was commissioned to feed his

[1] The power that cleansed France of anarchy, that turned the luck of the war, that took him as Constable on the great sweep through the southwest, that restored the lost provinces, was neither brute courage nor even uncanny strategic and tactical wisdom, but the power of gripping and firing men's affections —and women's too, for it was no empty boast that made him tell the Black Prince, as a prisoner, that every woman in France would spin for his ransom. The charm of that thick-set little goblin creature came from the sheer humanity within, and even his beaten enemies could feel it.

Master's sheep, not to flay them. The Statute of Provisors (1351) forbade papal appointments to English livings, and the Statute of Praemunire (1353) forbade appeals to courts outside of the realm. Both laws, however, were found difficult to enforce. In the last decade of Edward III's reign the decline of English arms abroad was reflected in the decay of government at home. In the "Good Parliament" (1376) the Commons protested against the misgovernment of the old king's favorites. Hope for better things hinged on the Black Prince, but he died in 1376, a year before his father.

Revolt in England

Clouds soon darkened over England. Richard II (1377–1399), son of the Black Prince, was a boy of eleven, under the tutelage of his uncles John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester. The country was badly governed. There was much economic discontent and social unrest, and, when parliament laid a poll-tax of twelvepence on every person above fifteen years of age, the eastern and southern shires blazed in the Peasants' Revolt (1381), in which the accumulated popular discontent of the years since the Black Death found vent. It was not where serfdom was worst that the rebellion was most violent. In London the mob of lower artisans and apprentices murdered the Archbishop of Canterbury and the king's treasurer. Wat Tyler, their leader, was condemned to death by the Mayor of London. The Peasants' Revolt was at last put down. Richard II was never able to rule effectively. His uncle, John of Gaunt, intrigued to succeed to the throne. To that end he used his enormous wealth to purchase supporters in Parliament and to foment movements of popular unrest like the Peasants' Revolt and the Lollards (heretics) in order to increase the king's unpopularity. In 1399 John of Gaunt died; his son Henry succeeded to his title and his purpose, and, when the king was in Ireland, rebelled and claimed the throne. Richard II was seized upon his return. The subservient Parliament deposed him, and Henry IV (1399–1413) was declared king.[1]

Rebellion in France

The reign of Charles VI of France (1380–1422) had striking analogies with that of Richard II. He, too, was a minor during the first eight years of his reign, under the tutelage of three unscrupulous uncles, the dukes of Anjou, of Berry, and of Burgundy. France was filled with economic discontent and social unrest—the aftermath of conditions in 1358—and these grievances were aggravated by the exactions of the regents, whose dishonest practices and wastefulness drove the people to desperation. In 1388 Charles VI reached his majority, and a better day seemed to dawn. He recalled those who

---

[1] Richard II, like his hapless predecessor Edward II, died under mysterious circumstances in Pontefract Castle.

survived among his father's old ministers, restored the government of Paris, and deprived the Duke of Berry of the government of Languedoc. But within four years the king lost his mind and to the end of his long reign had few recurrences of sanity. Until 1404 Philip of Burgundy was regent. When he died, bitter rivalry ensued between the mad king's brother, Louis of Orléans and the new duke of Burgundy, John the Fearless. They were equally corrupt and equally ambitious. In November, 1407, Orléans was murdered, and the guilt was fixed upon Burgundy. Civil war broke out. Southern and central France were Orléanist, or Armagnac, because these regions were headed by the Count of Armagnac; while the north and northeast, where Burgundy's territories of Burgundy and Flanders were, adhered to John the Fearless.

The civil war had raged for years when a new king came to the throne in England, Henry V (1413–1422), eager for overseas glory. As the Armagnacs were in temporary control of the mad king and the government, Burgundy was easily persuaded not to oppose English invasion. In 1415 Henry V landed at Harfleur at the mouth of the Seine and marched east into Picardy. The battle of Agincourt (October 25, 1415) was a repetition of Crécy and Poitiers. The English numbered about 9000, whereas the French included about 50,000. The French chivalry displayed prodigious valor—and folly. The French loss numbered 11,000, among them a prince, a marshal, and more than a hundred great nobles. The English losses were less than one hundred! This was largely due to the steadiness of the yeomanry in the army, the longbowmen.[1]

After Agincourt the chaos in Paris was worse than that in 1356–1358. The English armies rapidly overran the provinces in the north from the Somme to Brittany. Henry V's conquest of Normandy "was not spectacular or chivalrous in outward seeming, like Edward III's great military progresses through the heart of France; but every year a solid block of territory was subdued." Every town was taken by siege and famine.

In Paris the Armagnac government resorted to such terroristic methods that the Burgundians were introduced into the city (May 29, 1418), and a massacre followed. France was now sustaining a foreign

---

[1] Each of these had a sharpened post which he set obliquely in the ground, behind which he stood, confident that the stake would check the charge of any horse. Naked to the waist, barefooted, without armor, these English farm boys almost nonchalantly stood their ground and rained a hail of their terrible long arrows against the French. The elite of the English army, of course, were the nobles and their knightly retainers with whom Henry V fought—on foot, not on horseback—but it was not they who won the battle.

invasion and internal civil war. The nominal ruler was the Dauphin, later Charles VII. John the Fearless of Burgundy, by this time having grown perturbed by the astonishing development of the English power in France, began to have apprehensions lest England seek to annex Flanders, a plan as old as Edward III's first years, and made a tenuous overture to Charles for reconciliation. An interview was arranged on the bridge at Montereau at the confluence of the Yonne with the Seine above Paris (September 10, 1419), and Burgundy was killed by one of the Dauphin's attendants. The murder of 1407 had thrown France into civil war. The murder of 1419 narrowly missed destroying France.[1]

The new Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, after the senseless murder at Montereau, backed Henry V for the throne in order to prevent Charles VII from succeeding. The English king, flushed with successes, insisted upon complete cession of all the French provinces north of the Loire river, even Paris—more than England had possessed in the time of Henry II—his own marriage to the French Princess Catherine, and French consent to the provision that, in the event of a son being born of this marriage, he should be king of France. This meant that the French monarchy would be limited to the central and southern provinces only. The Treaty of Troyes (May, 1420) was the greatest humiliation in the history of France.

But Henry V and Charles VI died in the same year in less than two months from each other (August 31, October 21, 1422). Henry VI, King of England and titular King of France, was less than two years old. Henry V's will provided that his brother Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, become regent in England and his brother John, Duke of Bedford, regent in France. Bedford, both statesman and soldier, accomplished wonders in rehabilitating the conquered dominions in France. The Treaty of Troyes was so humiliating that enforcement of its terms was very difficult; the towns stubbornly held out and had to be subjugated one by one. At last, after seven years, only a single city north of the Loire remained in French hands. This was Orléans. In the spring of 1429 the loyal city was besieged by the English. Only a miracle could save France.

Joan of Arc, a peasant girl from Domrémy on the Meuse bordering on Lorraine, was a religious mystic, imbued with the idea that she was inspired by "her voices" to come to the aid of her king. She

---

[1] In 1521 Francis I was shown the skull of Burgundy with a hole in it. "Sire," said the priest who showed it to him, "c'est le trou par lequel les Anglais passerent en France"—"This is the hole through which the English entered France."

suddenly appeared at the French court at Chinon in Touraine. The court was in a flutter—a peasant girl declaring herself to be divinely commissioned for a task which the French army could not achieve. The French commander-in-chief protested; the ecclesiastics were shocked at what seemed to them defiance of their peculiar authority to interpret God's will. Charles VII was filled with misgiving. He was a weak, vacillating, frivolous king. It is hard to say what persuaded him. At any rate he waived aside all objections, gave Joan a suit of armor, a horse, a body of troops, Du Guesclin's ring, and sent her forth to relieve Orléans. When she appeared in the beleaguered city (which was still open by the water-gate) the French soldiery, hardly more than a ribald, undisciplined gang, accepted her instantly. In seven days Orléans was saved (April 8, 1429). But this was only the beginning. In the following year Joan drove the English out of all the territory between Orléans and Paris and carried her king triumphantly to Rheims where he was crowned. In May, 1430, she was captured near Compiègne. After a mock trial she was condemned as a heretic and a witch and was burned at the stake in the market square of Rouen on May 31, 1431. Her marvellous life had filled two years of history, yet her memory will live forever.[1]

The burning of Joan was a fatal mistake for the English. From the moment of her death, she was a saint and martyr to the French, and her inspiration stimulated ardent national opposition to the English invaders. French armies won victory after victory. In 1435 Burgundy deserted the English cause (Treaty of Arras) for the price of Charles VII's cession of Auxerre, Mâcon, Peronne, and other towns along the Somme; and the Duke of Bedford died in the same year. In the next year (1436) the English lost Paris.

The war lapsed in the succeeding years, and this gave time for a loyal group around the king to institute a series of reforms which greatly strengthened the government. The finances were restored by Jacques Coeur, a rich merchant of Bourges who had made an enormous fortune in the Oriental trade and in mining in France.[2] The most important reform was the establishment of a permanent tax to be levied by the crown without reference to the Estates Gen-

---

[1] It is heart-breaking to read of her trial, to know that Charles VII made no effort to ransom her, even though the great English general, Talbot, was his prisoner at the time, and might have been exchanged for her.

[2] Charles VII treated him shabbily, and he died poor. His house in Bourges which he erected in the days of his prosperity is preserved by the French government as a national monument. It is the finest example of a rich man's residence in the fifteenth century in France.

eral, either the national body or provincial estates, for the payment of regular troops.

This act (Ordonnance of Orléans, 1439) created a small but ef- *Standing* fective standing army and put an end to the old feudal levies, which *army* had proved their total incompetence in the disasters of Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. The new troops cleaned out vagabond soldiery and bandits in the provinces so that agriculture and commerce again could be pursued without molestation. Charles VII's "Twenty Companies of Ordinance"—five for the south and fifteen for the north of France—were the first standing army in Europe. The king nominated the officers and paid the men.

The last years of the war saw the slow but sure recovery of the *French re-* lost provinces. Town after town was taken or went over voluntarily *cover prov-* to Charles VII. In 1448 Anjou and Maine succumbed; in 1449– *inces* 1450 Normandy was recovered. By 1452 England possessed only Calais and Bordeaux. Bordeaux fell in 1453 and the Hundred Years' War was over. The long English domination in France, which had begun with William the Conqueror, was ended. France was a united country under a revived monarchy. In England, on the contrary, defeat in the Hundred Years' War was immediately followed by new disaster. The weak and feeble-minded Henry VI (1422–1461) had failed at home as well as abroad, and in 1455 civil war broke out, the Wars of the Roses.

COLLATERAL READING

H. W. C. Davis, *England under the Normans and Angevins,* 1902.

E. Emerton, *Medieval Europe,* 1894.

J. Evans, *Life in Medieval France,* 1925.

J. Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France and Spain.* Translated by H. P. Dunster, 1906.

F. Funck-Brentano, *The Middle Ages,* 1923.

C. H. Haskins, *The Normans in European History,* 1915.

R. Lodge, *The Close of the Middle Ages,* 1901.

F. C. Lowell, *Joan of Arc,* 1898.

A. Luchaire, *Social France in the Age of Philip Augustus,* 1912.

W. A. Morris, *Constitutional History of England to 1216,* 1930.

C. Stephenson, *Medieval History,* 1935.

T. F. Tout, *The Empire and the Papacy,* 1898.

J. W. Thompson, *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages,* 1928.

G. M. Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe,* 1904.

CHAPTER XVII

Medieval Culture

A UNIVERSITY LECTURE IN THE OPEN AIR
(Painting by Laurentius de Voltalina)

AS Christianity supplanted paganism, a new culture began. Classical literature was replaced by Christian literature, Greek and Roman science, architecture, and art declined, except in the East, education was bent to wholly ecclesiastical ends, and secular schools disappeared in the West, except in Italy where vestiges of old Roman education still survived. By about A.D. 700 the only bright intellectual spot' in western Europe was England where the combination of Irish, Roman, and Anglo-Saxon learning produced a vivid literary and artistic culture of which Aldhelm of Malmesbury (d. 716) and Bede of Jarrow (d. 735) were the greatest exponents. This Anglo-Irish learning was brought to the continent by English missionaries, notably by St. Boniface (d. 755). Then came the Carolingian Renaissance when Charlemagne called Alcuin (d. 804) from York to direct a great educational, literary, and artistic revival. The Carolingian Renaissance was the first attempt to systematize classical and neo-medieval, Latin and German, pagan and Christian elements into an integrated culture. Carolingian culture was almost destroyed

when the empire of Charlemagne dissolved in the ninth century and a new wave of barbarian invasion overwhelmed western Europe. Even through the worst troubles of the ninth and tenth centuries, some schools did manage to carry on, although with diminished vigor,[1] in Germany Fulda, St. Gall, Reichenau, and Constance; in France Rheims, Paris, Chartres, and Auxerre; in Italy Pavia in the north and Salerno in the south—the only place in the West where Greek culture was to be found.

Cathedral schools

Until the tenth century the monastic schools had been the chief centers of education. Then the cathedral schools began to compete with them and soon surpassed them. The monasteries had become closed schools from which all students were excluded, except oblates or young monks still in their novitiate, whereas the cathedral schools were open even to those not studying for holy orders. This change first became general in Germany in the Saxon epoch, during the so-called Saxon Renaissance initiated by Otto the Great's brother, Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne (d. 966). From Cologne episcopal schools spread up and down the Rhine and into Saxony where the schools of Hildesheim, Paderborn, and Bremen became famous.

School of Chartres

Far and away the greatest scholar of the Saxon Renaissance was Gerbert of Aurillac, who made the cathedral school of Rheims the center of a general intellectual revival throughout France. He was the most learned man and the most brilliant teacher in medieval Europe before the twelfth century. He even had some knowledge of Arabic. When he was appointed to the papacy by Otto III, as Sylvester II (999–1003), his work was continued by his ablest pupil, Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres. For more than a century the school of Chartres trained a long series of eminent scholars and teachers who spread abroad the ideas and the methods of what may be called the "new education." When one considers that the Bible was the ultimate source of authority and that the Church in fear of heresy often suppressed independent thought, the boldness of some of these masters of Chartres is astonishing. William of Conches challenged the whole account of Creation in Genesis and asked: Why was light created on the first day, and the stars on the fourth? Why was the moon called one of the two great lights, when it was far smaller than any of the planets or the earth? Why were birds and reptiles said to have issued from the sea, and quadrupeds from the land? Questions like these were more startling in that age than Darwin's theory of evolution was in the middle of the nineteenth century.

---

[1] Alcuin's intellectual heir was Rabanus Maurus, Abbot of Fulda, who was "the master of them that know" for the next generation. His greatest pupil was Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims (d. 877).

Towards 1100 the best teachers and scholars gradually drifted to Paris. The most eminent of these teachers were William of Champeaux, Roscellinus, and Abélard, all of whom had derived from Chartres; they numbered their pupils by hundreds. Theology and philosophy were the two chief subjects of instruction and debate at this time. St. Augustine was dominant in the first field; Plato, in the second.

For centuries medieval thought had tried to harmonize Greek philosophy with Christian teaching with much argument and little success. Since philosophy is based on reason and the Christian religion on revelation, it was difficult to reconcile them. The chief points of debate were predestination, free-will, and transubstantiation. The first and second were as old as Augustine. But the doctrine of transubstantiation attracted little attention until the eleventh century. The very nature and efficacy of the mass were involved in the issue as it was raised by Berenger of Tours.

Two schools of philosophy arose out of this controversy early in the twelfth century—the realists and the nominalists. The former contended that knowledge stemmed from general "universals" which were final entities. In the world of things as well as in the world of ideas everything was finally and formally one. These universal essences, by receiving certain "accidents" or properties, which are mere contingent attributes and not a part of their essential nature, form individuals, whether persons or things or ideas. For example: Between all animals there is an essential identity through the element or essence "animal," and this universal essence, by receiving "humanness-*humanitas*," or "cowness-*vaccitas*" or "horseness-*equitas*," becomes man or cow or horse. The world, to the realist, is made up of universal elements or essences, all of which may finally be reduced to one universal entity, namely God. Thus philosophically speaking, ideas and realities are one; logically, universals and particulars are one. On the other hand, the nominalists contended that the names given to general classes—for example, man, cows, horses—or attributes and qualities attached to things were only *nomina*—mere *names* and abstractions, describing the common characteristics of anything founded on observation of various individuals. Scholastic philosophy held that not only was theology the science of God but that it also was the science of man and of reason, and hence the science of law and government. There were affinities between realism and Platonism and between nominalism and Aristotelianism.

The rigor of the reasoning on both sides was carried so far that formal logic became not only an instrument for argumentation, but

almost an end in itself. The first great realistic philosopher—and theologian, for the two were inseparable in the Middle Ages—was Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109), who sought to prove the existence of God and the mysteries of the Christian religion by rationalistic argument, especially in his book on the Atonement, *Why God Became Man (Cur Deus homo)*. Anselm founded the scholastic philosophy. This was not merely a system of logic-chopping and hair-splitting, nor was the controversy between realism and nominalism a mere war of words. "He who has given his answer to it has implicitly constructed his theory of the Universe."[1]

In this great controversy, at once theological and philosophical, the Church inclined to realism. St. Bernard routed Abélard, not because he had the best of the argument, but because he had the authority of the Church behind him. Peter Lombard's *Sentences* (1164) clinched St. Bernard's arguments and assured the victory of orthodoxy; but it was a barren triumph. About 1200, the philosophical works of Aristotle became known through the medium of Latin translations of Arabic translations from the original Greek, together with the ideas of the great philosophers of Islam, the Mohammedan, Averroes of Cordova (1126–1198), and the Hebrew Maimonides of Cordova and Cairo (1135–1204). The authority of Aristotle soon became so great in the medieval universities that the Church, although it would not retreat from its realistic theology, was compelled to attempt to harmonize realist and nominalist views, and to reconcile Aristotelianism with orthodoxy. Mixing oil and water was child's play compared with such an effort. This intellectual feat was accomplished beyond all expectation of success by St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), a Dominican, born in a little town in the Campania. St. Thomas was the greatest Christian thinker since St. Augustine and has never been superseded. He taught at the University of Paris. His *Summa Theologiae* "remains to this day the most comprehensive and complete of all expositions of the Catholic system," and one of the great products of the human mind. The *Summa* marked the apex of medieval thought. In the fourteenth century, scholasticism began to decline when Duns Scotus and William of Ockham, both Englishmen, made logic an end and not a means of thinking and taught that the conclusions of logic were as valid as actuality, in other words, what was true for thought was true for things; that correct *a priori* reasoning was as capable of ascertaining as observation, reflection, and experience. In the early nineteenth century Hegel, the German philosopher, taught much the same thing.

St. Thomas Aquinas

[1] H. Rashdall, *The Rise of the Universities*, I, 38.

Besides this current of theological and philosophical thought, there were two other streams of ideas, one in the field of medicine and the other in law. The tradition of Greek medicine had been transplanted from Constantinople to southern Italy—the provinces of Apulia and Calabria belonged to the Byzantine Empire until they were conquered by the Normans—and in the tenth century a medical school of renown sprang up at Salerno. It developed rapidly in the eleventh century with the introduction of Arabic medical works, translated by Constantine the African (a Christian who had long lived in Tunis). As for law, the center of Roman law studies was at Bologna. This revival was stimulated by the conflict between the Emperor Frederick I and Pope Alexander III, both of whom based their claims to universal authority upon the Roman law. Moreover, the Lombard cities found Roman law more applicable to their revived commerce and trade than feudal law, which had sprung from and was applicable to an agricultural society, such as was found in all western Europe before the twelfth century.

Out of this ferment of thought emerged a new system of education. The universities were not only institutions of a higher learning, but they differed from the earlier schools in method of education and form of organization. In Italy and the south of France, where Roman traditions were very strong, the word "universitas" corresponded to the word "guild" to signify any sort of group united together for a specified purpose. The earliest groups of masters and students were regarded as a sort of guild and their association was called a "universitas." In time the word became an exclusive term confined to the new education. Such a group was formed in one of two ways. A distinguished master might collect a body of students around him to whom he lectured, and charged fees for his lectures; or a number of students might combine and hire some teacher to lecture to them. In either case the "universitas" was a voluntary organization.

The Church which had had exclusive direction of education for centuries past looked with suspicion upon this new development and soon sought to control the movement. Accordingly the bishops required teaching licenses of the masters, prescribed the subjects taught, introduced examinations and degrees, and in general regulated the new education. The precedent was established that only the pope could charter a university. The first chartered university was that of Paris about 1200, followed in order by Oxford, Cambridge, Montpellier, and Salamanca. In the fourteenth century many more were founded. Prague was established in 1347; Heidelberg, the earliest university in Germany, in 1386.

A medieval college was not a separate educational institution like *Colleges* a college of today, but a corporate part of a university. Every great university was a federation of colleges for the number of students increased so greatly that, both for convenience of housing and instruction, separate organizations had to be formed. Each college had its own lecture halls, dormitories, library, faculty, and students. Such colleges often were founded by private persons, bishops, nobles, rich bourgeois, for charitable purposes. The Sorbonne at Paris was established by Robert de Sorbon, the chaplain and confessor of King Louis IX.[1]

Independently of this college organization, the student body was distinguished into separate national groups, French, German, English, Italian, Spanish, etc. The medieval student was wont to migrate from university to university and rarely acquired all his education in a single place. The rivalry, even animosity, among these "nations" was intense and often led to feuds and rioting in the town; no love was lost between "town" and "gown." All university teachers and all students enjoyed "benefit of clergy"; that is to say, they had clerical status, were exempt from secular jurisdiction, and in case of offense could only be tried before an ecclesiastical court. The university provost held court on the campus into which ordinary municipal police could not enter, and every university had its own prison for the confinement of offenders, just as a bishop and an abbot had his own court and his own prison. The greatest professors in the universities—except those which specialized in the teaching of law and medicine—were Dominicans and Franciscans who almost monopolized direction of higher education in the later Middle Ages.

While the ancient distinction between *trivium* and *quadrivium* was preserved[2] in the universities, the quantity of subjects taught and the quality of the teaching were greatly increased. Of course, the libraries were scant in an age where all books had to be written by hand, and there were no laboratories.

"The great work of the universities was the consecration of learning, and it is not easy to exaggerate the importance of that work upon the moral, intellectual, and religious progress of Europe. . . .

[1] This collegiate university form was abolished everywhere in Europe during or after the French Revolution. The only universities still preserving a medieval form are Oxford which has twenty-three colleges, and Cambridge which has nineteen.

[2] The *trivium* was the initial course of study, consisting of the three liberal arts, grammar, rhetoric, and logic, and corresponded to the B.A. course of today. The *quadrivium* consisted of the four mathematical sciences, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy, and roughly corresponded to the B.S. degree.

Our intellectual advance since the medieval period has less to do with the improvement in the substance or method of education than the academic world has complacently imagined. . . . The value of education is independent either of the intrinsic value or the practical usefulness of what is taught. The intelligent modern artisan . . . or the half-educated man of the world possesses at the present day a great deal more true and useful information than a medieval doctor of divinity. But it can on no account be admitted that this puts the uneducated man of modern times on a level with the educated man of the Middle Ages." [1] Then, as now, clergy, teachers, judges, lawyers, physicians, expert public officials, and authors of distinction were university trained men. The greatest service of scholasticism was the development of logic as an instrument of thought for the discovery of truth; its greatest limitation was its failure to seek new truth but rather to discover new ways of looking at old truth. Supreme truth, even all truth, was found in the Christian religion and this truth was a matter of divine revelation and not to be attained by human reason. From this inhibition scientific thought became free and unconfined.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the advancement of science was as notable as it was in the nineteenth century. Greek science—the Romans made no improvement of their own except in engineering—had decayed along with everything else of antiquity in the early centuries of the Christian era. The destruction of the Alexandrian library in 415 by a mob of fanatical monks and the closing of the School of Athens by the Emperor Justinian in 529 were fatal blows. Greek science henceforth owed its preservation to the Syrians and the Persians. The studies which Justinian condemned were cultivated and promoted by Chosroes the Great. When the Arabs conquered Persia in the seventh century, the study of science continued to be promoted in the Mohammedan schools not by the Arabs themselves, who constituted the warrior class in Islam, but by Syrians, Jews, and Persians in the Bagdad Caliphate. Within two centuries nearly the whole body of Greek scientific works was translated into Arabic. Bagdad, Cairo, Kairawan, and Cordova became brilliant centers for the study and teaching of science. A mere list of the most eminent of Arabian scientists would be a long one. [2]

---

[1] Rashdall, *Rise of the Universities,* II, 693 and 706.

[2] Al-Khwarizmi of Khiva (ninth century) was mathematician, astronomer, geographer, and developed algebra beyond Diophantus, the Greek inventor of it. Al-Rhazi of Bagdad, died 924, was "the greatest clinician of the Middle Ages." Al-Battani, died 929, a Persian, was a great astronomer. The medical treatises of Avicenna (eleventh century) were the supreme authority for six

Knowledge of this Greek-Arabic science began to penetrate into *Arabic trans-* western Europe late in the eleventh and in the twelfth centuries not *lations* as the result of the crusades, as one might imagine, but through Sicily into Italy and from Mohammedan Spain into Christian Spain, and thence into France. Men of eager mind flocked to Palermo and Toledo to learn the Arabic language and to study Arabic science. Many of these pioneers were Englishmen—Adelard of Bath, Daniel of Morley, Alexander Neckam. Adelard of Bath's *Natural Questions* was the first scientific treatise produced in western Europe in the Middle Ages. Some scholars spent years in Spain and engaged all their lives in this work of translation of Arabic works of science into Latin. Gerard of Cremona (1187) translated 71 different works. Plato of Tivoli was almost as productive. In this way, by the thirteenth century, western Europe was in possession of almost the whole body of Greek and Arabic science, and science was taught in the new universities as a matter of course. The greatest scientist of this time was the English Franciscan, Roger Bacon (1214–1292). Almost as great was Albertus Magnus, a German Dominican (1193–1280). Both taught in Paris.

In the middle of the thirteenth century Vincent of Beauvais, in a great work entitled *Speculum Naturale,* or "Mirror of Nature," embodied the whole knowledge of science as it was known in western Europe, including medicine, cosmography, astronomy, geography, meteorology, geology, mineralogy, botany, zoology, anatomy, and physiology. At times he was curiously modern in his ideas and seems to have had some notion of anatomy and physiology. Medieval medicine was neither as crude nor as superstitious in the use of strange drugs and singular compounds as is popularly believed. There was some knowledge of contagion but none of infection. Surgery was practiced, principally on the skull and the limbs. Amputation in an age of warfare was common, and there are interesting recipes "to put a man to sleep that he may be treated or cut." Operations for cataract were measurably successful. Abdominal operations were desperate remedies and usually impossible. The prohibition against post-mortem operations on the human body was a serious deterrent to the progress of medical science. Effective hospitalization began with the founding of the Order of the Knights of the Hospital in the first crusade. Before that time there had been

hundred years. *The Oculists' Manual* of Ali ibn Tadkirat al-Kahnalin was the best work on the diseases of the eye until the eighteenth century. Medicine, botany, chemistry, mathematics, and astronomy were enormously advanced by the Arabs.

only monastic and capitular infirmaries. In the thirteenth century the larger cities began to establish municipal hospitals.

The medieval Church carried on the tradition of the Latin language and literature, although the most devout Christians were always hostile to classical literature because of its pagan authorship and pagan spirit. Christianity developed a literature which was entirely different from that of antiquity. It was of a religious and theological nature, instead of being of a secular spirit like classical literature. History was written by monks and narrated events of interest and importance only to ecclesiastics. Saints' lives were a popular form of literature and written for purpose of edification. Hymns were almost the only kind of poetry. Even the Latin language was changed in syntax and by the introduction of new words of ecclesiastical, Germanic, or feudal origin.

Latin was the universal language of the Church and of governments; official documents were written by ecclesiastical officials in Latin, a language which the rulers themselves could not understand. Nobles and peasantry spoke the common language of the people of the country. There were four main linguistic groups in western Europe: The Germanic languages spoken in northern Europe (Germany, the Low Countries—modern Holland and Belgium—Scandinavia, Iceland, and England). The Celtic tongues—Irish, Welsh, Gaelic and Breton—were spoken in Ireland, Wales, Scotland, and Brittany. In the East the Slavic tongues were spoken. In the south of Europe the Romance languages—French, Italian, and Spanish—prevailed. Unlike the others, which were of race-national origin and nature, these southern languages were offsprings of Latin, derived from the daily speech (Low Latin) of the common people of the Roman Empire, modified by local influences and variations in each country. Italian, French, and Spanish are cousins, for the mother-language of each was Latin. It is probable that by the eighth century the differentiation of these three languages had become established. The oldest written French is found in the Oaths of Strasbourg (842). The oldest written Italian appears in a document of 960. The oldest Spanish belongs to the tenth century.

The oldest vernacular literature, however, did not appear until the late eleventh or early twelfth century. This was in France where a magnificent series of epic or heroic poems (*chansons de geste*) emerged. Strangely enough the themes of these first *chansons* were not derived from the history of the crusades but harked back to the age of Charlemagne. The *Chanson de Roland*, the oldest and finest of these Old French epics, is based on the story of Charlemagne's intervention in Moorish Spain in 778 and Roland's heroic battle

to cover the retreat of the Frankish army through the pass of Roncevalles in the Pyrenees. The earliest and greatest Spanish epic is the *Poema de Mio Cid* (ca. 1140) which relates the deeds of the Cid Campeador, the hero of Spanish Christendom against the Moors. Both the *Roland* and the *Cid* are based on actual history and both reflect the feudal ideals and the chivalry of the age in which they were written. Later on, as ancient Latin literature grew in popularity, vernacular epics were written upon classical themes, notably the Trojan War and Alexander the Great, which gave rise to a whole cycle of heroic poems.

In the second half of the twelfth century still another kind of epic poetry came into being, based upon the story of King Arthur and the Holy Grail. As the source of the *Chanson de Roland* was Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* and Frankish *Annals,* and the source of the Trojan Cycle was Virgil's *Aeneid* (Homer's *Iliad* was unknown before the Italian Renaissance), so the source of this Arthurian epic poetry was Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain* (1136). In this remarkable work, part history and part legend, Europe learned for the first time of the Celtic myths and legends which gathered around the figure of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table. These new tales not only introduced a new kind of hero, but also new themes, motifs, and even a new atmosphere. The *chansons* reflected a feudal world. These Welsh romances opened a new world filled with fairies, magic, and fancy. In the *chansons de geste* women play no notable part—Helen of Troy is the only woman in the Trojan Cycle. In the Arthurian romances the women are as important as the men. The new importance of women was derived from the love lyrics of Provence, the songs of the troubadours. Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote in Latin, but the first poets who borrowed from him wrote in Old French. Greatest of these was Chrétien of Troyes (d. 1191), whose patron was Marie, Countess of Champagne, daughter of Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine and King Louis VII of France. Chrétien was perhaps the greatest medieval poet before Dante. He drew on Irish and Cornish legends which Geoffrey had not known (or at least had not mentioned). The most important of these is the story of *Tristan and Isolt.*[1]

The *chansons de geste* and the Arthurian romances spread all over Europe but most profoundly affected German literature. Wolfram von Eschenbach, the greatest German minnesinger, completed

Epics and romances

---

[1] This Arthurian Legend in the nineteenth century was the source of Tennyson's *Morte d'Arthur* and *Idylls of the King* and of Wagner's operas, *Lohengrin, Tristan and Isolde,* and *Parsifal.*

and adapted Chrêtien of Troyes's *Perceval* in his *Parzival*, and Gottfried of Strasbourg the tale of *Tristan and Isolt*.

Lyric poems were of Provençal origin and were composed and sung to the lute by poets who traveled from court to court, playing and singing wherever they found welcome and reward. Romantic and courtly love was the universal theme of these lyrics. This literary fashion spread to the north, and Marie de France (ca. 1170) was the first famous authoress of the Middle Ages. Prose romance lagged far behind the poetical romances of this age. The gem of all medieval literature is the story of *Aucassin et Nicolette*, written in the Picard dialect of northeastern France. Other popular compositions were the *Gesta Romanorum* and the *Golden Legend*, which the poet Longfellow paraphrased in English verse.

Among the most popular medieval tales were fables of animals and animal epics. The source of these was Aesop's *Fables* in the Latin version of Phaedrus. The tradition of Aesop was furthered by the clergy because of the didactic value of these stories. During the crusades closer contact with the Orient introduced the beast tales of the Hindu *Panchatantra*, from which sprang the animal epic, like *Isengrin the Wolf*, *Renard the Fox*, etc. These are often thinly disguised satires on human society. The tale of *Barlaam and Josaphat* is a Christianized Buddha legend. The *Arabian Nights* was formed too late in the Middle Ages to affect western literature. Its influence is modern. Other literary patterns came from Byzantium, Syria, and Egypt. Sermon stories or *Exempla*, which always pointed a moral, were immensely popular.

It was a natural transition from the explicitly religious or didactic to the allegorical. A long allegorical poem in Old French, *The Romance of the Rose*, was a comprehensive commentary on medieval manners and morals. Other types of literature were *debates* between contrasted types such as Soul and Body, Spring and Winter; *battles*, such as the *Battle of the Seven Arts*, the *Battle of the Seven Deadly Sins;* and *visions*, such as the *Dream of Paradise*. In sharp contrast with his serious and sometimes depressing kind of poetry were the rollicking and often ribald songs of wandering students and vagabond monks who were called *Goliardi*.

The earliest poetry of the Anglo-Saxon people appeared in the seventh century, the epic *Beowulf* and Caedmon's *Genesis;* the earliest prose in the ninth century in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

French literary ideals and literature were introduced into England with the Norman Conquest. The old Anglo-Saxon literature became extinct, and the language was spoken only by the common people. French became the speech of the court and of the nobles.

Anglo-Saxon did not perish, but it was gradually modified, not so much in the structure of the language but in the vocabulary, by the introduction of French words. Most of these pertained to war and chivalry, hunting, legal and administrative words, and abstract and technical terms.[1]

The loss of Normandy in 1204 had the effect of emancipating England from this predominance of French. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries show a remarkable advance of the English language and the beginnings of a literature which is English both in form and spirit. English supplanted French in the schools (1350); it became the language of the law courts (1362); Henry IV employed it in parliament (1399). Wyclif's English version of the Bible and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* appeared in this same century.

The medieval drama was a genuine medieval product; it originated in the Church. These plays began as dramatizations of episodes in the liturgy, such incidents as the Magi and events dealing with the life of Christ or of the Virgin. The actors were priests and choir boys. The dialogue was reverent, and the players were serious. The purpose was to dramatize Biblical history in order to make it simpler to understand by an audience which could neither read nor write nor understand the Latin service. Accordingly these interludes, although at first spoken in Latin, soon came to be uttered in the vernacular. There are references in ninth and eleventh century chronicles to such ecclesiastical plays, or "mysteries," in France, Germany, and Spain, and in each instance the subject was the visit of the Magi. The miracle play was of a similar sort, but the themes were derived directly from the Bible and did not grow out of the ceremonies of worship. Noah and the Flood, David and Goliath, and Daniel in the Lions' Den were favorite subjects. Still another form in the fifteenth century was the morality play in which allegorical figures, such as Virtue, Vice, Peace, War, Wantonness, and Avarice, were personified. These plays were not represented in the churches but out of doors at markets and fairs by the various guilds of a town. There was much buffoonery and slapstick in them, for a popular audience wanted to be amused, not edified. *Medieval drama*

Western Europe experienced a rich and variegated advancement of culture in many forms. It was a development which became intense in the twelfth century and reached a climax in the thirteenth.

---

[1] The French plural *s* or *es* displaced the Anglo-Saxon plural *en* except in old and homely words like child*ren* and ox*en*. In general it may be said that Old English words of one syllable survived to a much greater degree than other words. No other language equals English in the number of monosyllabic words.

This movement is known as the "Twelfth-century Renaissance." The awakening was not (as Walter Pater called it) a "false dawn" of the Renaissance of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries but a true unfolding of the human spirit. The Italian Renaissance was not the beginning of a new era but the continuation of a previous movement which began in France and later was expanded in Italy. The literature, the art, the philosophy, and the science of the Italian Renaissance were given an Italian cast of thought, but these manifestations were not more original than the same species of culture in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, except in one particular. The humanism of the twelfth century did fail to take root. The newly risen universities were indifferent to classical scholarship, which was crowded out by a predominant interest in scholasticism and the study of Roman law. Classical scholarship and humanism as a general intellectual interest had to wait until the Italian Renaissance before its value was perceived.[1]

The complete synthesis of medieval culture was made by the Italian poet Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), a native of Florence, whose *Divine Comedy*[2] is one of the greatest poems of all time. Dante, it is often said, knew all that could be known in an age when this feat was still possible for a single mind. His countryman Villani, the Florentine historian, who lived in the generation after him, truly said that he was "perfect poet and philosopher, with the most exquisite style that the language ever produced."

Dante in his deep reverence for the Catholic faith and his profound knowledge of scholastic philosophy was predominantly a medieval man. But standing as he did on the threshold of the Italian Renaissance, there are intimations of the dawn of a new day in his poetry, notably in his love of nature, his reverence for the classics (Virgil), and his use of the Italian language, instead of Latin. The

[1] In western society from the eleventh century on we get the impression of initiative, of intellectual interest, of intelligent understanding of the necessity of change, much more so than in Byzantine and Moslem society. Both of these societies inclined to immobility and fixity of form and ideas, and lacked the inclination and the power to make changes, even when the necessity was apparent. Averroes, the great Mohammedan philosopher, perceived this weakness in Mohammedan civilization. Byzantine society and thought remained static through the entire Middle Ages. Western Europe was organic and perceived that change was necessary for progress. A French thinker, Dubois, who wrote about 1300, pointed out that "God himself changed many things in the New Testament which He had decreed in the Old Testament."

[2] In three parts, *Hell* (*Inferno*), *Purgatory* (*Purgatorio*), *Paradise* (*Paradiso*). The word *Commedia* is here used in the old classical sense: A composition which treats human life seriously and depicts character according to truth, but without leaving a sense of tragedy at the end. The trilogy concludes with Paradise.

Divine Comedy is an allegory of the soul's progress out of darkness into light, out of evil into good, out of the shadow of death into life eternal. It is thoroughly medieval in spirit and content, thoroughly contemporary in art and form. Dante marks the perfect transition from the Twelfth Century Renaissance to the Italian Renaissance.

Until art became secularized during the Italian Renaissance, the Church was the mother and patron of the arts. New motifs, new subjects, and new symbols were introduced by Christianity and also a new attitude towards art. In ancient art expression of beauty and creative imagination had been the ruling motives. Early Christian art was a form of adoration and a means of edification. Art was used by the Church to give reality to Christian history and doctrine and to instruct the people, most of whom were unable to read or write. They "read" pictures and statuary instead. These pictures were illustrative of scenes and incidents from the Bible, especially the life of Jesus. The statues were of prophets and apostles, martyrs and saints. *Medieval art*

The only architecture worthy of the name was ecclesiastical until the rise of the feudal castle. Byzantine and western architecture were alike closely associated with the Church. Both types were adaptations of ancient buildings to the requirements of Christian worship. The predominant form of the edifice, however, differed. In the East the model was the ancient Greek temple (often circular instead of rectangular in shape) upon which the Roman dome was imposed. The dome, too, was imposed upon the basilica, as in Justinian's great church of Santa Sophia in Constantinople. In the West, although the former imperial provinces abounded with old pagan temples, the Church generally was reluctant to adopt these pagan edifices as places of Christian worship and instead used the Roman public building. This was the basilica, a sort of roofed forum of rectangular shape divided into three aisles. A central aisle, called the *nave* from its resemblance to a ship's deck, was separated from the two side aisles—the true aisles—by arcades of arches and columns. The nave was terminated at the far end by a projection known as the *apse*. The arches supported the walls of the nave and the clearstory or row of upper windows in the walls of the nave. The Romans roofed their basilicas with great slabs of stone or cement. Until the twelfth century medieval church roofs were made of timber, often covered with sheets of lead or with slates or tiles nailed upon the timber roof. *Architecture*

In the early Middle Ages carpentry and stonemasonry, even brick-making, as well as nearly every other skilled craft, declined so that, even after a church had been built, its repair was difficult. *Building arts*

The building arts were best preserved in Italy, and, before the eleventh century, Italian workmen were in demand in France, Germany, and England. The interiors of medieval churches were always cold and dark and, frequently, also damp. Glass was known, but the pieces were small and used for decorative purposes. Linen curtains made stiff with beeswax often covered the windows.

The religious revival in the eleventh century initiated a popular and enthusiastic movement for new, better, and bigger churches. This movement began in Italy and spread over western Europe. Out of it Romanesque architecture emerged. These new churches
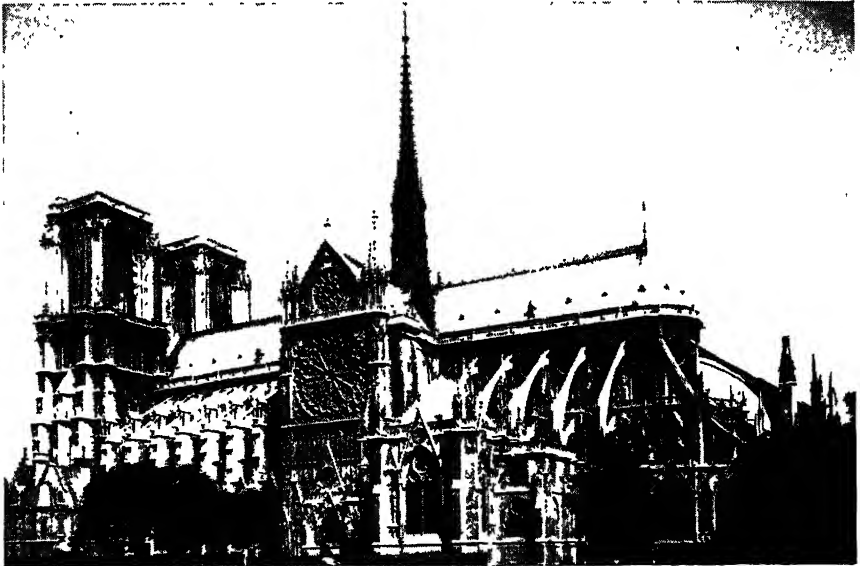
Ewing Galloway

NOTRE DAME IN PARIS

were built of stone as a precaution against fire, which was fearfully destructive of the old timbered edifices.[1]

Romanesque architecture was of stone and was characterized by thick walls with deep windows, low, heavy arches, and thick columns. Substantiality and simplicity were its attributes. It was an immense improvement on the old church building but it had two defects—the roof was still made of timber and the windows were so deep because of the thickness of the walls that little light was admitted.

[1] Chartres Cathedral was burned in 962, in 1019, and again in 1194; Notre Dame in Paris was burned in 1034 and 1059; in France alone in the eleventh century, that is, before Romanesque architecture reduced the danger of conflagration, nineteen cathedrals were burned, six of them twice in the same century.

For about one hundred and fifty years, from 1000 to 1150, Romanesque architecture prevailed in western Europe ("Rhenish" and "Norman" architecture are perhaps the best schools). Then from about 1150 to 1300 the Gothic style obtained. The invention of Gothic was the supreme achievement of medieval engineering and art. The architectural problem was to elevate and thin the walls in order to make larger windows. This required the roof to be raised and the burden of its weight to be shifted from the walls. The feat was accomplished by use of the pointed arch. The round arch was stubby, and the mathematical fact that the radius of a circle is one-half the diameter rigidly limited plasticity of design. On the other hand, the height of the pointed arch is not conditioned by its breadth. By an intricate system of groined arches, stone ribs and vaulting, an exquisite distribution of thrusts and balances, the Gothic architect achieved a structure with a high vaulted roof so strong that it could be made of stone, shifted the weight of it from the walls to the heads of the arches, thinned the walls so that broad and long windows—"lancet windows"—on the ground-floor and in the clearstory were practicable. For security's sake, these thin walls were stayed by buttresses and the still thinner upper walls of the clearstory by the "flying buttresses" which became a characteristic feature of later Gothic architecture.

Romanesque churches had been adorned with wall paintings in brilliant colors but by little stone-carving either within or without. Gothic churches, on the other hand, were lavishly, even extravagantly, decorated inside and outside in paintings, statuary, and stone-carving. The medieval artist taxed his imagination in design of every sort. The great portal of Amiens Cathedral has been called a "Bible in stone." The wall enclosing the choir at Chartres is "like point-lace in stone." The supreme glory of Gothic architecture is the stained glass which fills these long, pointed windows on the sides and the great rose windows at each end of the nave. Some of these stained glass windows are poems in color.

Castle-building was a triumph of architectural engineering and *Castles* masonry. The castle was a rugged structure meant for defense and protection. Not beauty but utility was the object in its construction. In the ninth and tenth centuries as has been pointed out already, castles were mere wooden blockhouses. Early in the eleventh century the lower course began to be made of stone, but the superstructure was still made of timber. The first all-stone castle in the West was Richard the Lion-hearted's Château Gaillard in Normandy. The donjon[1] tower, or keep, was only the largest of several

[1] This word comes from *dominium*, or lordship. The keep was the outward physical sign of the feudal lord's authority.

towers or smaller castles united into a complex structure to make, so to speak, a network of castles connected by drawbridges, each capable of being separated from the others by pulling up the draw-bridge and dropping the portcullis gate. The courtyards between these various towers were used as drill grounds or to stable horses. They were called "baileys." [1]

Other medieval arts were goldsmithing, enameling, wood-carv-ing, ivory-carving, wrought iron work, and book decoration or "il-lumination." Some of the miniatures which survive in medieval manuscripts, especially service-books for church worship and Books of Hours, are very beautiful. Art was still regarded as a craft in the Middle Ages. It was not yet a profession. "Architects, painters, sculp-tors, engineers, skilled craftsmen of every sort, musicians, school-masters, were little esteemed and commanded very low salaries. No one knows the names of the architects who built our cathedrals and abbeys. It was not the ecclesiastics who did the designing (as has been recently demonstrated), but professionals whose remunera-tion was only that of a very superior master mason. No one knows who composed the music of the Middle Ages, and hardly the names of a few gold and silver workers have been preserved. The artist was considered much of the same rank as the house-painter and glazier, and paid on a scale not much more liberal. The school-master got much less allowance than the bailiff on the neighboring manor." [2]

The Church also fostered music. The traditions of Hebrew and Greek music penetrated into the Church in the Apostolic Age. But in a very large sense medieval music was an original development and grew out of the forms of public worship and singing of hymns. It is hardly to be doubted that both vocal and instrumental music obtained in early church worship (Mark xiv, 26; Ephesians v, 19); but we have little precise knowledge of church music until the time of St. Ambrose, who introduced into the West the mode of chanting which he had learned in Antioch. This was plain-chant which moved in irregular prose rhythms, each syllable having equal duration, very unlike ancient Greek music which was metric in structure, the length of the notes varying according to the syllabic values in the meter. This was due to the difference in the form of the language used in worship. Although the Psalms in the original Hebrew are of poetic form, in Greek and Latin translation this form is lost, and only a certain rhythm remains. Plain-chant was

---

[1] From Old French *baille*, a walled or palisaded enclosure. Old Bailey, the central criminal court of London, stands in what was the bailey of the old city wall.

[2] C. W. Oman, *The Sixteenth Century*, 52–53.

prose rhythm sung in unison or by a single voice or antiphonally. Its most important use was in the liturgy of the Mass. The oldest parts of the liturgy are literal extracts from Holy Writ. Later non-Biblical forms called *tropes* were interpolated between the various chants of the Mass before the *introit,* the *gloria,* and the *gradual;* the last is known as the sequence. The best known trope probably is the *Kyrie eleison.* The tropes became the source of much Christian poetry.

Unlike plain-chant, which is rhythmic, hymns are metrical in form. The themes are of a religious nature, but the music of early hymns was not "sacred" music but popular tunes or folk melodies. In the fourth century the Arian heretics used hymns with such effect to popularize their teachings that the orthodox Church was compelled to follow their example. The emotionalism created by mass-singing of popular melodies was very great. The singing of hymns has ever been a potent instrument in religious revivalism. The name of St. Ambrose is intimately associated with the early hymns of the Church, as with the introduction of plain-chant into the West.

Plain-chant and hymns obtained in the Greek Church before they passed into the West. The great name associated with this transition is that of Pope Gregory I (590–604) who, during his long residence at Constantinople as papal legate before he himself became pope, seems to have learned a great deal about church music in the Eastern Church. He established a singing school in Rome *(schola cantorum)* the influence of which was vivid for centuries. When Charlemagne undertook to improve church services in the Frankish churches he imported two singing teachers from Rome for this purpose and established singing schools at Metz and Soissons for the instruction of the clergy. Both men, however, complained that they "could not coax a trill from the throats of the croaking barbarians."

The musical instruments used in the Middle Ages were those known in antiquity, with one exception—the organ was a medieval invention, although its principle, a series of pipes of graduated sizes into which wind was injected by a bellows, was known to the Greeks. It was first worked by means of a perforated slide. Keys were introduced in the eleventh century and pedals invented in the fifteenth century by a German in the service of the doge of Venice. The Byzantine Emperor Constantine Copronymus sent an organ to Pepin the Short in 757, and Emperor Michael sent one to Charlemagne. The Greek Church frowned upon instrumental music, as does the Russian Church today, so that the development of such music was left wholly to the Latin Church in the West.

Since music was a part of the quadrivium, the theory of music was taught in every progressive monastic or cathedral school, and a comprehensive series of works on medieval music has come down to us.[1]

Secular music was folk music—the songs of bards, minstrels, and jongleurs. The tunes were as old as the Germans, the Celts, and the Norse peoples. "Notwithstanding all the disturbances and oppression of a troubled age, people of all classes found time and courage still to dance and sing." These were soldiers' marching songs, songs of victory in battle, and harvest and vineyard songs. There is one song of a peasant singing in the furrow as he followed his plough; there are also student songs, and the songs of troubadour and trouvères and minnesinger.
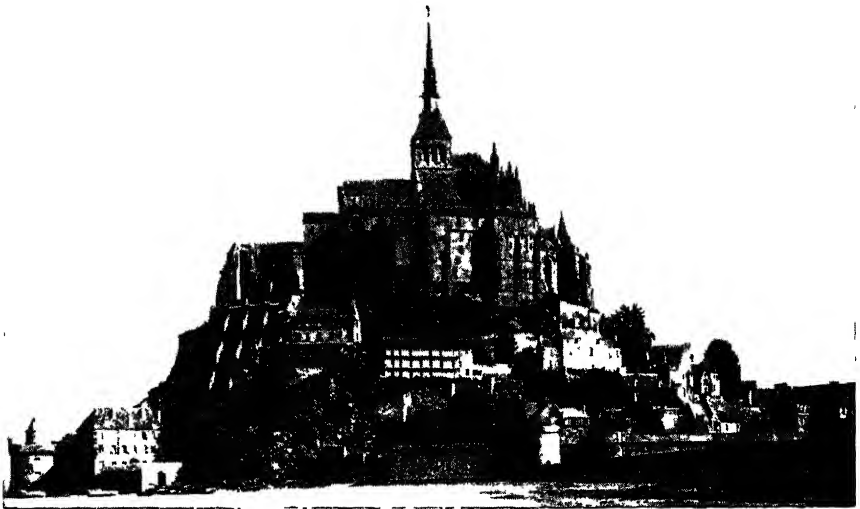
Ewing Galloway

MONT-SAINT-MICHEL

[1] The period from about A.D. 500 to 1050 was significant in the history of music because the system of pitch-relations that it evolved, with its inherent limitations and potentialities, provided the basis for the harmonic development which is the unique property of European music. Considered in the light of modern aesthetic theory, the fact that this musical system has been capable of centuries of expansion is due to the profound and long-continued effort that it cost church scholars to bring it into being. A study of the subject begins with Boethius and Cassiodorus in the sixth century, and includes the work of subsequent writers through the time of Guido of Arezzo (ca. 1050). Boethius's *De Musica* provided the source-material for succeeding theorists, including Hucbald in the tenth century who was among the first to describe the simultaneous use of two sounds in music.

COLLATERAL READING

H. Adams, *Mont-St.-Michel and Chartres,* 1904.

M. C. D'Arcy, *Thomas Aquinas,* 1930.

Aucassin and Nicolette. Translated by Eugene Mason, 1910.

E. Gilson, *The Spirit of Medieval Philosophy,* 1936.

C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century,* 1927.

————, *The Rise of the Universities,* 1925.

T. G. Jackson, *Gothic Architecture,* 1915, 2 volumes.

J. McCabe, *Peter Abélard,* 1901.

R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning,* 1920.

H. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages,* 1936, 3 volumes.

G. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages,* 1940.

G. Sartou, *Introduction to the History of Science,* 1927–48, 3 volumes.

H. O. Taylor, *The Medieval Mind,* 1927, 2 volumes.

H. Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars,* 1934.

DANTE

The Renaissance

THE Renaissance—and it was not wholly an Italian movement —was a transition epoch, for it was both the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of modern times. It was at once an epilogue and a prologue. At the end of the Middle Ages life and thought had become so rich in variety and content that it could no longer flow in the old channels. The Renaissance cannot be sharply bracketed between two terminal dates but, broadly speaking, it may be said to have included the fourteenth, fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The fall of the medieval papacy in 1303, the sack of Rome in 1527, or the extinction of the liberty of Florence in 1530—if dates be required—may be taken as the temporal limits of the Renaissance.

At the outset two cautions must be given in the use of the word "Renaissance." First, the word is an unfortunate one, for it was coined to characterize only one phase of the epoch, viz.: the rebirth of interest in ancient Roman and Greek literature and art, for which the proper term is the "revival of classical learning." Second, the traditional view of the Renaissance portrayed it as a sudden outflowering of thought, a sudden awakening of art, a sudden shining light thrown upon the darkness of the Middle Ages. This is a myth. There was no suspension of intellectual life in the Middle Ages.

We must look backward into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries for the changes which paved the way for the Renaissance. They were: the great development of commerce, trade, and industry; the

rise of the towns and the formation of the bourgeoisie, first in Italy and later in Flanders, Germany, France, and England; the increasing secularization of Europe, e.g., the spread of Roman law to the detriment of both ecclesiastical and feudal law; the revolution in education wrought by the rise of the universities; the prevalence of a secular literature written in the vernacular, whether Italian, French, German, English, or Spanish instead of in Latin, which for centuries had been the sole literary language, just as the sole literature was clerical in spirit and content.

Fundamentally the Renaissance was a bourgeois movement. It was initiated and sustained by townsmen long before the clergy and nobles became interested in it. This explains why it originated in Italy instead of in France; Italy was a land of free cities, whose number, population, and wealth bred a strong, numerous, and rich bourgeois class. The free cities were in the hands of the rich merchant class, or patriciate. Thus the cities were democratic when contrasted with the previous feudal or clerical regime, but not democratic in a larger sense. The common people in the towns, such as the small traders, artisans, and craftsmen, were ineligible to municipal offices and deprived of the suffrage. The great merchants were organized in guilds: rich capitalistic corporations which "ran" the local government, controlled prices, and regulated wages, hours of work, etc. Accordingly, nearly every Italian city was torn by political, class, and economic strife between the patriciate and the common people. *Renaissance, a bourgeois movement*

During this stormy period many of the cities of Italy ran the gamut of political change from aristocracy through oligarchy to democracy. Only Venice, a rich commercial and naval power, whose wealth was drawn from the Levant and the Aegean and Mediterranean islands, her spoils of the Byzantine Empire in 1204, preserved her stability through the domination of a rich oligarchy of merchant nobles. It would be an error, however, to criticize these turbulent towns, even though they failed to preserve their liberties; for it is to be remembered that their inhabitants were but a few generations removed from medieval serfdom, and that the experiment of self-government was entirely new to them. Trial and error was the only method to solve the problem created by the necessity of modernizing the legacy of the Middle Ages and establishing new institutions adapted to new conditions.

In the fourteenth century independent town government broke down almost everywhere, and the towns passed under the despotism of some politically strong adventurer, who constituted a new type of ducal authority wholly different from that of the feudal age. *Despotism in towns*

Thus arose the Visconti (1277–1450) and later the Sforza (1450–1499) in Milan, the Medici in Florence, the Este in Ferrara, the Malatesta in Rimini, the Gonzaga in Mantua, the Bentovogli in Bologna, the Baglioni in Perugia. Sometimes the despot might be a local magistrate who seized the power; sometimes, the head of a local family of influence and affluence. Many despots were soldiers of fortune (*condottiere*), captains who sold their military service, together with that of their hired mercenaries, to some town in territorial or commercial rivalry with a neighboring town and afterwards would seize the government. All pretended to a ducal title and converted the territory which they ruled into duchies. In this way Milan became the most powerful duchy in the north; Florence the strongest duchy in central Italy. Only Venice and Genoa remained republics. In Florence a particularly gifted people rose to such a height and exhibited such a variety of genius that this city must be regarded as one of the primary sources of modern culture.

Unique among the Italian principalities was Rôme. For the pope was spiritual head of the Church as well as a territorial prince in central Italy, administering justice, coining money, making war upon his neighbors, precisely like the other great Italian nobles. The only difference between him and the others as a ruler was that he could not establish an hereditary dynasty in the duchy of Rome since he was a priest who was elected to the papal office by the college of cardinals.

It would be tedious and unnecessary to relate the political and military history of these Renaissance principalities. It is a tangled skein of court intrigue, secret diplomacy, onerous taxation, warfare, conquest or defeat, relieved in intervals of peace by Gargantuan banqueting, gorgeous pageantry, sumptuous revels, and staggering indulgence. The better side of this life is found in the promotion of culture by these great princes. Cruel and worldly though they were, some of them were cultivated men genuinely interested in literature, art, and architecture, and even those who were not sincere pretended interest for reasons of ambition and display. It was the fashion for these great princes to collect tame scholars, artists, and writers for the ornament of their courts.

The first sponsors of the Renaissance had been those rich merchants and bankers who erected palatial homes which they lavishly decorated and adorned and where they kept sumptuous court. They gave employment to architects, sculptors, painters, poets, musicians, as well as haberdashers, milliners, merchants, craftsmen, gardeners, and a vast retinue of servants. Since the princely government of the despots rested upon this bourgeoisie, rich and poor, and the

ITALY
IN THE
FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Bellinzona

THE

Cadore

DUCHY
OF
Milan   Brescia   Feltre   Bassano
Lodi   Udine
Alessandria   MILAN   Bergamo   Verona   Venice   Fiume
Genoa   Parma   Ravenna
Spezia   Rimini
REP.   Florence   Urbino   A D R I A T I C   Sebenico
Pisa   OF FLORENCE   Arezzo   Ancona   Spalato
Livorno   Siena   Fermo
REP.   Spoleto   Ascoli   Ragusa
Centurinum   OF SIENA   Cortona   Pescara
ELBA I.   Viterno   Aquila   Dulcigno
CORSICA   Alalia   Civitavecchia   Rome   Tivoli   S E A
(TO GENOA)   Ostia   S. Severo   Barletta
Turris   Sessa   Bari
Sassari   Gaeta   Naples   Potenza   Monopoli
SARDINIA   Salerno   Brindisi
Sorgono   Taranto
(TO NAPLES)   K. OF NAPLES   Otranto
Caralis   Gallipoli
Nora
T Y R R H E N I A N

S E A   Castiglione   Catanzaro

CALABRIA

M E D I T E R R A N E A N   Palermo   Messina
Trapani   Catania
K. OF   Enna
SICILY   Siracusa
Gela
A F R I C A   S E A

commercial and industrial prosperity of Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was enormous, this promotion of art and literature passed into a system of patronage, a practice which had both its advantages and disadvantages. Although it promoted art and literature by supporting artists, authors, and musicians, it also led to flattery and servility. The high quality of the literature and art of the Renaissance epoch, however, is universally recognized.

The most significant feature of the Renaissance was the new outlook on life. Medieval society had been relatively homogeneous, each individual living within his own class or status. Society in the Renaissance was infinitely diverse in its composition, and the dividing lines between classes were not so fixed as in medieval society. Moreover, in the Middle Ages men were sensitively aware of their membership, so to say, in a group, whether that group was a people, a class, or a guild. In the Renaissance, with the decline of feudalism, the rise of towns, and the lessening of ecclesiastical authority, the former combinations and social units lost their force and individualism emerged. The medieval chrysalis burst and gave birth to a new sort of man, self-conscious not group-conscious, with a sense of personality detached from previous associations, free from the inhibitions and traditions of the past—in a word an intellectual and spiritual individual, unreceptive of authority, making his own standards, thinking as he pleased and what he pleased, objective in his outlook on life, realistic instead of idealistic in his philosophy, secular-minded, not religious-minded.

The very principle of despotism was a violent and exaggerated form of individuality. The frequent party changes or revolutionary outbreaks also gave opportunity for individual initiative, and where the government was so firmly established that opposition to it was dangerous or impossible, the political impotence did not prevent vigorous expression in other fields of activity. The large number of names of prominent persons which historians of the Renaissance mention indicate this expression of individualism, and the many contemporary biographies of famous personages are evidence of it. Again, the cosmopolitanism, at least of the elite of society, is an evidence of a high stage of individualism. The universality of the spirit and culture of the Renaissance made men feel at home almost everywhere, no matter whether they were merchants or artisans, artists or men of letters, burgher or noble, layman or secular.

A new appreciation of nature, too, ministered to this feeling of detachment and self-dignity. When Dante was exiled, much as he loved Florence and his beloved Church of St. John, he could exclaim: "What does it matter? Cannot I everywhere see the light of

sun and the stars? Bread will not fail me." Here is an appreciation of the universality and beauty of nature, and the universality of the culture of Italy in the fourteenth century. A person of mind and feeling could live as and where he pleased.

Although religious motives played a part in the Renaissance, *Religious* they were not a determining factor; indeed, Italian humanism was *scepticism* characterized by a more or less marked alienation from religion. From the time of the last Hohenstaufen, Frederick II and Manfred, a strong tendency towards rationalism prevailed in Florence which sometimes went as far as atheism. One of Boccaccio's characters in the *Decameron* is made to argue that there is no God.

There is a noble word which is used to characterize the culture *Humanism* of the Renaissance. It is *humanism,* derived from the Latin *homo, humanitas.* A humanist is one who is interested in and to some extent has mastered the elements of the culture of his age. The Middle Ages had been dominated by the principle of authority and a unified intellectual, philosophical, and religious system. But when scholasticism admitted the element of reason (*ratio*) as a determinant of thought, the door was opened to a world of new ideas. Henceforth reason as a source of knowledge advanced rapidly and ultimately dared to claim superiority over faith.

The knowledge of ancient Roman literature was widely diffused *Classic litera-* in Florence towards the end of the thirteenth century. Giovanni *ture* Villani, the first eminent Florentine historian, was acquainted with Sallust, Livy, Virgil, Lucan, and on one of his business trips in France he visited the site of Alesia where Caesar had overthrown the Gauls. One of the priors in 1311 was reprimanded because he read Latin classical literature so constantly that he neglected the public business. Dante relates that women in the twelfth century, while spinning, told tales of Troy and ancient Rome. As early as the ninth century ancient classical names such as Caesar, Nero, Brutus, and Domitian appear in baptismal registers.

The earliest humanists were Petrarch (1304–1374), the first mod- *Petrarch* ern poet; Boccaccio (1313–1375), the first modern novelist; and Giotto (d. 1377), the first modern painter. Petrarch was the "morning star" of the Renaissance. His literary reputation rests upon his sonnets, exquisite in sentiment and felicitous in language. He was equally distinguished as a classical scholar. Indeed, he may be said to have initiated the classical revival and established the New Learning. He passionately searched for classical manuscripts, his greatest find being Cicero's *Letters,* and carefully edited the texts of many ancient Latin authors. The breath of the Revival of Learning is exhaled from his famous *Letters to Classical Authors.* Pe-

trarch's influence upon education was great. He condemned the use of theological and scholastic matter in the schools, as well as the abuse of dialectics, and he labored to base education upon the classics. The fruit of this movement which was taken up by others, notably by Vittorino da Feltre (1378–1446), was the creation in the Renaissance of the long-established classical curriculum, which was not materially changed until the late decades of the past century.

Petrarch's admirer, Boccaccio, who had sent the poet a transcript of Dante's immortal trilogy, together with some works of Cicero and Varro, and thus established one of the most famous literary friendships of history, equaled his master in enthusiasm for the ancient Latin literature and culture but was not of so critical a mind. His own copy of the plays of Terence is still preserved in Florence; he discovered lost writings of several Roman authors and especially admired Livy and Tacitus, the greatest ancient Roman historians. Boccaccio was the first humanist familiar with the latter, and the famous manuscript of Tacitus's *Histories* and the latter part of the *Annals,* a unique example, now in the Medicean Library at Florence, were found by him in the half-ruined monastery of Monte Cassino. The monks' sloth and indifference to learning in the later Middle Ages is exemplified by Boccaccio's experience there. It is related by his pupil, Benvenuto:

Being eager to see the library which he had heard was very noble, he humbly besought one of the monks to do him the favor of opening it. Pointing to a lofty staircase the monk answered stiffly: "Go up; it is already open." Boccaccio mounted the stairway with delight to find this treasure house of learning destitute of any door or any kind of lock; grass was growing on the window-sills and dust lay thick upon the books and book shelves. Turning over the manuscripts, he found many rare and ancient works, with whole sheets torn out or with the margins ruthlessly clipped.

Boccaccio has the further eminence of having been the first modern man in western Europe who knew Greek; he thus became the father of the Greek Renaissance. He learned Greek from a Byzantine scholar who had come to Venice from Constantinople about 1360—the commercial and cultural relations between these two great cities were old and intimate. Boccaccio at once invited him to Florence where he dwelt for three years in his house, teaching him the Greek language and translating Homer into Latin.

Boccaccio's chief title to fame rests upon his prose stories in the immortal *Decameron,* or *Ten Days,* a collection of a hundred tales written between 1349–1353. It is the earliest modern fiction. Some of these tales hark back to classical times; some are of Oriental

origin—Syrian and Hindu—which probably first came to the West during the crusades; some have a distinctly medieval tinge. All are told with astonishing vivacity. Although some of the tales will hardly bear repeating today because of their salaciousness, they have an historical value as realistic reflections of the manners and spirit of the age. Chaucer and Shakespeare, and even Browning and Tennyson, drew upon the *Decameron* for themes and plots. The persons in these tales represent a cross section of Florentine society in the fourteenth century—priest and noble, merchant and peasant, soldiers and ruffians, ladies and harlots. The tales themselves are now comic and now tragic; wit, humor, and satire abound in them. The framework in which they are set is ingenious and shows Boccaccio's great art as a story-teller. A merry group of young men and women are represented as having fled from the plague in Florence—the Black Death in 1349—to the country villa of one of the number, where for ten days they beguile their time by telling stories, ten each day. Boccaccio was too consummate a literary artist to make a direct causal connection between the plague and the enchantment of his stories. Yet the wonderfully dramatic and subtle association of the horror of the plague with beauty in the introduction is unmistakable. The effectiveness is all the greater because of the very absence of explicit statement. In the stories themselves the immoral, or rather unmoral, conduct of the characters arises from their intelligence; they act as they do and say what they say because they are types of the Renaissance.[1]

Another type of prose literature important during the Renaissance was history. The old medieval annals and chronicles, which had been the dominant form of historical narration for a number of centuries, had waned by the fourteenth century. The rise of the towns, the development of the bourgeoisie, the decline of ecclesiastical authority, the increasing secularization of Europe, all gave rise to city chronicles which stressed secular interests and were written in the vernacular instead of in priests' Latin. They were modern both in form and spirit. Florence was as supreme in the writing of history as she was in poetry, fiction, and the arts. The line of historians begins with Giovanni Villani, who died during

Writing of history

---

[1] It is curious that the first three stories of the first day should take a fling at the Catholic Church not in the matter of its doctrines but in the matter of its practices. These are the tales of the wicked Chapelet who succeeded in getting himself reverenced as a saint, the story of the Jew who was converted to Christianity by seeing the corruption of Rome because a religion which could survive such corruption must be from God, and the equally famous story of the three rings.

the Great Plague (1348), and ends with Guicciardini in 1540. In these two centuries Florence alone produced a dozen historians of eminence and at least two—Machiavelli and Guicciardini—who approached genius. Statistical science may be said to have originated in Florence and Venice. The histories of the Renaissance abound with information in regard to population, revenue, taxation, commerce and trade, markets, banking, public improvements, salaries, wages, prices, hygiene, etc. For the first half of the sixteenth century no state in Europe possesses a document equal to the magnificent account of Florence by Varchi. Machiavelli (d. 1527) traced the operations of political forces with a masterly hand in his *History of Florence*. His *Prince,* one of the greatest treatises on government, analyzes and interprets the enlightened absolutism, prevailing about 1500, primarily in Italy but to some degree also in the great monarchies of France and Spain, and his *Discourse on Livy* is a penetrating series of essays on the theory and nature of government. Guicciardini (d. 1540) was the author of a *History of Florence* and a *History of Italy*. The latter is a history of Italy in its relations to Europe at large, and the first work of that nature. Guicciardini broke with localism and particularism and had the universal view of the modern historian.

Some writers wrote in Italian and others in Latin. This is an evidence of the influence of classicism. The greatest historians, however, wrote in the native tongue and thereby contributed a magnificent prose to the body of Italian literature. Another evidence of the influence of antiquity upon the form of historical writing was the habit of dividing an historical work into ten books in imitation of Livy's "decades." Even more important was the influence of Polybius, the ancient Greek historian, upon the political thinking and historical evidence regarded as significant by historians of the age. As Petrarch created modern poetry and Boccaccio created modern fiction, so these historians of the Renaissance created modern historical writing.

A subordinate but important type of historiography is found in the many biographies of the Renaissance, sometimes a series of them like Platina's *Lives of the Popes*. In part this vogue was an expression of the individuality of the Renaissance. It was an age of strong men. In part it was an imitation of antiquity. In the late Greek and imperial Roman period biography was a widespread type of literature. Suetonius's *Lives* of the first twelve Roman emperors and Plutarch's *Lives* were the models. Much occasional poetry was composed under the literary patronage which prevailed, and many works on archaeology and antiquities were written by sedulous

students. The literature of the Italian Renaissance was altogether voluminous and varied.

Other fine arts more phenomenal were painting, sculpture, and architecture in the Renaissance. In the Middle Ages these arts were wholly employed for the Church, and the subjects were of a religious and devotional nature. The Romanesque and Gothic art of the feudal age inclined to pass away along with the universal change which characterized Europe at the end of the thirteenth century. The first signs of the awakening were crude attempts at nature study in faces, motions, and drapery. The first great modern painter—indeed a genius—was the Florentine Giotto (d. 1337), who was also a great intellect and inventor.[1] Giotto painted frescoes illustrating New Testament lives and lives of saints with a masterful simplicity which has never been surpassed. One not only sees, one *feels* the faces and knows the character of the subject; and these effects were secured in spite of Giotto's inability to handle perspective or to represent landscape well. Classical influence is found in the figures of the soldiers stationed to guard the sepulchre after the crucifixion, which are manifestly modeled according to ancient Roman sculpture. Giotto founded the Florentine school of painters under whom "Byzantinism," with its heaviness and moroseness' of spirit, disappeared (the last representative of this style had been Cimabue (1240–1302?), and nature study, portraits, and knowledge of form introduced a new style, new methods, and new themes. The long and famous line of the Florentine painters includes Masaccio (1401–1428), Verrocchio (1435–1488), Ghirlandaio (1449–1494), Botticelli (1446–1512), and culminates in Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), and Michelangelo (1475–1564).[2]

Siena shares in the honor of emancipating Italian painting from slavery to Byzantine tradition. In 1311 Duccio di Buoninsegna completed his altarpiece for the Cathedral of Siena; a holiday was de- *Siena art*

---

[1] He used the traditional fresco technique, i.e., applying the liquid colors to a plastered surface while it was still wet. Unless the wall were exposed to the weather, as in the case of cloisters and colonnades, such a painting would last as long as the wall. Unfortunately many of Giotto's pictures were in the open air and consequently have been badly damaged or ruined.

[2] Portraiture was almost an evocation from the patronage of art by the Renaissance. Princes, popes, cardinals, rich merchants, all wanted to have their portraits painted. But the evolution of portraiture in Italy was different from its development in northern Europe. In the North the art of portraiture originated in the illumination of manuscripts and was a perfect medieval expression. In Italy its primary source was the commemorative medal, which set the fashion for sculptured profile portraits in low relief, from which the step was made to portrait-painting.

clared and the picture paraded through the streets, while the people fell on their knees and the church bells rang in jubilation. This work, together with that of Giotto, marked both the end of Byzantine influence and the beginning of an authentic Christian art in the West.[1] Although less than fifty miles distant from Florence, Siena became the seat of a school of art which was of a very different nature. Neither the revival of antiquity nor the new interest in nature influenced it. Florentine art was robust and technically skilled in drawing. Siena's art was graceful, wistful, almost pathetic —intensely religious in the emotional sense of that word. Many Sienese pictures seem like large and brilliant manuscripts. The greatest representative of the Sienese school was Fra Angelico (1387– 1455); after him painting degenerated into excessive sentimentality.

The medieval religious tradition continued long in Umbria, and a talented group of artists was found at Perugia in the fifteenth century; they were attracted by the loveliness of the landscape— gently rolling hills, charming little valleys, and clear air. Umbrian art was influenced by Florence in technique but by Siena in sentiment. Perugino (1446–1524) originated the "Perugino type"—the sweet but slightly melancholy faces, the local landscape which made him paint friendly trees, and the golden brown atmosphere hanging over the hills. Perugino was the master of Raphael (1488–1520), whose pictures have an unrivaled sense of balance and proportion, suave lines, gem-like coloring, and serenity. Umbrian sentiment and Ferrara (Mantegna (1431–1506)) method influenced the school of Bologna. Exceedingly interesting is the Paduan-Ferrara school. The University of Padua was the leading medical school of the age, and the union of classical and anatomical studies gave Paduan art a statuesque characteristic which in the early work of the school was sometimes hard, stringy, and anatomical.

More significant were the introduction of landscape and a feeling for nature, the decline of religious sentiment manifested in the conventionalization of medieval subjects, the vogue for portraiture, the triumph of Hellenism, and the influence of paganism. The work of Fra Bartolommeo (1475–1517) exemplifies this struggle between religion and nature, devotionalism and paganism. The genius of Raphael harmonized these variant and sometimes antagonistic elements, and it is perhaps because of this that his pictures are admired most of all, even though the observer may be unable to explain exactly why he prefers Raphael to any other painter of the Renaissance.

[1] The main portion of this altarpiece is still in Siena, but two superb panels of it are owned by Mr. John D. Rockefeller and are in New York.

Most of the painters by the first quarter of the fifteenth century *Decline of re-* yielded to the tendency of the age. In Andrea del Sarto (1486–1531), *ligious motif* called "the faultless painter," there is little religious feeling although he depicted religious subjects. The best painter and colorist of all the Florentines, there is nevertheless something lacking in him. In Correggio (1494–1534), the Faun of the Renaissance, we see the consummation of the nature motif; his religious or classical subjects were merely an excuse for the painter to picture exuberance of spirits and the beauty of material life. He painted a picture just to show a scheme of light and shade shot through with color. In Correggio one sees the beginning of "art for art's sake."

Two great artists, each a vigorous personality in this age of *Leonardo da* transition, exhibited the independence of genius. These were Leo- *Vinci* nardo da Vinci (1452–1519) and Michelangelo (1475–1564). Leonardo was one of the world's great figures—painter, architect, sculptor, engineer, inventor, scientist, and, one might add, psychologist, and philosopher. Florentine by birth, his life was spent in the service of the Sforza dukes of Milan until the French conquest of the Milanese, when he entered the service of Francis I. Leonardo spent his life in seeking the hidden and striving for the unattainable. He had strong esthetic sense and remarkable technique, yet there is an elusive characteristic about all his paintings, a sort of wizardry or mystery which defies analysis or definition, but which one nevertheless feels. Perhaps it may best be termed "psychology." The famous Mona Lisa is the most striking example of this quality, but it appears also in Leonardo's Head of Christ. Leonardo was, perhaps, too pronouncedly intellectual. The faces in his portraits show exclusively refinement, tenderness, culture, and subtle thought.

Michelangelo was a man of different mold and different person- *Michelangelo* ality. He had a rugged individuality and united a grand style with themes of grandeur. Technically he was a great draftsman and a sculptor, as the great Sistine frescoes show. He was an Hebraist, not an Hellenist. His subjects are taken preferably from the Old Testament, not the New. He was interested in portraying the Hebrew prophets and the figures of classical mythology, like the sibyls. When he dealt with Christianity he did so theologically, not devotionally, as in his terrible picture of the Last Judgment.

The Venetian school was the last to emerge. Hardly an artist in it *Venetian art* painted before 1500. The founder of the school was Giovanni Bellini, who died in 1516. The Renaissance in Venice differed greatly from the movement elsewhere in Italy. The Venetians were not humanists or scholars like the Florentines but a materialistic, splendor-loving people. The long commercial relations with the Byzan-

tine Empire and Egypt not only enormously enriched Venice, but profoundly influenced her civilization and necessitated a rich luxurious art to correspond. The color instinct in Venetian art, which was derived from Byzantium, is its most pronounced characteristic. Color was the significant expression, compared with which line and form were almost negligible. Color was to be seen on walls and in buildings, in mosaics, decoration, in the skies above and the waters around Venice. The introduction of oil mediums accentuated this richness of color.

The Venetians took their religion lightly. There is nothing of the intense emotionalism, nothing of the devotion and spirituality found in Sienese and Florentine art. Religious subjects continued to be painted, but the religious spirit was gone, and in Venetian art sensuousness finally triumphed over everything else save color. Among the great Venetian artists were Giorgone (1478–1511), Tintoretto (1518–1592), Paolo Veronese (1528–1588), and, above all, Titian (1477–1576). Tintoretto was famous for his rapid work, furious style, and technical powers; Veronese was the culminating point of Venetian art as color and decoration; Titian was the greatest colorist the world has ever known. He was the last and greatest among Venetian painters.[1]

It has been said that as sculpture was the principal medium of art among the Greeks, so painting was the chief form of art expression during the Renaissance. In the Renaissance there were fewer sculptors than painters. In sculpture the earliest evidence was Niccola Pisano's (d. 1280) reliefs in the baptistery at Pisa depicting scenes in the life of Jesus. Pisano's models were some remains of Roman sculpture found in Tuscany, notably a Bacchic vase, and some ancient sarcophagi in Pisa, the reliefs of which he imitated. His son and two of his pupils carried on his work. The greatest sculptors of the fifteenth century were Ghiberti (1378–1455) and Donatello (1386–1466). Ghiberti's door of the baptistery of Florence is famous; it is a picture in bronze, for the figures are grouped as in a painting and placed in a landscape copied from nature. Donatello's close study of anatomy in the medical school of Padua is faithfully reflected in the figures he executed; he exerted a great influence upon Italian sculpture and is justly regarded as the precursor of Michelangelo. Equally famous as painter and sculptor was Andrea Verrocchio

[1] When he died the Renaissance everywhere in Italy was in a state of decadence. Two important cities in Italy were not influenced by the Renaissance spirit. Neither literature nor art, neither humanism nor the classical revival affected Genoa and Naples. No important author, scholar, painter, or sculptor is to be found in either of them.

(1435–1488), the master of Perugino, Leonardo da Vinci, and Lorenzo di Credi, whose equestrian statue of Colleone, the famous military captain of Venice, which he made for the republic, is perhaps the most magnificent equestrian statue in the world. These sculptors excelled in bronze and marble. Luca della Robbia (1400–1482) gave his name to glazed reliefs in terra cotta exquisitely depicting angels, saints, and especially children.

Architecture   Architecture was another important manifestation of the Renaissance. In character it exhibits a return to Roman rather than Greek antiquity, that is, to column, lintel, and arch, although it is true that Roman architecture was deeply indebted to the three classical types of architecture—Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian—and that only the arch and the dome were peculiarly Roman. The Gothic clustered pier, pointed arch, ribbed vaulting, and piercing spires vanished with the waning of the Middle Ages.[1]

Secular structures   It is significant of the secular spirit of the age that most of these new buildings were not ecclesiastical but civic, erected by the municipalities, or else they were palaces of the rich. Striking examples of these secular structures are the palace of the doges in Venice; the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, originally the seat of the signoria, the governing body of the city, with a magnificent array of battlements and an imposing tower 308 feet high; the palaces of the Pitti, Riccardi, and Uffizi families; and the Loggia dei Lanzi, a magnificent vaulted hall open to the air on one side. In Genoa a single street possesses nine of the most imposing *palazzi* to be found in all Italy, and Rome was crowded with the palaces of papal families, cardinals, nobles, and bankers who made fortunes in the fiscal service of the pontiffs.

Ecclesiastical architecture: towers   The ecclesiastical architecture of the period is distinguished by two striking features—towers and domes. Technically the former are campaniles, or bell-towers of churches. Some places like Fiesole, near Florence, and Rome seemed a forest of bell-towers. The three most famous campaniles were: the bell-tower at Venice, which collapsed some years ago and was since built in identical form; the leaning tower at Pisa; and most beautiful of all, the exquisite campanile of the cathedral in Florence, designed by Giotto, although he did not live to see its completion. The Florentine structure is 292 feet in height so that the eye is carried upward, giving a "soaring" effect to him who gazes; the illusion is almost that of the Gothic *flèche* (arrow) or spire piercing the sky. The windows are filled with tracery, which again gives an impression of Gothic.

[1] The cathedral of Milan is unique in being the only structure of Gothic form erected in all Italy during the Renaissance, and even it is not "pure" Gothic.

The other striking feature of ecclesiastical architecture in the Renaissance, the dome (*duomo*), was so impressive and so universal that the word *duomo* in Italy has come to signify a cathedral. This design was borrowed from the great dome of St. Sophia in Constantinople which the Emperor Justinian erected in the sixth century. Its adoption is an illustration of Byzantine Greek influence in Italy. The initiator of this early medieval rather than post-classical architecture was the Florentine Brunelleschi (1377–1446), whose dome matches Giotto's campanile in impressive beauty. The greatest dome not only in Italy but in all Christendom is that of St. Peter's in Rome which was designed by Bramante (d. 1514) but executed by Michelangelo.

Michelangelo, Titian and Benvenuto Cellini (d. 1571) were among the last geniuses of the Renaissance. Cellini was a goldsmith, enamel-worker, sculptor, and writer. His figure of Perseus in Florence is one of the great examples of bronze statuary in the world. In his *Autobiography* he gives a vivid account of the difficulty in casting it. This *Autobiography*—a classic of its kind—is the confession of a pronounced individualist, who incarnated much of the best and worst characteristics of the time, a man who stopped at nothing, who could commit murder and crime merely for the thrill of the experience, who was not immoral because he was without moral sense. He is one of the most picturesque and fascinating rascals in all history. No single book, perhaps, so reveals the atmosphere of the Renaissance as this memoir. He learned drawing from Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo, and letters from the writings of Petrarch and Boccaccio. He was a talented artist, a truculent soldier, a courteous gentleman when he wished to be, a bravo—one character is as proper of him as another.

The last literary lights of the Renaissance in Italy were the poets Ariosto (1474–1533) and Torquato Tasso (1544–1595). Both of them represented a type of literature hitherto strange to Italy, but familiar to the rest of Europe, namely romantic poetry. For all their varied talents, the Italians of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had been too realistic to be romantic. In Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1516), the hero of the epic poetry of medieval France, Roland, returned to literature once more. In *Jerusalem Delivered* Tasso celebrated with romantic fury the history of the first crusade. In both these long poems everything is in excess—incident, thought, feeling, expression—and both must be regarded as symptoms of the decline of the Renaissance.

By the middle of the sixteenth century the Renaissance in Italy was in a state of decadence so great that it may be said to have expired. In compensation, however, the spirit, the forms, and the

practices of the Italian Renaissance by that time had spread to the other countries of Europe. Of all these countries, France was the most intimate heir of the scholarship, the literary spirit, and the art tradition of Italy.

Northern Renaissance   The Renaissance movement outside of Italy, sometimes called the "Northern Renaissance," that is, Germany, France, Flanders, Holland, and England, owed little to antiquity. Medievalism in form and spirit persisted longer beyond the Alps than in Italy, and feudalism and chivalry died a long and lingering death. Except for Flanders and Germany, the burgher class was not numerous, and great cities were few in number. On the other hand, religion was taken seriously in these countries, although much of it was "pietistic" rather than orthodox, whereas in Italy it was taken lightly or paganized. A naturalistic art and a literature in the language of the people, whether German, French, or English, were the chief media of expression. Ecclesiastical architecture languished because the religious spirit of the age was given to the formation of sects and support of heresies; but civic architecture flourished in the Flemish and German cities, with their city halls, guild halls, and warehouses.

Northern art   Flanders and then Germany were the pioneers of northern art. The artistic Renaissance began in the former country at the end of the fourteenth century with the brothers Hubert and Jan Van Eyck. Together they painted the magnificent picture of *The Adoration of the Lamb,* now in the cathedral at Ghent. The younger Van Eyck is celebrated for discovery of the art of painting in oil, which even the Italian painters soon came to use.

German art and literature   Art flourished under many forms in Germany—painting, wood-carving, wood-engraving, printing, art metal work, for which Nuremberg was famous. The first eminent German painter was Lucas Cranach (1472–1553), but the greatest were Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) of Nuremberg and Hans Holbein (1498–1554) of Augsburg, known as the elder, to distinguish him from his son Hans Holbein, who was also eminent. In vigor and technique both Dürer and the elder Holbein equaled the best artists of the Italian Renaissance, and both excelled in portraiture. The elder Holbein's portraits of Henry VIII, Anne of Cleves, Sir Thomas Moore, and Erasmus are world famous. The first example in Germany of popular literature was Sebastian Brandt's *Ship of Fools* (1494). The purpose of this curious and amusing work was to ridicule the follies and vices of every rank and profession of society under the allegory of a ship freighted with fools asail on life's troubled sea. The humor and sometimes pity in the subject struck a chord in the popular heart. The doggerel verse was illustrated by a famous series of woodcuts

which made its meaning clear even to those unable to read. It was translated into French, Flemish, English—and, strange to say, into Latin.

The first great humanist outside of Italy was greater than any Italian humanist, except possibly Petrarch. Erasmus of Rotterdam (1467–1536) extended the classical Renaissance. He was educated at the University of Paris and at Bologna. Francis I vainly endeavored to persuade him to take the chair of classical studies in the Collège de France, which the king founded for the promotion of humanistic studies—a reflection on the University of Paris because of the stress it laid upon theology and its indifference to the humanities. Erasmus was at home in France, England, Italy, and Germany, and finally settled down at Basel where his friend, the great printer Froben, was established. Erasmus's edition of the *New Testament* is the first great critical study in the Greek language and inaugurator both of modern Greek studies and of modern Biblical research. Better known and more interesting to the general reader are his *Praise of Folly,* a series of satires on the time, his *Colloquies,* intended as a manual of polite manners and conversation, and his *Letters.* Erasmus was the first writer of international renown and the first who was able to make a living by his pen, without needing to resort to the Church.

If it had not been for the invention of printing Erasmus would have been unable to do this. For thousands of years all books had been written upon papyrus, parchment, or paper, the last of which, however, was not made before the late thirteenth century and was not used generally until the next century. Then, rather suddenly, in the middle of the fifteenth century, the device of movable metal type was invented. No revolution in history wrought by a mechanical means—neither the steam engine nor electricity—is comparable to the influence of the printing press on civilization. It was the first machine capable of quantity production. Henceforth books could be produced by hundreds and thousands, instead of a few score painfully written by hand in ancient and medieval *scriptoria* (writing rooms). Hitherto the only mechanical form of multiplication had been crudely cut wood picture blocks, with or without a short inscription. The earliest example of a wood block is dated 1418. But it is certain that xylography, or wood-engraving, at least for printing pictures and for capital letters, was practiced in the medieval monasteries as far back as the twelfth century for the production of pious souvenirs printed on leaves of parchment and as such sold to pilgrims.[1] It seems strange that it required two hundred years more before it occurred to any one that by breaking

[1] For examples of these see *La Grande Encyclopédie,* XXXI, 1258 bis.

up such a block inscription into its elements—the letters which formed it—letters might be combined to form other words and sentences.

Neither the claim that John Gutenberg of Mainz, Germany, invented the art of printing with movable type about 1454, nor the popular belief that the so-called Gutenberg *Bible* was the first printed book is substantiated. Four examples of printing have been found which antedate the earliest printed Bible, no one of which can satisfactorily be attributed to Gutenberg.[1] There is reason to believe that the art of printing was actually known and practiced as early as 1430 but was kept secret because of fear of the jealous opposition of the scriveners' and copyists' guilds which were closely allied with the Church and the universities, and that it finally "leaked out" and became public knowledge. Neither Gutenberg nor any of his contemporaries may be said to have been the first printers nor to have invented the art. *In great likelihood their contributions were technical improvements of an art already known,*

although not widely used before 1455. The earliest type seems to have been made of lead, cast in sand molds. Gutenberg seems to have substituted a metal mold. Beginning with a wooden mold he first cast a *brass type* which he hammered into *sheet lead,* thus getting a more durable mold, or matrix. Another man, Schoeffer, apparently improved upon this by hammering steel-cut type into copperplate instead of lead and thus got a still more durable matrix.

Next to Germany, Italy was the country in which printing was most widely diffused. The first press outside of Germany was set up by Pannartz and Sweynheim at Subiaco near Rome in 1465. Interesting calculations have been made as to the quantity of books printed before 1500. Preliminary estimates based upon a new survey now under way give ground for believing that perhaps a total of nearly nine million books were printed in the first fifty years of the printing press! Of this enormous output less than 40,000 have survived. Some of these early books (incunabula) are worth their weight in gold.

England, France, and Spain in the later Middle Ages, when the life of Italy and Germany was so rich, contributed nothing new to European culture except in literature, and that is limited to the work of one author in each country. The greatest of these was

---

[1] These are a *Calendar* of the year 1447, now in the museum at Wiesbaden; a fragment of *Donatus* (27 lines) , probably also of the year 1447; a *missal* now in the Stadtbibliothek at Constance in Switzerland, and the *Speculum humanae savationis,* or *Mirror of Human Savation,* found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, both certainly printed before 1450.

the English poet Geoffrey Chaucer (1340–1400). He was a copious writer, but we shall here mention only his versified *Canterbury Tales,* the spirit of which is that of Boccaccio—Chaucer was in Italy in 1372–1373 and may have met him—although the scenes and setting are English. Chaucer was England's greatest story-teller and the real creator of the English language as a literary tongue. As the pilgrims leisurely traveled from London to Canterbury, they beguiled the time by telling stories. The persons in these tales, the people whom they met on the road, the scenes and incidents, the landscape, all together make a pageant of medieval life at the close of the Middle Ages, and yet one also feels on the threshold of the modern era.

Fifteenth-century French literature produced a masterly piece in the *Farce of Master Pathelin* (the author is not known), an uproarious skit depicting the experiences of a shyster lawyer. The cream of French literature in the fifteenth century is found in the lyrics and ballads of François Villon (1431–1465?). An ex-University of Paris student with a smattering of Latin and theology, vagabond, roisterer, thief, perhaps even murderer, Villon combined an amazing vigor and sincerity with felicity of expression. There is scarcely to be found in any other poetry so haunting a refrain as the recurrent line "Where are the snows of yesteryear?" Whereas the "Ballad of the Hanged" *(Ballade des pendus)*, for the sense of moral and physical horror conveyed, can never be forgotten.

The first literary artist in Spain was Juan Manuel, author of the *Book of Patronio,* or *The Count Lucanor* (1282–1347). He was a nephew of Alfonso the Learned, the scholar-king of Castile. He wrote twelve works, among them a Spanish chronicle, a treatise on equitation and hunting, and a collection of poems. Most of his works are lost, and only *The Count Lucanor* has been printed. It comprises forty-nine stories after the Oriental manner, with a moral sentence in verse at the end of each tale. This work has been translated into several other languages, and it is an important example of the literary influence of the East upon the West. Slightly younger was Juan Ruiz of Hita (d. 1351), a jovial archpriest who was imprisoned by Albornoz, the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo. Captivity did not dampen his disposition or clip his poetical imagination. He wrote all sorts of poetry—hymns, pagan and Christian legends, stories, fables, allegories, romances of love and chivalry, indeed almost every type of literature known to the Middle Ages, but all of them tinctured with a modern, realistic cast of thought. It is unfortunate that his writings have not been translated into English.

Independence   From this survey of the Renaissance outside of Italy it will be
of northern   perceived that as a whole, the movement was natural, spontaneous,
Renaissance   and largely independent of Italian influence. Neither Latin nor
Greek scholarship touched western Europe until very late in the
fifteenth century by which time many changes in northern Europe
could already be noticed.

True effect of   Great as had been the changes wrought in the fourteenth and
Renaissance   fifteenth centuries, nevertheless the effects were neither as deep nor
as broadly felt as one might think. Each event and each transforma-
tion in the Renaissance interested or concerned only a particular
class or group. Erasmus is a case in point. He died in 1536 and was
certainly a towering figure; yet, as his latest biographer has written:

> Erasmus cared little for the inventions and discoveries of his age; he
> was not even aware of the main economic and political changes. . . .
> The most glorious artists of the whole world—Leonardo and Titian,
> Michelangelo and Raphael, San Gall and Bramante—were his con-
> temporaries, and he had opportunity to see their works, but not once,
> I believe, does he mention any of them in his pages. . . . Again, a new
> world was discovered during his life-time. . . . But Erasmus, though
> he met the son of Columbus in 1520, hardly let an allusion to the New
> World pass his pen. . . . At Florence Erasmus was at the very heart of
> the Renaissance. . . . But Erasmus has not mentioned the Duomo or
> the Badia, Santo Spirito or Santa Maria Novella, the Campanile or the
> Baptistery. . . . At Venice, as at Florence, Erasmus was blind to the
> wonderful art of his contemporaries, Bellini, Carpaccio, Giorgone,
> Palma Vecchio and Titian, none of whom he seems to have met and
> whose works he never mentions.[1]

A great many of the popular impressions of the Renaissance are
wrong or at least require to be modified. The great German artist
Albrecht Dürer spent more than a year in Venice, but in none of his
letters does he state or imply that the beauty of the city appealed to
him. On the people at large the Renaissance had hardly any in-
fluence. In the cities the pageantry of it appealed to their eyes.

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE

Discovery and   Michelet defined the Renaissance as "the discovery of the world
expansion   and the discovery of man." The Renaissance was the discovery of
new thought, new ways of living, and some new things such as the
printing press. But there was another and quite different form of
discovery which took place at this time—overseas discovery and
exploration of new lands and new continents. The physical ex-
pansion of Europe by the discovery of America and the passage to

[1] Preserved Smith, *Erasmus*, 3, 34, 104, 109, 112.

India and the Far East around Africa corresponded abroad to the intellectual expansion at home.

The idea that there had been no curiosity about unknown lands and no discovery of new lands before the fifteenth century is erroneous. Although the discovery of America and the establishment of direct contact between Europe and the Far East certainly opened a new epoch in world history, in another sense these events may be regarded as the climax of an expansion which had been episodic all through the Middle Ages. The Norsemen in the ninth century had lifted the whole of northern Europe above the horizon and discovered and settled Iceland and Greenland; they discovered if not colonized the northeast coast of the American continent. The crusades had stimulated curiosity in new lands, new peoples, new customs, new languages, and new culture, and the information was enlarged by Latin translations of the works of Arabian geographers in which something about the interiors of Africa, India, Ceylon, Malaysia, and China was revealed. Again in the thirteenth century the union of all Asia except India by the Mongols, who destroyed the· Bagdad Caliphate in 1258, greatly promoted Europe's knowledge of Asia and the Far East. When Asia was closed to European intercourse, the idea arose that, if it could no longer be penetrated by land, it might be reached by sea. The result was finally to change the front of Europe to the westward, from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic.

The most immediate and impelling motive of discovery was trade. For centuries—from even before the Greeks—Europe had got luxuries, such as silk, spices, jade, pearls and other precious stones, dyes, perfumes, jewelry, ivory, and lacquer ware, from the Orient. Now they were unprocurable except at exorbitant prices. About 1400 the ambitions of the Portuguese who had but lately been liberated from their Moorish conquerors turned toward trade and expansion in lands outside of Europe. Whereas the Mediterranean swarmed with the ships of the rich cities of Italy and Catalonia, Portuguese vessels plied the waters of the Atlantic; Portugal was already trading with England and Flanders. Through their long contact with the Moors, however, the Portuguese possessed a special knowledge of the geography, the peoples, and the products of North-West Africa.

In 1412 the initiative was taken by Prince Henry the Navigator, third son of King John I of Portugal, who brought the resources of the government, all the geographical knowledge he could amass, the use of the compass (if not for the first time, at least for effective navigation), and a spirit of daring enterprise to bear upon the solution of navigation. Before he died in 1460, the Canary and the

Bartholomew Diaz and Vasco da Gama

Cape Verde Islands had been discovered; Sierra Leone settled; in 1484 the mouth of the Congo River was found; in 1486 Bartholomew Diaz discovered the Cape of Good Hope and well named it, for he had found the tip of Africa. Twelve years later Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape, and set his sails for Calicut in India, the first European ever to penetrate the Indian Ocean. The all-sea route to India and Cathay (China) was open. Today Portuguese West Africa, East Africa, Goa in India, and Macao on the coast of China are the remnants of the once great colonial empire of Portugal in the East Indies founded by the viceroy Albuquerque (1504–1509). In 1502 a papal bull created the King of Portugal "Lord of the navigation, conquests and trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India."

Discoveries pay for themselves

Although Prince Henry defrayed the cost of many early expeditions, the African discoveries soon paid for themselves, and astonishing wealth came to Lisbon after the foundation of trading posts at Arguim, El Mina, and Benin. After 1450 slaves also came in considerable numbers; although the Arabs had long carried on a regular slave trade in Africa, the Portuguese were the first Europeans to do so. In many of their enterprises they were aided by Venetians, Genoese, Catalans, Flemings, and Florentines, who flocked to join in the lucrative voyages, lent money, and helped to colonize the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands. Both Martin Behaim and Columbus became sailors and geographers in Portuguese service.

Of all the momentous consequence of the Portuguese discoveries in West Africa, the revolution they effected in the economic outlook of Europe was by far the most important. The Portuguese colonies in Africa initiated the era of adventurous capitalism which has since changed the face of the world.

Columbus discovers America

Meanwhile a discovery of less immediate importance than that of Vasco da Gama, but of world significance by the next century, had been made by Columbus in 1492. Columbus was a Genoese by birth and had been a sugar buyer in the employ of a Genoese firm, the Centurioni Brothers, in the Cape Verde and Canary Islands. How he became imbued with the idea that by sailing westward across the Atlantic he might eventually reach India is uncertain, although he knew, of course, that the earth was a sphere.[1] Columbus was

---

[1] Columbus was something of a student and his own annotated copy of Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly's *Imago mundi* is preserved; in this book the argument is set forth that China and India might be reached by sailing westward across the Atlantic, and that a huge continent lay between Europe and Asia. He thought the westward voyage would be shorter than that around the Cape. He never knew that he had discovered a new continent and believed the American coast was the coast of Asia.

encouraged by some information which he had learned in the Western Islands from a Spanish captain named Pinzon, who had picked up a vague word that some Portuguese seamen had found a big island which they called "Antillia," far west of Madeira and the Azores. Columbus and Pinzon struck a bargain. Columbus was to be the promoter, and Pinzon the navigator of the expedition. The aid of Queen Isabella of Spain made both Columbus's and Spain's fortune. Columbus made four voyages, in the third of which he touched the continent. But a Florentine named Amerigo Vespucci, in the service of Portugal in Brazil, by the irony of history, was destined to have his name given to the double continent, North and South America, by a German geographer.

Alonzo de Ojeda on his first voyage in 1499 saw the coast of what is now Venezuela; Columbus on his fourth voyage in 1502–1503 visited it and the coast of Central America. Permanent settlement began in 1510, at Cartagena, at Uraba in the Gulf of Darien, and at Colón. About this time there arrived Vasco Núñez de Balboa; his policy was to make friends with the natives, particularly with their chiefs, and to learn from them all he could about the country and its products. Having heard a good deal about the great sea which lay one hundred miles southwards over the mountains, and wanting to do something which would bring him into the favor of the King of Spain, he surmounted all difficulties of disease and hostile tribes and discovered the Pacific Ocean in 1513.

The true nature of the two Americas, however, was not discovered until after Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe in 1519–1520, the greatest voyage in all history, in which he passed through the straits which bear his name, crossed the Pacific, and discovered and claimed the Philippines for Spain. Magellan was killed by savages there; only a remnant of his fleet and crews survived to return to Spain.

Bristol seamen whaling in the North Atlantic in the late fifteenth century heard vague rumors of the existence of a large island west of Ireland which some hardy Portuguese sailors probably had found in 1489. The information, however, was concealed, since the Portuguese government then had as much of exploration as it could handle along the African coast. This mysterious island, like Antillia, was alleged to have seven rich cities in it—an alluring legend. It was to safeguard the rights of Portugal to this mysterious island that Pope Alexander VI in 1493 drew the famous line of demarcation of the. globe by a meridian one hundred leagues west of the Azores. All land west of that meridian was to pertain to Spain, and all east of it to Portugal.

In 1496 England entered the race for exploration. John Cabot and his son Sebastian—it is not known whether they were of Genoese or Venetian birth—obtained letters-patent from Henry VII to seek for the Indies by a northwest route. They sailed from Bristol in two ships in 1497. They may have touched the Labrador coast ·and certainly discovered Newfoundland, which they christened St. John's Island, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton, but it is uncertain how much farther south they voyaged. In the next year Sebastian made a second voyage, with doubtful results. In 1512, since Henry VIII showed no interest in exploration, Sebastian Cabot entered the service of Spain, for whom he explored the La Plata country in South America (Paraguay and Uruguay), which had been first seen in 1515, returning to Spain in 1530. In 1553 he was again in England as navigator for the Willoughby-Chancellor Company, organized for trade with Russia through the White Sea. His purpose was to find, if possible, a northeast passage to the Far East via the Arctic Ocean.

Meanwhile, Spain alone advanced from discovery to occupation, from occupation to conquest, from conquest to colonization, and thus became the possessor of the first colonial empire in the New World. The earliest Spanish settlements on the mainland were made on the Isthmus of Panama (which Balboa crossed and so discovered the Pacific in 1513) and the territory directly adjoining on each side. But when tidings came of a people called "Mayas" in Yucatan, where rich and populous cities and an advanced civilization were said to be, and of the great empire of the Aztecs beyond Yucatan in Mexico under a ruler named Montezuma, Spanish appetite for further conquest was whetted. Within two years (1519–1521) Hernando Cortez achieved the subjugation of Mexico, one of the most daring, spectacular, and successful military expeditions in recorded history. A little later Francesco Pizarro, who had heard of the Inca Empire in Peru when he was with Balboa, explored the west coast of South America, found that the report was true, and conquered the country (1531–1533) as spectacularly as Cortez had conquered Mexico. In 1549 the Spanish crown assumed direct rule of Peru as it had already done with Mexico.

Spanish domination extended along the western coast of Mexico up the Gulf of California to the mouth of the Rio Colorado, and by 1540 California was proved to be a peninsula and not an island as had been previously thought. In the next two years, 1540–1542, Coronado was sent out by the viceroy of Mexico; he crossed the Rio Grande river, traversed the Texas and Oklahoma of today, and reached the Osage river in Kansas before returning to winter at Zuni among the Pueblo Indians. As if to round out Spain's gigantic

empire in the two Americas, while Coronado was in the Texas country, De Soto, governor of Cuba, occupied Florida, penetrated Georgia, made his way westward to the Mississippi which he explored to the confluence of the Ohio. He died on the way and was buried in the Mississippi; the remnant of the expedition, 311 men, reached Panuco in September, 1543.

Grandeur of Spanish Empire

These great discoveries struck the imagination of Europe, opened careers to hundreds of soldiers of fortune and adventurers, tempted several thousands of settlers, almost all of them Spanish, to wrench a hard living from new and hostile lands, and inspired the Church with a new missionary zeal. The discoveries also ruined the trade of Venice and Genoa to the profit of Lisbon, Seville, and later Amsterdam and London. Spain's great success during the next two centuries in the fields of discovery, conquest, colonization, literature, and art was inspired by her grandiose sense of universalism—one empire, one language, and one faith.

ROYAL ABSOLUTISM

Rise of nationalism and monarchy

Until the later fifteenth century there was something which may be called a European order of things, a general European state of mind, or a synthesis, however much it may have been diversified by national and local conditions. But that synthesis was shattered in the second part of the fifteenth century and has never been recovered since. The break-up of Europe was most largely due to the formation of strong absolute monarchies in France, England, and Spain. Nationalism was the sentiment, and absolute monarchy the agency, of this great change. Absolutism was new in theory and practice. The movement was led by Italy, where the Visconti in Milan, the Medici in Florence, and other princes elsewhere had established local tyrannies. With these tyrants the concept of "rights and duties" of the feudal age passed away, and there was no public opinion strong enough to enforce them. Political morality and personal morals were entirely separated. The great Florentine publicist Machiavelli formulated this political philosophy in the famous book *The Prince,* which he dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici. His work was the perfect reflection of Renaissance political experience and it became at once the handbook of kings. As the Renaissance spread beyond the Alps, the monarchs of France, England, and Spain eagerly welcomed the new theory of absolutism and began to emulate the despots of the Renaissance city-states. They were Louis XI of France, Henry VII of England, and Ferdinand of Aragon (whom Machiavelli particularly admired).

Absolutism

In 1453 France emerged from the war with England with a re-

HOUSES OF YORK AND LANCASTER

EDWARD III.
1327-77

Edward, the
Black Prince
d. 1376

RICHARD II.
1377-99

Lionel, D. of
Clarence

Philippa=Edmund
Mortimer

Roger, E. of March

John of Gaunt

HENRY IV.

HENRY V.

HENRY VI.
1422-61

Edmund, D. of
York

Edmund, E. of
March

Anne=Richard, E. of
Cambridge

Richard, D. of York
d. 1460

Edward, D. of
York

EDWARD IV.
1461-83

RICHARD III.
1483-85

EDWARD V.
d. 1483

Elizabeth=HENRY VII.
1485-1509

GENEALOGY OF HENRY VII.

EDWARD III.

Lionel, D. of Clarence

John of Gaunt

John Beaufort, E. of Somerset (*d.* 1410)

John Beaufort, D. of Somerset (*d.* 1444)

Margaret Beaufort,=Edmund Tudor,
E. of Richmond

EDWARD IV.

EDWARD V.

Elizabeth=HENRY VII.

stored kingship, a reformed administration, and a national spirit. *Emergence of* Louis XI (1461–1483) built on these foundations to such good *France* effect that France at the end of the century was the foremost nation in Europe. The "King Spider" of romance and legend is not the historical Louis XI. Actually he was an intelligent, hardworking, and honest ruler.

The first fifteen years of Louis XI's reign were filled with intrigues *Louis XI* and coalitions of nobles against him. The soul of the coalitions was Charles the Bold, the last of the dukes of Burgundy. It was the ambition of Charles the Bold to consolidate all his scattered territories into a new "Middle Kingdom" between France and Germany such as had existed in the ninth century. However, Charles was decisively defeated before the walls of Nancy, and in the battle he lost his life (1477). Louis XI immediately occupied the Duchy of Burgundy. In the next few years he annexed the provinces of Anjou, Maine, and Provence (1480) through the extinction of the House of Anjou when "King" René, the last of the dynasty, died, and the annexations of Alençon, Perche, and Guienne followed. The "splendid hexagon" of France was rounded out and consolidated in the next reign when his son Charles VIII married the heiress of Brittany.

Two years after Louis XI died, leaving a new France to his son, *Changes in* England entered a new epoch with the accession of Henry Tudor, *England* as Henry VII, head (by a rather dubious title) of the House of Lancaster. His victory at Bosworth Field ended the Wars of the Roses (1455–1485) between Lancaster and York over the succession to the throne. Henry VII prudently married Elizabeth of York, and the rival houses were reconciled.

The old nobility had been destroyed in the civil wars, and a new nobility rose into prominence, men who were servants of the crown. The new nobility, instead of seeking to restrain and to limit the growing absolutism of the monarchy as their predecessors had done, saw in its extension an increase of their own power; and Parliament, so far from being the expression of the popular will, existed only for registering the wishes of the crown. Everything inclined to throw all the powers of government into the king's hands. The royal supremacy was a fact before it was ordained in the law.

Never entirely safe on the throne and never popular, Henry VII, *Henry VII* in the words of a contemporary, was "the patron of peace and primate of prudence" (Barclay). Abroad he preferred diplomacy to arms. At home, he executed some, imprisoned others, and crushed by fines and exactions the rest of his enemies. He promoted commerce and patronized the new learning. He was so economical that he left 1,800,000 pounds in gold, besides plates and jewels. The

modern history of England begins with Henry VII's accession in 1485.

The third national monarchy in western Europe at the end of the fifteenth century was Spain. In the fourteenth century it was divided into the four Christian kingdoms of Aragon, Castile, Navarre and Portugal, and the Moorish kingdom of Granada. By the end of the fifteenth century Castile and Aragon were united, the Moors had been expelled, and Portugal had turned to the sea for exploration and exploitation.

It was in 1469 that Isabella of Castile married Ferdinand of Aragon—a momentous event in Spanish history. Legally it was a personal union of the two kingdoms. The administration, the institutions, and the law in each realm were preserved and kept distinct. In both kingdoms the two sovereigns were of one mind in their determination to establish absolute monarchy in Spain. They sharply reduced, if they did not quite destroy, the special privileges of the provinces, the nobles, and the towns. In their attempt to unify the country they persuaded the pope to revive the Inquisition and place it under royal authority. They made it a very effective instrument of royal absolutism against any group or interest that stood in their way. The Spanish Inquisition persecuted and eventually expelled the Moors and the Jews, whether converted or not, and Spain lost her best artisans and businessmen. In foreign policy Ferdinand and Isabella were brilliantly successful, and in 1492 Spain moved into the front rank among the European powers. The Moorish kingdom

COLUMBUS
(Painting by Sebastian del Piombo)

of Granada was conquered, and Columbus added a vast new world to the kingdom of Castile.

The concurrence of a striking series of events in the second half of the fifteenth century prepared a change sufficient to justify this period as marking the transition from late medieval and Renaissance history to that of modern times. These events were: (1) the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453; (2) the end of the Hundred Years' War between France and England in the same year; (3) the restoration of the French monarchy by Louis XI (1461–1483); (4) the union of Aragon and Castile (1469); (5) the establishment of the Tudor monarchy in England in 1485; (6) the discovery of America in 1492; (7) the French invasion of Italy in 1494; and (8) the discovery of the southwest all-sea passage to India by Vasco da Gama in 1498. To these events may be added the invention of printing and the use of gunpowder, which though known in the fourteenth century did not become of effective importance until the end of the fifteenth century. *Transition from medieval to modern*

Collateral Reading

J. Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy,* 1929.
Benvenuto Cellini, *Memoirs.* Translated by T. Roscoe, 1906.
E. P. Cheyney, *The Dawn of a New Era,* 1936.
G. G. Coulton, *From St. Francis to Dante,* 1907.
E. Faure, *History of Art: Renaissance Art,* 1923.
C. H. Grandgent, *Dante,* 1916.
J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages,* 1924.
H. S. Lucas, *The Renaissance and the Reformation,* 1934.
L. B. Packard, *The Commercial Revolution,* 1927.
J. H. Robinson and H. W. Rolfe, *Petrarch,* 1898.
F. Schevill, *History of Florence,* 1936.
J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy,* 1935, 2 volumes.

The Reformation

EMPEROR CHARLES V
(Painting by Titian)

SIXTEENTH century history was filled with two very different but simultaneous movements, which not unnaturally reacted upon each other but which nevertheless are to be sharply distinguished. The first was the political and military rivalry between France and the House of Habsburg, which ruled most of Germany and Italy and through direct inheritance possessed Austria, the Netherlands, and Spain, including its vast colonial empire.

The second of these movements was the Reformation. Neither can be understood without reference to the other, although for clarity of representation it is desirable to treat each of them separately.

As the Italian Renaissance conditioned the culture of Europe at the end of the fifteenth century, so the political condition of Italy determined the prevailing nature of European politics. The peninsula became the general object of conquest on the part of the principal European powers and accordingly was the focal point of international politics. The political disunity of Italy tempted foreign aggression. The chief Italian principalities were the Republic of Venice and the Duchy of Milan in the North; Tuscany (Florence), nominally a republic but practically a despotism under the rule of the Medici, and the States of the Church (Rome) in the center; and the Kingdom of Naples in the South. The great island of Sicily was an appendage of the Kingdom of Aragon.

Invasion of Italy

The political weakness of Italy combined with its riches tempted first France and later the other great powers to invasion. The King-

454

dom of Naples was the largest state in Italy in extent but the most backward in culture. The Papal States were a heterogeneous assortment of territories which every pope in turn vainly tried to weld into a homogeneous principality. The Duchy of Milan had fallen into the hands of the Visconti and then of the Sforzas; having aggrandized itself at the expense of most of the neighboring cities, it could only inspire them with distrust. Among the republics, Genoa and Venice were the two most important. Genoa, the home of perpetual revolutions, was unable to govern itself or to endure a master. Venice, in proportion as she lost her Levantine colonies to the Turks, increased her continental possessions, thereby making herself more vulnerable and at the same time the foremost Italian power. Florence, which had surpassed the other states in civilization, aspired to pre-eminence in Tuscany. Under Lorenzo de' Medici, Florence endeavored but finally failed to assume among the Italian powers that part of mediator which the papacy had lost through the personal ambitions of Sixtus IV, Innocent VIII, and Alexander VI.

At this time Florence was in the throes of an intense religious revival induced by the Dominican friar Savonarola, who, fearing the return of the expelled Medici, looked to the French invader as an ally. Savonarola's downfall—he was finally hanged and his body burned—was due to the intricacy of Italian politics, which he could not understand. Venice, Milan, and the papacy, backed by the King of Spain and the emperor, combined to expel the French from Italy and resolved to protect Italy from another foreign invasion. In vain the Emperor Maximilian and Pope Alexander VI implored the Florentines to be "good Italians." In Florence territorial ambition was stronger than prudence. Florence wanted French assistance to acquire Pisa, which she desired as a seaport. The refusal of Florence to join the Italian League against France ruined her and Savonarola.

Ferdinand II of Naples fled, and on February 22, 1495, Charles VIII entered the city. It was an empty conquest. For during the very course of the expedition negotiations had been set on foot for the formation of a league against France, of which Venice was the moving spirit, with which the pope and Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, were associated and towards which the Emperor Maximilian and Ferdinand of Aragon were inclined.

In May, 1495, Charles VIII was forced to evacuate Naples, leaving half of his forces, which soon capitulated to Ferdinand II who again took possession of his realm. Fortunately, Charles was victorious over a Venetian army at Fortenuova, and this enabled him to effect a safe retreat to France; he died of an accident soon after his return (1498). The weakness of Italy was revealed to the covetous eyes

THE HAPSBURGS IN SPAIN AND THE EMPIRE, FROM MAXIMILIAN I.

MAXIMILIAN I., Emp. = Mary of Burgundy (*see table* xl.)
1493–1519

Philip = Joanna of Spain
d. 1506

Margaret = (1) John (son of Ferdinand and Isabella)
(2) Philibert III. of Savoy

CHARLES V., Emp.
1519–56

FERDINAND I., Emp.
1556–64

PHILIP II., K. of Spain
1556–98

Mary = MAXIMILIAN II., Emp.
1564–76

Charles, D. of Styria

PHILIP III., K. of Spain
1598–1621

RUDOLF II., Emp.
1576–1612

MATTHIAS, Emp.
1612–19

FERDINAND II., Emp.
1619–37

PHILIP IV., K. of Spain
1621–65

Anne = Louis XIII.
of France

FERDINAND III., Emp.
1637–57

CHARLES II., K. of Spain
1665–1700
(no issue)

Maria Theresa = Louis XIV.
of France

LEOPOLD I., Emp.
1658–1705

JOSEPH I., Emp.
1705–11

CHARLES VI., Emp.
1711–40

MARIA THERESA = FRANCIS I.
1740–80   Emp.

of ambitious rulers by this useless French expedition, and Italy became a fair mark for projects of conquest.

It would have been well if Charles VIII's departure from Italy had been without thought of return and if that brilliant and sterile adventure had forever disillusioned France with foreign conquest and taught the Italians to unite in earnest, thus shutting the peninsula to invaders. But the lesson was lost on both parties. The Italians grew more divided than ever, and Charles VIII's successors, Louis XII and Francis I, pursued his policies.

Louis XII (1498–1515) of France had more plausible claims to *Louis XII* Naples than his predecessor. Besides inheriting the claim upon *claims Italy* Naples, this king had inherited a claim also upon the Duchy of Milan.[1] In 1499 Louis XII invaded Lombardy, captured Milan, and took Duke Ludovico il Moro, prisoner; Ludovico ended his days in a French dungeon. This coup was followed by a second French invasion of Naples in conjunction with Ferdinand of Aragon. But the French and Spaniards soon fell out. The Spanish general Gonsalvo de Cordova, of whom it was said that he was a lion in command of an army of lions, defeated the French in 1504; Louis XII resigned his claim upon Naples and henceforth concentrated his efforts to extending and consolidating the French conquest in the North.

Pope Julius II, a warlike pontiff, thought to fish in the turbid *Holy League* waters of Italian politics, and he formed a league in 1508 with the Emperor Maximilian, Louis XII of France, and Ferdinand of Aragon to partition the Venetian mainland among themselves. The pope soon became frightened over the growing power of France and completely changed his policy, by forming the Holy League (so called because the pope was the primary agency in its formation) in 1511 with the object of driving the French out of Italy. The master-stroke of the papal policy was to win over the Swiss, whose fighting prowess was the envy and admiration of Europe. France kept the advantage as long as the famous captains, Gaston de Foix and the Chevalier Bayard, held the field. The untimely death of de Foix, in spite of a French victory at Ravenna (1511), turned the scale against the French. The Swiss made an irruption into Milan in May, 1512, and restored it to Maximilian Sforza, son of the ill-fated Ludovico il Moro. In the next month, on June 6, Louis XII was badly beaten by the Swiss at Novara and withdrew from Italy.

The absurd international policies of the time now found astonishing illustration. Henry VIII of England who had joined the Holy

---

[1] He was descended from Valentina, daughter of the Visconti Duke of Milan, who had married Charles VI's younger brother Louis, Duke of Orléans (d. 1407).

HOUSES OF VALOIS AND BURGUNDY

```
                              PHILIP VI.,
                               1328-50
                                  |
                                JOHN
                               1350-64
                                  |
        +-------------------------+---------------------------------+
  CHARLES V.                                            Philip, D. of Burgundy
   1364-80                                                  1363-1404
      |                                                          |
      +----------------------------+                    John, D. of Burgundy
CHARLES VI.                  Louis. D. of Orleans             1404-18
 1380-1422                        d. 1407                        |
      |                              |                    Philip, the Good
CHARLES VII.          +-------------+-------------+           1418-67
 1422-61        Charles, D. of Orleans  Margaret   John, C. of An-   |
      |              d. 1465                        goulême    Charles, the Bold
LOUIS XI.                                  Francis, D. of  Charles, C. of  1467-77
 1461-83                                     Brittany     Angoulême        |
      |                                                            Mary=Maximilian of
CHARLES VIII.=Anne of                                                   Austria
 1483-98      Brittany
                LOUIS XII. = Anne of Brittany
                 1498-1515
                      |
              Claude =FRANCIS I.                    Margaret=Henry II. of
                       1515-47                                  Navarre
```

Francis, the   HENRY II.   Magdalene=James V.   Joan, Q. of Navarre=Anthony
Dauphin   1547-59   of Scotland   Bourbon
d. 1536

FRANCIS II.=Mary, CHARLES IX. HENRY III. Francis,   Elizabeth   Margaret=HENRY IV.
1559-60 Q. of   1560-74   1574-89   D. of   =Philip II.   (*see table* xii.)
        Scots   Alençon and of Spain
                                    Anjou
                                    d. 1584

League in 1512 and the Emperor Maximilian who joined it in 1513 invaded France and defeated the French army at Guinegate on August 17, 1513, in the "Battle of the Spurs," so called from the hasty flight of the French. In the next year Henry VIII and Louis XII made not only peace but alliance, which was given more than documentary cementation by the French king's marriage with Henry VIII's sister, Mary Tudor. Within three months of the splendid wedding at Abbeville the king was dead.

Not since the thirteenth century had France experienced such prosperity as she enjoyed in Louis XII's reign. Undoubtedly France was the most fortunate country in Europe at the time. The population increased enormously and is estimated to have reached fifteen millions. The growth of trade, internal and external, had kept pace with it. Serfdom had rapidly declined; wages had risen and industry was prosperous. For the first time the French peasant was a freeman, protected by law. In spite of the Italian wars, taxation was light. For Louis XII made the conquered pay the bill.

Out of these Italian wars arose the conflict between France and *Charles V* the House of Habsburg, a struggle which drew into its vortex all of central and western Europe, including England. For the root of this rivalry it is necessary to go back into the late fifteenth century —even before the beginning of the Italian wars. In 1477, as has been recorded in a previous chapter, Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy and lord of a whole complex of other territories in Middle Europe, was killed. Louis XI of France had promptly seized the richest of these dominions, namely the French Duchy of Burgundy, but the rest of the lands fell to Charles's daughter, Mary, who thus became the richest heiress in Europe. In the competition of suitors, success fell to the Emperor Maximilian. Offspring of this union was Philip the Fair, Archduke of Austria, who married Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile. The eldest son of this pair was Charles, who inherited the Netherlands from his grandmother, Mary of Burgundy, the Spanish kingdom including the Spanish dominions beyond sea from his mother, and (his father having died in 1506) Austria and the cluster of Habsburg lands in Germany when his grandfather Maximilian died in 1519. To this last acquisition must be added Hungary and Bohemia. The table on the following page will make this clear.

Finally, to these vast possessions Charles added the imperial title. *Election to* But the emperorship was not an hereditary title, and any prince *empire* might be a candidate. Francis I of France entered the lists as a rival to Charles. Since 1356 the electors had been seven in number: the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier, and four lay princes,

Maximilian I,	Mary,	Ferdinand,	Isabella,
emperor, + 1519.	of Burgundy,	king of Aragon,	queen of Castile,
	+ 1482.	+ 1516.	+ 1504.
	d. of Charles		
	the Bold,		
	duke of Burgundy		

Philip the Fair,_____Joanna the Insane,
archduke of Austria   queen of Aragon and Castile,
+ 1506.   + 1555.

SPANISH   GERMAN

Charles I (V), + 1558.   Ferdinand I, + 1564.
m. Isabella of Portugal   m. Anna of Hungary,

Philip II, king of Spain,   Maximilian II,
+ 1598.   emperor, + 1576.
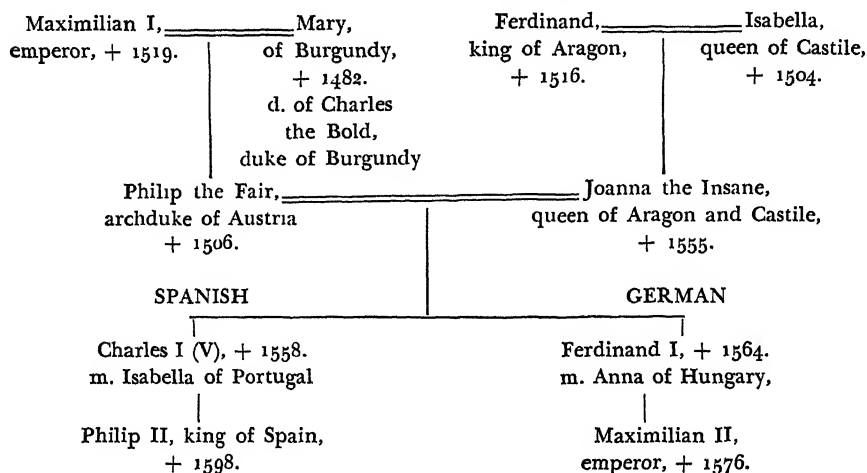
namely, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, and the King of Bohemia. Since Charles himself was hereditary King of Bohemia, there were thus six electors whom it was necessary to persuade. "Persuade" is a mild word to use in this case, for the venality of the electors was notorious and every one of them had to be bribed. An immense sum of money was immediately necessary—more than could be available at once by taxation. Hence both aspirants appealed to the great bankers for loans. Young Charles borrowed 94,000 florins from the Fuggers of Augsburg, the richest bankers in Europe, only to be informed that at least 450,000 florins would be necessary to buy the electors. The price was enormously increased by Francis I's competition. He boasted that he would capture the imperial title even if it required half of his kingdom's annual revenue, which was estimated at three million livres. Francis I had to borrow, too. By March, 1519, the price of the imperial crown had risen to 850,000 florins, so that Charles had to borrow another 543,000 florins from the Fuggers, 143,000 from the Welsers, 165,000 from some Genoese bankers, and 125,000 pounds in Antwerp.[1]

Charles V—he was Charles V of the empire, but Charles I as King of Spain—won the imperial crown but incurred enormous debts. Francis I lost, and he too had accumulated debts. War was soon on between them.

A dominion so vast and so conglomerate as Charles's was not an enviable heritage. The utmost heterogeneity existed in his central European possessions. The Low Countries, which today form the

[1] See J. W. Thompson and S. K. Padover, *Secret Diplomacy* (London, 1937).

kingdoms of Belgium and of the United Netherlands, were a conglomerate of seventeen provinces having different histories and containing three different peoples, Dutch, Flemish, and French, each with its own language. This complexitv was increased by other differences.

The Dutch provinces were . . . distinct in character and interests from the Flemish; and much more deeply were the commercial and manufacturing Flemish provinces divided from the French-speaking states of Artois, Hainault, West Flanders, Luxembourg and Franche-Comté, where noble interests predominated in spite of the thriving towns of Artois, Hainault and Walloon Flanders. It was an additional inconvenience that political and ethnological distinctions did not correspond. The French-speaking provinces of Franche-Comté, Luxembourg and Hainault were held under the Empire, but Artois and Flanders were French fiefs, and Charles was, as count of Flanders, a peer of France. Nor was geography kindly to the Habsburg-Burgundian territories. Without Guelders and Utrecht, Holland and Zealand had an inadequate pastoral and agricultural hinterland. The great diocese of Liège, French in language and sympathy, yet politically connected with the Empire, separated—but for the narrow strip of the Burgundian lordship of Namur—Limbourg and Luxembourg from the Flemish group. Lorraine interposed its substantial form between Franche-Comté and the Netherlands. Even the bishoprics of Cambrai and Tournai were obstacles to complete geographical and political consolidation. Franche-Comté, indeed, had a far closer connection with the Swiss than with the Netherlands, while the fortunes of Limbourg and Luxembourg were destined to be quite distinct from those of the Dutch and Flemish provinces.[1]

There was neither unity of administration nor of population nor of language in the United Provinces. In the North and West (Holland, Friesland, Brabant, Flanders) the language was Low German, either Dutch or Flemish. In the South-East the language was French (Walloon). The Meuse river formed the linguistic boundary. In general the French or Walloon territories were agricultural and not so rich and populous as the Dutch and Flemish lands. Flanders had lost its medieval dominance and prosperity. Grass grew in the streets of Ypres and Bruges. Ghent declined. The supremacy had passed to Brabant, to the great port of Antwerp, and to Brussels, the capital. In the North the herring fishery and North Sea and Baltic trade enriched Amsterdam. *The Nether-lands*

Lutheranism, Anabaptism, and particularly Calvinism found root in the country early, to the anxiety of Charles V who issued twelve edicts against them. Even though the emperor straddled politically *Religious conflict*

[1] Armstrong, *Charles V*, I, 6.

and religiously in Germany, in the lands in which he was direct ruler he did not compromise. The Catholic religion was rigidly enforced. Nevertheless Calvinism survived and spread, especially in the Walloon (French-speaking) provinces.

Charles V's lands in central Europe The lands of the House of Habsburg in central Europe formed an equally heterogeneous complex. Bohemia, Hungary, and Transylvania were ruled by the emperor's brother, Ferdinand. The other states had the same sovereign in Charles V, but his title was different in each. He was Emperor of Germany, but as one of his ministers once said, "The emperor has, for the support of his dignity, not a hazel nut's worth of profit from the empire"; his revenue was wholly derived from the territories which he personally ruled. These territories were held under many and various titles. Charles V was Archduke in Austria, Duke in Styria and Tyrol, Margrave in Moravia, Landgrave in Alsace, etc.

In Germany the great feudal units, Brandenburg, Electoral and Ducal Saxony, Bavaria, the Palatinate, Hesse, Württemberg, Juliers-Cleves and others had blossomed into states virtually sovereign and connected by the loosest feudal ties. Each had its estates, its court without appeal, its territorial army, its own system of finance, a large measure of control over its clergy, its own foreign policy. If these states were inclusive, they were also exclusive. No imperial official, military or judicial, administrative or financial, had any authority within their borders.[1]

Spain As for Spain, it was a neither united nor homogeneous country. Portugal was an independent realm; Castile and Aragon, which differed in historical development, in institutions, and in language, were each composed of lesser territories which had been added during the long reconquest. Castile comprised the older medieval kingdoms of the Asturias, Galicia, León, which racially were of Basque origin; Navarre, which was part Basque and part French; and the ancient Moorish territory of Andalusia. Aragon had been formed by the union of the little medieval Pyrenean kingdom of that name with the great county of Catalonia (Barcelona) and Valencia, which had formerly been a Moorish kingdom.

Charles V had always to make allowance for these differences in his administration of Spain. The Spanish clergy were rich and powerful politically. The Spanish nobles, at least the grandees, or great aristocrats, were rich landed proprietors. Many of the cities of Castile—of Aragon less so—enjoyed local privileges of self-government (*fueros*), and in 1525 staged a formidable revolt, known as the Communeros, which was crushed. Henceforth neither the assembly

[1] Armstrong, I, 49.

of the estates—*Cortes*—resembling the Parliament in England and the Estates General in France, nor the cities enjoyed power. With the aid of the Inquisition, Charles V founded the absolute monarchy in Spain.

Charles V tried in vain to maintain a consistent line of policy amid the different and varied interests of his scattered dominions, whose sole unity was found in their allegiance to a common ruler. Charles was never able to give all his energy and undivided attention to any single problem. The greatest problems were the struggle with France for the possession of the Milanais and therewith the supremacy over Italy; the rise of Lutheranism in Germany; the rising tide of Turkish conquest in southeastern Europe. All these were closely interlocked. Francis I of France made an alliance with the Turks, and the Lutheran princes sought for help from the French king. The pope, who should have been Charles's stoutest ally, was more jealous of his position as an Italian prince than interested in his spiritual headship of the Church, and consequently plotted against the Catholic emperor. The sultan's eyes were fixed upon Hungary, those of Francis I on Charles's French-speaking provinces: Lorraine, Franche-Comté (the Free County of Burgundy), Hainault, Luxembourg, Flanders, and Artois. *Charles V's foreign policy*

Charles V could attack France from several directions—Spain, Flanders, Lorraine, Alsace, even from the Milanais. But Francis I had the advantage of fighting on interior lines and hence could concentrate defense or attack. Moreover, although potentially no richer than Charles V, actually Francis I had more funds available than his rival. The French king did not have to haggle with half-independent princes within his realm as in Germany, nor with refractory Estates General like the German diets. Francis I was nearly an absolute monarch.

In the first year of his reign, four years before Charles V began to rule, Francis I had brilliantly recovered Milan, which Louis XII had lost in 1513, by his victory at Marignano (September 13–14, 1515). The danger to Austria was very great, for Milan was the key to several Alpine passes, especially the Brenner and the Tyrol, through which the French might invade the Habsburg territories. The Swiss cantons and Venice now became allies of France. Charles V countered by alliance with the pope and Henry VIII of England.

The situation in Lombardy was one of great peril to Charles V. The first war between the two rivals extended from 1521 to 1526. The French Constable Charles of Bourbon transferred his allegiance to the emperor, whose army invaded Provence. An unsuccessful effort was made by a French army to invade Italy and in the retreat *Battle of Pavia*

the famous Chevalier Bayard was killed. In this crisis Francis I crossed the Alps and took personal command of his troops. In the Battle of Pavia (February 24, 1525) he was defeated, captured, and conveyed a prisoner to Madrid. In the Peace of Madrid (January 14, 1526) the French king renounced the French claims to Naples, the Milanais, Flanders, and Artois, and consented that the Duchy of Burgundy should be ceded to Charles. Two of his sons were given as hostages for the fulfillment of these terms. No sooner had Francis I reached France than he repudiated the treaty saying: "Not an inch of French soil, not an ounce of flesh."

A second war (1527–1529) was unavoidable. Its arena this time was Naples. The scandal of it was the terrible sack of Rome in 1527 by the imperial army, which stunned Europe and for a time dismayed the emperor. This war too was unfavorable to Francis I. The Peace of Cambrai (1529) in return for the French loss of Italy brought him nothing but a dark promise from Charles V that he would not yet enforce his claims upon Burgundy. The king's captive sons were released, and the pope and Henry VIII were included in this peace. Henceforth the imperial power in Lombardy was proof against French threats. At the same time the hereditary dukedom of Tuscany was established in Florence in the hands of the Medici, and the constitution of Genoa took the form which it was to have until its conquest by Napoleon.

Battle of Mohács

Eastern Europe had also taken a hand in this conflict. The Turkish capture of Belgrade in 1521 was followed by the crushing victory of Mohács (August 29, 1526), which left almost all Hungary prostrate. This triumph was followed by the first unsuccessful siege of Vienna by the Turks in 1529. In the same era the Turkish fleets captured Rhodes in 1522, Algiers in 1527, and Tunis in 1531. The sea power of the Turks in the whole Mediterranean was formidable. The coast of Italy, southern France and Spain were constantly exposed to forays, and even Venice trembled. The emperor's expedition against Tunis in 1535 was a brilliant success, but was cancelled at once by the alliance which Francis I negotiated with the sultan under the guise of a commercial treaty.

In the third war (1536–1538), Charles V unsuccessfully invaded Provence and the French overran Savoy and Piedmont. Meanwhile Sultan Suleiman II invaded what was left of Hungary after Mohács, won an engagement at Esseg (1537), and again threatened Vienna while his fleets ravaged the Italian coast. In this dire situation Pope Paul III intervened and forced the Truce of Nice (June 18, 1538): each to hold what he had. The truce was to endure for ten years; actually it lasted for hardly four years. Between

the Reformation in Germany and the Turkish menace to Austria, Charles V needed a few years of respite, even if he had not been compelled to it by the condition of his finances.

The fourth war (1542–1544) was occasioned when Charles V took the remarkable step of separating the Milanais from the empire and giving it to his son Philip. The act was a bold and original one. Charles evidently was pinning greater hopes for the future upon the Spanish Empire than upon the Holy Roman Empire. The House of Austria was excluded from Italy, and Spain was dominant in the peninsula. It was a revolutionary change in the status of European politics. The war was of more extensive character than any of the preceding ones, for Francis I revived his alliance with the Turks and succeeded in drawing in the Duke of Cleves and the King of Denmark, although the two latter alliances had no importance. On the other hand, Henry VIII again sided with the emperor. The Turks invaded Hungary once more and threatened Austria, and their fleet plundered Nice in Provence. Charles and Henry together crushed the Duke of Cleves, and their united armies invaded France as far as Soissons. When the emperor asked a prisoner how many days Paris was distant, the intrepid answer was "Perhaps twelve, but they will be days of battle."

The Peace of Crespy (September 18, 1544) put a period to the senseless wars between the two crowned rivals. In Germany the Reformation had reached an acute state and demanded the emperor's close attention. In 1547 both Francis I of France and Henry VIII of England died. Henry II of France (1547–1559) renewed hostilities against the emperor in alliance with the Lutheran duke, Moritz of Saxony. France wrenched the three bishoprics of Lorraine—Metz, Toul, and Verdun—from the emperor in 1552. In 1556 Charles V abdicated. A few years later the Huguenot wars broke out in France (1560). These events closed one era and opened another.

The results of this long struggle were of importance to the future *Results of the* development of European politics. The practical application of the *wars* principles of the balance of power was established by the opposition and counterpoise of the two chief states. Again: the alliance between France and the Turks, the political situation in the Balkans and especially in Hungary, the participation, however slight, of England in continental affairs, had brought the states and nations of Europe into closer connection than ever before. France had failed to establish its domination in Italy but had preserved its borders from being despoiled and became a more consolidated country than before. Germany, as Charles V left it, was still a rope of

sand, a loose federation of princely and ecclesiastical principalities, some Catholic, some Lutheran, some Calvinist; and Metz, Toul and Verdun had been lost to France. Five-sixths of Hungary was in possession of the Turks, and Spain was on the way of decline. It is little wonder that the weary emperor, before he was sixty years old, laid down the burden of empire in 1555 and retired to a monastery, there to end his days three years later.

Division of Habsburg lands

Charles V had spent his life in the endeavor to keep united in one hand the widespread and multiple territories which he had inherited. Hard experience had now taught him the futility of that effort. Accordingly, the vast Habsburg dominions were divided. To his son Philip II he gave Spain together with Naples, the Milanais, the Free County of Burgundy (Franche-Comté) and the Netherlands. The imperial title and the Austrian lands were given to his brother Ferdinand, who had long been his viceroy in Germany.

THE REFORMATION

The Reformation in its inception was not unlike previous movements for reform in the Church. The great leaders were the product of a protest or revulsion which had been long in gathering head. Revolt and separation were not intended when it began. Indeed, the word "Reformation," like the word "Renaissance," was intended by modern historians as a convenient general term to cover all the facts of the epoch. The contemporary word used for reform of the Church was "restoration," which had been in usage ever since the reforming councils in the fifteenth century. The failure of these councils had kept alive the issue and had led some governments to act independently of ecclesiastical authority. Thus in Castile in 1499 Queen Isabella and the Cardinal-archbishop of Toledo, Ximenez, had reformed the monasteries; in France the Concordat of 1516 had put the administration of the Church in all matters save spiritual in the hands of the king. In England Henry VII and Henry VIII were masters in their own Church and controlled all nominations.

Conditions in Germany

Why, then, did the Reformation begin? And why in Germany first? The answer is that it was a local accident rendered possible by particular and exceptional circumstances. At the end of the fifteenth century Germany was politically, economically, and socially, perhaps, the unhappiest country in Europe. It had no national unity, like France, Spain and England, nor a single, strong monarch. The king-emperor actually was ruler only in his Austrian lands. Germany was divided into a few large principalities, many of lesser size and many more so diminutive that one of these sover-

eign states was less than a mile square, yet the princes of all of these were sovereign rulers. The great bishops and abbots were also sovereign lords of large territories; finally there were many free cities only a few of which were of size and strength to be really independent. In all, Germany was composed of about four hundred sovereign states of one kind or another.

Compared with the states of western Europe, Germany had little urban civilization; the population was sparse and the cities had little contact with each other. There was no national capital, like London or Paris, where the thought and activity of the nation could be concentrated. This decentralization of Germany had the effect of making the petty territorial princes autocratic lords and of throwing the main burden of taxation upon the peasants. Furthermore, the development of firearms and infantry had deprived the petty knights of their functions, and, since they were used to luxury, they were compelled to exploit the peasants and plunder the cities. The large body of useless knights looked with envy upon the rich clergy and contributed no little to the success of the Reformation.

The clergy was split into three main groups. There was the aristocratic group composed of archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, who were themselves princes or vassals of princes and who lived upon the labor of their serfs. A second group was "the standing army of monks" and lower clergy. Below them were the urban and rural parish priests, who were poorly paid, often ill-educated, and who sympathized with the working classes and the peasantry. There is no doubt that monasticism on the medieval scale was no longer either desirable or necessary. Europe as a whole was too heavily clericalized. The upper stratum of the clergy controlled vast wealth, but their needs were great, and they rigorously collected dues for themselves and for Rome, which caused bitterness among the people. In the cities dislike of the clergy was intensified by the realization of their social uselessness; the invention of printing and the needs of commerce had deprived the members of the Church of their educational monopoly, just as the newly rising class of lay jurists made the canon lawyers superfluous. *Conditions in the Church*

A like conflict, which added considerably to the revolution, took place in the cities which were controlled by patrician families (the "honorables") who alone held offices, imposed taxes, and sold privileges. In opposition to the patricians were the middle classes and the plebeians. The middle classes, who were in the majority, struggled to control the cities and to abolish the privileges and numbers of the clergy. At bottom were the plebeians, possessing no *Social grievances*

citizenship rights, no wealth, and no occupation; their number kept increasing as a result of the disintegration of feudalism. Some of them infested the countryside as beggars, others joined armies, and still others served as day laborers.

Thus Germany seethed with economic grievances and social unrest, and, because the high clergy and the incorporated monasteries were very rich, and many of the clergy were worldly and dissolute, Churchmen everywhere were vastly hated. The pope came in for special condemnation; the pontiffs of the Italian Renaissance had need of much money to sustain their wars waged to extend the States of the Church, to support the papal court, to maintain their immense building program, and to pay the artists who embellished these structures. Accordingly, excessive papal taxation was a grievance· throughout Europe but nowhere so acutely as in Germany whose political weakness and rapacious clergy made the people the chief victim of the imposition of annates, tithes, reservations, dispensations, indulgences, etc., which allowed great abuse. Evangelists like Wessel Gansfort and John Tauler, the Brethren of the Common Life, and most of the German humanists who were moralists, constantly inveighed against these abuses. Germany was a tinderbox; only a spark was required to throw it into flame. An eminent historian of the Church has said that "if the pope would have left off pillaging Germany, 'justification by faith' might have created only a languid interest. Most men are most sensitive when things hit their pocketbooks. 'Justification by faith' became a slogan to resist the financial exploitation of the pope." [1]

Martin Luther

The man of the moment was Martin Luther, a Saxon peasant and an Augustinian monk. The ruler of Saxony was then Frederick the Wise, a liberal and cultivated man, who had founded the University of Wittenberg in 1502; it had only a theological faculty but was in close touch with the University of Erfurt, a center of humanistic studies, opposed to Rome and hostile to monks and priests. Luther had studied there and became a professor at Wittenberg in 1508. For ten years he brooded over the doctrine of salvation. First he doubted and then denied the efficacy of "good works" and the power of the Church to forgive sin. Man, he said, is not saved by "good works" but by faith in Christ; by faith he was "justified" and this faith was the gift of God; no effort of man could command it. This doctrine in itself was enough to make Luther a heretic, for it contained, by implication, a denial of the whole hierarchical order and sacramental system of the Church.

In 1517 the opportunity came for him to publish his views with

[1] Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, I, 267.

regard to "good works." Albert, Archbishop of both Mainz and *Ninety-Five*
Magdeburg, had borrowed a large sum of money from the Fuggers *Theses*
of Augsburg, the richest bankers in Germany, in order to defray the
cost of his confirmation by Pope Leo X, who at the same time was
hard pressed for funds for the rebuilding of St. Peter's. The pope
granted to Albert the right to sell indulgences within his two arch-
dioceses for eight years on condition that half the revenues should
go to the Holy See. A Dominican named Tetzel was the sale agent.
On October 31, 1517, Luther nailed to the door of the court church
in Wittenburg his *Ninety-Five Theses* against the abuse of absolu-
tion or indulgences. Luther was summoned before Cajetan, papal
legate in Germany, to abjure, but appealed "from the pope badly
informed to the pope better informed." Meanwhile Dr. John Eck,
professor of theology in the University of Ingolstadt, in Bavaria,
and the most eminent theologian in Germany, challenged Luther
to a public debate at Leipzig. There Eck drove Luther into a corner
and by relentless and logical questioning compelled him to admit
that he did not believe in the spiritual authority of the pope and
to assert that a church council can err, as was the case at Constance
in 1415 when Huss, the Bohemian heretic, was burned.

By this time all Germany had become interested, and Luther *Luther's tracts*
published three tracts: *Address to the German Nobility*, which
called upon the princes and nobles to reform the Church within
their dominions; *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* in which
the sacramental system was attacked; and *Freedom of the Christian*,
Luther's formulation of his own doctrine. Pope Leo X who at first
had regarded the whole matter as "a squabble of monks" now
(1520) excommunicated Luther, who defiantly burned the bull be-
fore his students in Wittenburg. The Lutheran movement—for we
may call it that by now—found sympathy among the German hu-
manists, of whom Hutten was the leader, and for quite different
reasons among the knights (Goetz von Berlichingen, etc.), most
of whom were impecunious, landless, petty nobles, who thought
they saw in the feud a chance to enrich themselves by despoiling
the Church lands. The proletariat in the towns and the peasantry,
both suffering from ecclesiastical exploitation, also sympathized with
Luther's revolt.

Moderate men like Erasmus were repelled by Luther's lack of
self-restraint, the violence of his language, the ferocity of his spirit,
and thus irreparable damage was done to a cause which by their
adhesion might have been more wisely and more temperately
molded. In the light of later results there is reason to regret that
by a more conciliatory attitude Luther did not do his best to avert

a schism in the western Church. In 1520 Luther brought the conflict with Rome to a climax. He was convinced that reformation within the Church by its own leaders was hopeless, and that even a general council would be a vain resource unless it were summoned under secular authority and freed from the overpowering influence of the Roman *curia*. Hence "he drew his sword and threw away the scabbard."

Diet of Worms

By 1521 the issue had inserted itself into politics. Charles V, the newly elected emperor, came to Germany in 1521 to hold a grand diet at Worms. Luther was summoned to appear, and he came under an imperial safe-conduct (which his friends feared might be violated as the Emperor Sigismund had violated his safe-conduct in the case of Huss). There Luther defended his position. The ban was pronounced against him, his doctrines forbidden, and he was remanded to the custody of Frederick the Wise, his own ruler, who sympathized with him and whom the emperor did not want to offend. In the huge castle of the Wartburg, where he suffered only nominal confinement, Luther translated the New Testament into German, an achievement of immense religious and literary influence.

Peasants' War

Soon the Reformation experienced a sharp change. Luther at first had believed that his gospel had only to be proclaimed to receive universal acceptance. He was disillusioned by two separate and violent movements of discontent. One which broke out at this time was the emergence of an extremist party called Anabaptists; the other was the Peasants' War. The Anabaptists got their name from the fact that they were opposed to infant baptism. The movement started in Thuringia and developed an avowedly revolutionary social and economic character. The Anabaptists advocated the spoliation of the rich and well-to-do and the division of property among the masses; their doctrines became widespread in the teeming industrial centers not merely of Protestant Germany but in Holland, England, and northern France. In 1524–1525 the Peasants' Revolt broke out in Franconia and Swabia. Their grievances were just, for the evils of serfdom in Germany were notorious. The lands of the proprietary class were ravaged amid atrocities of blood and fire until the insurrection was crushed with equally frightful severity.

Church and State

Luther was shocked and alarmed. He represented the growing middle class, with its desire for law and order. His bitter indictment of the peasants permanently lost him the confidence of the common people. The reformation which he desired could not be effected with such allies. Luther saw in the princes and nobles the only assurance of effective security and issued a manifesto against

the peasants, which won for him the support of the nobles and the bourgeoisie. Henceforth, the German Reformation was more a political than a religious movement. The territorial rulers, especially those in North Germany, saw in it an opportunity to break the bishops in their territories, to confiscate ecclesiastical revenues and lands, to disendow monasteries, and to establish in their dominions a Church which they could control. The *Landeskirche* was the creation of the Protestant territorial rulers. A new Church-state system arose. The state had the right and the duty to exercise authority over the Church· in all things save spiritual. There was nothing derogatory in this position as Luther saw it. In his mind there were two Churches, the invisible community of the predestined and those justified by faith, of which Christ was the head, and the visible Church, which in its nature could not possess coercive authority, for God had given the "power of the sword," that is, justice, and police power, to the state alone. Ministers should preach the Word of God and administer the sacraments. With the organization and regulation of society they had nothing to do. The innate conservatism of the Lutheran Church is further shown in its retention of the episcopate, although the hierarchy was abolished together with monks and nuns.

Luther gave to the Reformation in Germany a direction which *Diet of Speyer* it has never lost. The death of his political protector, Frederick the Wise, the Elector of Saxony, weakened his own position; the Peasants' War, by delivering the German Reformation into the hands of the princes, destroyed its national character. Thereafter Luther was compelled to promote his gospel only with the permission and assistance of the secular authorities. Luther himself seems to have had no misgivings over this relation of Church and state, as his collaborator Melanchthon did. Luther persuaded himself that the administration of the Lutheran Church could be safely entrusted to the governments, and at the same time the integrity of its doctrine and practice could be preserved. The result was that the Lutheran Church after Luther's death fell into a position of subservience to the civil power. From 1526 to 1555 there was no permanent settlement of the religious issue in Germany, although certain events partly clarified the situation. In 1526 the diet of Speyer gave the princes the right to determine the religion of their subjects—an important provision which had a future bearing—until a general council should be called. But in 1529, in consequence of his victory over Francis I, Charles V ordered strict execution of the decree of suppression made in 1521, against which the Lutheran estates protested, whence the term "Protestant," hence-

forth applied to Lutherans. In the matter of toleration the emperor
was as illiberal as Luther.

In 1530, the Protestants presented the *Confession Augustana,*
the formal creed of the Lutherans which Philip Melanchthon,
friend of Luther, brilliant humanist and able theologian, had drawn
up, at the diet of Augsburg. As Luther was still under the imperial
ban it was not expedient for him to attend, and the direction of
the Protestant party devolved upon Melanchthon. The Protestant
position was formulated in the Augsburg Confession, in the prep-
aration of which Luther was not consulted. It consisted of two parts,
the first dealing with abuses and the second with doctrine. In this
Melanchthon was at pains to minimize the divergence in matters
of faith between Rome and Wittenberg. He proposed that the Cath-
olics should likewise issue a statement of their beliefs. The em-
peror would then adjudicate between the two. Melanchthon was
sanguine that the Protestants would win. But the Catholics had
no intention of submitting a rival confession. They contended that
they stood for the faith which had endured for fifteen centuries,
and that it was for the Lutherans to renounce their errors and to
return to the obedience of Rome. Nor was Charles V ready to as-
sume the role which Melanchthon proposed. He was a Catholic,
but he was also a ruler with great possessions and he had no relish
for civil war. Moreover his brother Ferdinand was up for election
as king of the Romans, that is, as prospective heir to Germany and
Italy, with the imperial title, and the votes of the Protestant
princes were necessary. Finally in the face of Turkish hostility it
was necessary to preserve the unity of Germany. Accordingly the
diet of Augsburg fell into a deadlock and the emperor issued a
recess affirming the Edict of Worms.

The Protestants for self-protection formed a league at Schmalkald.
The emperor decreed freedom of Protestant worship until a coun-
cil was called. The emperor's persistent efforts to prevent schism
in the Church and to restore some real authority to the crown were
frustrated again and again by the selfishness of the princes ever
striving after autocracy in their separate territories and by the in-
trigues of the popes in their anxiety to prevent the meeting of a
general council. For the next six years the Reformation marked
time, and meanwhile the pope summoned the Council of Trent
(1545).

As there was a lull in the war with France, Charles V resolved to
crush Protestantism in Germany. He had sufficient grievances. "Re-
ligion" had become a cloak for greed. Catholic property was be-
ing plundered. Many a small German prince was turning Protestant

in order to have plausible excuse for confiscating ecclesiastical property.

The so-called Schmalkaldic War followed (1546–1547). Charles V proved his consummate generalship at the Battle of Mühlberg near Torgau (April 24, 1547), and the Protestant princes showed their inability to hang together and were defeated.[1] Then the double treason of Moritz of Saxony who first betrayed the league to the emperor, and then betrayed the emperor, deprived Charles V of the fruits of his victory. In 1552 at Passau the free exercise of the Augsburg Confession was granted until the next diet, which convened at Augsburg (1555), where the Religious Peace of Augsburg was formally established. This instrument was the fundamental charter of German Protestantism. It provided that: the territorial princes and free cities which on September 25, 1555, already acknowledged the Lutheran faith might preserve it unmolested and have equal rights with the Catholic estates in the diet. This toleration, however, was not to be extended either to the Zwinglian sect in Switzerland nor to Calvinists. On the burning question of "Ecclesiastical Reservation," an article introduced by the emperor himself, which provided that bishops and abbots who *in future* became Protestant should lose their offices and lands, no agreement was made. The peace arranged in 1555 was but a truce and was doomed to collapse and plunge Germany into the Thirty Years' War in 1618.

In Zürich in 1523, Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531) had begun an attack upon the Church by protesting against the traffic in Swiss soldiers. The poor and hardy peasants of the Alpine lands had long made it a practice to sell their services as mercenaries to their neighboring rulers. Swiss pikemen formed the guard of the popes, and battalions of pikemen were in the armies of both Charles V and Francis I. As Luther had adapted his reform to the circumstances of the princely territory, so Zwinglianism was from the first fashioned on municipal lines. It asserted the autonomy of the congregation, which Luther had rejected, and thus was well-suited to an urban political system. The Swiss example influenced the cities of southwestern Germany.

Zwingli was a mixture of magnanimity and pettiness. On the one hand his character is marked by generosity, self-sacrifice, and a sturdiness which could not be bribed. He saw clearly the causes of

Schmalkaldic War

Ulrich Zwingli

[1] Before the battle, Charles rode around the trenches exhorting his soldiers to be firm and courageous; he exposed himself recklessly. When protest was made, he replied that no king was ever slain by a cannon-ball. He was twenty-one hours in the saddle before and after this event.

his country's decline and patriotically laid down his life for her sake. On the other hand he was prejudiced and cruel towards the Baptists and exhibited a weak jealousy towards Luther. Zwingli played a large part on a small stage. The Reformation threw Switzerland into civil war. The cities, notably Zürich, embraced Protestantism, whereas the forest cantons clung to Catholicism. Zwingli's closing years, when he was the accepted leader of the Swiss Protestants, were filled with political activity. He died in battle at Cappel on October 11, 1531, when he bore the banner, according

The Bettmann Archive

LUTHER

(Painting by Cranach)

The Bettmann Archive

CALVIN

(After Susterman)

to Swiss custom, as chief pastor in the defense of Zürich against the troops of the forest cantons. The Reformation he began in Switzerland on the whole was more moderate in nature than anywhere else on the continent. The Catholic bishops were lenient. The Protestant parishes elected their preachers freely, and the Catholic bishops (who were secular princes also) confirmed their election. Bishop Melchior of Lichtenfels (1554–1575) was as much loved by the Protestants as by the Catholics. In the diocese of Constance the bishop regularly approved the Protestant pastors.

Reformation in Sweden

In Sweden the revolution, manipulated under the guise of the Protestant religion, was a bloody affair. Christian II of Denmark's "Stockholm Bloodbath" (1520) destroyed the Union of Calmar which had united the three Scandinavian kingdoms since 1397.

The greatest of the Swedish nobles, Gustavus Vasa, thereupon over-threw the Danish rule and made himself king (1523–1560); under him the Reformation was introduced. Denmark and Norway, mean-while, remained united. Soon it dominated these two countries, and even spread to Poland and Hungary, although Protestantism never found a large following there, and the Protestants were crushed or driven out.

THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE

Far more important was the Reformation movement which be-gan in France. It was contemporary with Lutheranism but abso-lutely independent of it. The French Reformation was largely the work of John Calvin (1509–1564), who organized his Church, not in France, but in Geneva. Calvin was not the first religious agitator in France. He had a predecessor in a scholar named Lèfevre d'Etaples who began to inveigh against the corruption of the French clergy ten years before Luther and declared that the true doctrines of Christianity were in the Bible and not in Catholic theology and dogma. He was protected by the bishop of Meaux and by the king's sister, Marguerite of Navarre, a learned and liberal-minded woman. He translated the New Testament into French. At first he and his followers were called "Lutherans." The Sorbonne condemned his doctrines and persecution began in 1523, but for about twenty years it was not serious. The king found it expedient to support the German Protestants when he was at war with the Emperor Charles V, and he could not consistently persecute French Prot-estants at the same time.

In 1509 John Calvin was born at Noyon of bourgeois ancestry *John Calvin* and soundly educated in theology, law, Greek, and Latin. When a student at the University of Paris, apparently without informa-tion of Luther's teaching, he also worked out the doctrine of jus-tification by faith. He found refuge at Basel, Switzerland, and there wrote *The Institutes of the Christian Religion,* published in Latin in 1535 and in French in 1541. Calvin's teachings, all of which he derived from Scripture, included: justification by faith, predestina-tion, spiritual election, grace; Calvin asserted that the true Church was the whole body of believers or "elect," and therefore the Ro-man Church was a false church, its doctrines pretensions, and the pope anti-Christ. He rejected the mass, fasting, veneration of relics, pilgrimages, and the whole hierarchy. Calvin held that the elements in the eucharist were symbolic of the body and blood of Christ, in which he differed from Luther, who adhered to the Catholic doc-trine of transubstantiation, that is, that the bread and wine by a

miracle were transformed into flesh and blood. Both in doctrine and in form of organization Calvinism was more radical than Lutheranism.

Calvin had formulated a new doctrine and devised a new ec- *Calvin in* clesiastical polity with no home in which to establish his Church. *Geneva* Fortune provided a place. In 1536 Geneva, a free city at the western end of the lake of Geneva, drove out the bishop, whereupon Catholic Fribourg came to the relief of the bishop, while Bern, which was Zwinglian, supported Geneva. In the midst of this civil war Calvin was invited to come to Geneva. It had a truly cosmopolitan background, Swiss in politics, and commercially and industrially German. It had been governed by the bishop, checked by the fierce democratic spirit of the population. The burgesses were represented by a council or local senate instituted after the alliance of the city was made with the Swiss cantons. Although elective, this body tended to become oligarchic. Externally the chief enemy of Geneva was the Duke of Savoy whose dominions reached as far as Lyons and who made efforts to acquire possession of the one little enclave formed by Geneva. His adherents within the city were called "Mamelukes" in opposition to the Swiss Protestant party known as "Eyguenots" (a corruption of *Eidgenoss,* or sworn colleague, from which the word "Huguenot" may possibly have been derived).

In Geneva Calvin finally acquired religious and political ascend- *Puritanism* ancy. A new type of Church came into being, which differed from both the Catholic and the Lutheran Churches. Church government was in the hands of a board of pastors, all of whom were equal; civil jurisdiction was exercised by a citizens' committee, with a few ministers associated with them. Each church formed a congregation under its pastor and was a cell in the community for purposes of both religion and civil affairs. This was the Presbyterian form of government which soon became diffused over France, the Netherlands, Scotland, and England, and was destined to have great political as well as religious influence. Puritanism as a moral and social code first obtained in Geneva, where manners and morals were austerely regulated. All conduct was based on Holy Scripture. In 1558 a denial of the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination was punished by banishment. In 1563 new penalties—scourging and branding—were added to exile. The influx of 4000 destitute Waldensians from the Duke of Savoy's persecution in 1545 greatly increased the population, and rich exiles from other lands were welcomed for the sake of the money they brought in. Puritanism had a strong grain of thrift in its composition. It was against the

law in Geneva to be ill for more than three days without sending for a minister; to beg in the streets; to play cards; for a bride to wear her hair loose; for a spinster to wear jewelry. Two young men who placed a bet on who was the prettiest woman in Geneva were summoned into court and reprimanded. To ride or walk abroad during the time of church service was an offense for which one might be sent to jail.

The ethics of Calvinism were the ethics of the bourgeoisie of the sixteenth century. Geneva was the first Puritan commonwealth, a community of merchants and craftsmen. Honesty, thrift, diligence in business, these were bourgeois virtues. It was typical of Calvin that he taught that the taking of interest was not only lawful but a duty, and that "idle money is altogether unprofitable." The acquisition of credit was to be counted unto the possessor of it as a virtue. Every man had his "calling," by which was meant his most efficient form of making a living. Failure to achieve material success in proportion to one's ability was sin. God was the Master Workman [1] who worked during the six days of Creation but rested on the Sabbath. So, too, the honest man must work hard "in that estate and calling to which it shall please Thee to ordain me," for six days in every week, and then only might he honestly rest.

Calvinism was more radical than Lutheranism, and it was much more aggressive. In whatever country Calvinism acquired an ascendancy, it brought discord, bitterness, and fierce enmity between classes and people. It spelled civil war wherever it spread, in France, in Scotland, in the Netherlands, and yet almost everywhere Calvinism penetrated it prevailed.

France was the first country which Calvinism invaded. The government took alarm and in 1547 established the *Chambre Ardente*, the registers of which are preserved, for the suppression of the heresy. The significant name of the court was derived from the fact that the penalty was death by fire. Nevertheless, the number of Calvinist adherents grew. In May, 1559, a secret synod was held in Paris.

For purposes of resistance the Genevan system had peculiar advantages. The congregations, the consistories, the synods, could, as they stood, be easily converted into political sections; they could readily form the *cadres* of a military organization; they were peculiarly adapted to tap or to drain the financial resources of the party. The material strength of Calvinism is proved by the resistance offered in France to an overwhelming Catholic majority, backed by the resources of the Crown.[2]

[1] (Ce Grand Ouvrier, *Institutes*, I, v, 10.)
[2] Edward Armstrong, *French Wars of Religion*, 3.

The body of the Huguenots [1] was made up of ambitious nobles, *Huguenots* disgruntled judges and lawyers, defrocked monks and priests, discharged soldiers, jobless workingmen, and low adventurers. The lower bourgeoisie—small tradesmen, artisans, and the working classes —generally were drawn into it later; the peasantry except in Normandy was not at once affected by Calvinism. The "hard times"— financial stringency, agricultural depression, and high prices—a condition which endured for years and even became more and more aggravated, increased the number of Protestant adherents. For the discontented classes saw in Calvinism a vehicle for expression of their grievances.[2] The same phenomenon, as we have seen, appeared in Germany.

Very early, however, a distinction was made between "Religious *Religious and* Huguenots" and "Political Huguenots." The former were true Cal- *political Hu-* vinists struggling for religious toleration and freedom of worship; *guenots* the latter were discontented nobles, who resented the rapid growth of the power of the crown and saw in Calvinism a pretext and a means to despoil the clergy and plunder the rich monasteries. This prospect soon affected the French peasantry, too, for they were hungry for more land. The special object of hatred of the old French noblesse was the House of Guise—Henry, Duke of Guise, the conqueror of Calais from England and of the Three Bishoprics from Germany, and his brother Charles, the Cardinal of Lorraine. The influence of this upstart family was to be very great and very prejudicial to France and the French kings. It must be admitted that religion as such often appears to have little to do with the Reformation and Religious Wars in France. The Huguenots were inclined to play politics with religion. The nobles were actuated by political ambition; the bourgeoisie was moved by the hope of administrative reform and lower taxes; the masses were goaded by poverty.

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND

The actual separation of England from Rome was neither a *Henry VIII's* doctrinal nor a moral revolt like Lutheranism and Calvinism. It *divorce* was not a "reformation" except in so far as it was simultaneous with

---

[1] The derivation of this word to signify the French Protestants is not known. By some it is supposed to have come from the word *Eidgenossen* used to designate the Swiss confederates. Others think that it comes from the word *Duganau*, meaning the great owl in Languedoc (southern France) where the Huguenots were numerous, in allusion to their meetings at night.

[2] See Henri Hauser, "The European Crisis of 1559," *Jnl. Econ. and Business History* II, 241 f.

these two religious secessions. It was hardly a religious movement, and when the religious issue was raised it was a pretext, not a cause; it was a political gesture of Henry VIII in order to camouflage his real motives.

What was originally involved was a question of divorce. Henry VIII married Catherine of Aragon, his brother Arthur's widow. In 1527 he became infatuated with Anne Boleyn and began to be troubled with what he called "scrupulosity of conscience" as to the validity of his marriage. Since the pope had been reduced at this time by the emperor to a state of semi-destitution, the king believed that he would have little difficulty in getting his marriage annulled. From the first the chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey, saw that the only way of settling matters to the king's satisfaction was to obtain authority to try the case himself as papal legate in England.

Pope Clement VII was bound to oppose Wolsey's demand. Catherine was the aunt of the Emperor Charles V, whose wrath would come down upon the pope if the divorce were granted. On the other hand, if he did not grant it, England and France in alliance might crush Italy. The pope procrastinated, and Wolsey fell in 1529 and More was made chancellor, the first layman in that office.

A conflict ensued between Parliament and the Church on the ground that Parliament had nothing to do with canon law. At the suggestion of Archbishop Cranmer the issue was then referred to Oxford and Cambridge Universities—and for better face—to some continental universities. When the German Protestant universities replied favorably, the passive Parliament declared the king "Protector and only Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England" (1531); the breach with Rome followed, the crown confiscated all annates, Cranmer obediently declared the divorce, and Henry VIII married Anne Boleyn. In 1534 the Act of Supremacy made opposition to the new order of things high treason. Sir Thomas More refused to take the oath to the Act of Succession, which denied papal authority over the Church of England and condoned Henry VIII's marriage to Anne Boleyn. More was thrown into the Tower where, after a farcical trial, he was executed.[1]

---

[1] He mounted the steps to the scaffold calmly. The scaffold was unsteady and he said to Sir Edmund Walsingham, the governor of the Tower: "I pray thee, see me safe up, and for my coming down I shall shift for myself." As he was blindfolded, he carefully moved his beard as he laid his head on the block, saying: "Pity that should be cut, for *that* has never committed treason." By a strange fate, the bodies of Anne Boleyn and Thomas Cromwell, Henry VIII's minister who more than any man was responsible for More's death, were later buried in the grave with him.

The crisis was not yet over. Henry VIII found himself in conflict with two different classes of his subjects; those who resented the rupture with Rome, and those who wished to go farther. The Catholic religion had been in no way altered. Henry VIII had only substituted his own authority for that of the pope. He was king-pope. The sole concession to Protestant opinion was the royal permission for publication of Tyndale's English translation of the Bible.

For a long time English monasticism had been in a state of decay —indeed the evil was everywhere in Europe. Anti-clericalism was sharpened by an increasing covetousness for possession of the enormous landed endowments of the monasteries. Reduction, even confiscation, of this wealth had been a plank in the platform of the Lollards as far back as the time of Wycliff. Wolsey planned to use their endowments for public education. The king's new favorite, Thomas Cromwell, a low-born and ruthless man, initiated a "visitation" of the monasteries with the result that in 1536 all the lesser monasteries and nunneries were dissolved and their property confiscated to the crown. Four years later all monasteries were dissolved, the mitred abbots excluded from Parliament, and the abbots of Glastonbury, Reading, and Colchester hanged. It was an orgy of spoliation. Land-hungry courtiers, the king's favorites, were given the spoil, and thus Henry VIII created a party in support of his policy in both houses of Parliament. *Spoliation of monasteries*

The irreparable loss resulting from the dissolution of the monasteries was in the field of art and literature. The libraries of the monasteries were scattered and destroyed. Pictures, illuminated manuscripts, statuary, exquisite products of the medieval goldsmith's and jeweler's craft, all were stolen or smashed to fragments. The contemporary antiquary, John Leland, has given a melancholy account of what happened. He writes:

A grete nombre of them whych purchased . . . those librarye bokes, some used to scoure theyr candlestyckes and some to rubbe theyr bootes. Some they sold to grossers and sopesellers, and some they sent over seas to the bokebynders, not in small nombre, but at tymes whole shyppes full, . . . I know a merchaunte man, whych shall at thys tyme be nameless, that boughte the contents of two noble libraryes for 40 shyllyngs pryce, a shame to be spoken.

There were not wanting a few protests against this vandalism. One of the cries of outraged intelligence declared that "the spoile and destruction of so many and so notable libraries wherein lay the treasure of all antiquity . . . to the pitiful hindrance of the learned" was a national calamity.

The suppression of the monasteries was in large measure justified by the lapse of the monasteries themselves. But the enforcement of it was unnecessarily violent with regard to property. It was not brutal, however, in the treatment of the monks. The expelled were given pensions or other Church livings instead (which some refused to take). These pensions were either paid by the government or exacted from the purchaser of the confiscated lands.[1]

It is not to be thought that Henry VIII's drastic course did not meet with overt opposition. Popular insurrections broke out in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Somersetshire, in which a few nobles and gentry participated, but they were all crushed and the leaders put to death. Many of the recusant clergy and nobles fled abroad, where they conspired with the pope, the Jesuits, and the Catholic sovereigns on the continent.

Through all this conduct, Henry VIII still pretended to be a Catholic. In 1539 a merciless statute, known as the Six Articles, was passed, to the discouragement of Cranmer and other sincere advocates of the Reformation. Two bishops were imprisoned as "sacramentarian heretics." Henry VIII created an English Catholic Church, without a pope, without monasteries.

Meanwhile, Henry VIII married and beheaded queen after queen. Of his five wives after the divorce of Catherine of Aragon, one died when Edward VI was born, one other was divorced, the last survived him, and two were sent to the block. Thomas Cromwell was also finally beheaded when the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves, a political match which Cromwell had suggested, fell through. Henry VIII ruled more despotically than any other English king. Yet in spite of his furious temper, his cruelty, he never lost his popularity with the English people, who jubilantly dubbed him "Bluff King Hal."

When the king died in 1547 he was succeeded by his only son, Edward VI (1547–1552). He was a sickly boy of ten years of age under the regency of his uncle, his mother's brother, Duke of Somerset, and later that of Dudley, Earl of Northumberland. They united with Cranmer and other reformers and established the Church of England practically as it now is. New ecclesiastical visitations were made to destroy images and relics and to make inventories of church ornaments, jewels, bells, plate, etc. A government *Prayer Book* was made obligatory by the famous Act of Uniformity (1549). The doctrine and liturgy of England became Calvinistic. From the continent Calvin regarded all this development unsatis-

[1] Baskerville, "The dispossessed religious" in *Essays Presented to R. L. Poole,* pp. 436–65.

factory and insufficient. He would have preferred the English monarchy overthrown along with the Catholic episcopate, and "congregational government" installed in its stead.

The religious resentment of the nation against Calvinism was heightened by economic and social discontent owing to the practice of "enclosure." The ranks of the malcontented were augmented by jobless artisans, vagabonds, and "sturdy beggars." Many of the latter were of those driven out when the monasteries were dissolved.

Before Edward VI died in 1553, he provided by will that the *Catholic* crown be left to his cousin, Jane Grey, thus passing over his elder *reaction* half-sister Mary, Henry VIII's daughter by Catherine of Aragon (1553–1558). But Mary succeeded to the throne and a Catholic reaction ensued. The Act of Supremacy and all the Edwardian legislation were abolished, Protestant worship was forbidden, the Latin language restored in church services, and married priests expelled. Queen Mary graciously received the Cardinal Pole, the papal legate who was a former English nobleman, who had taken orders and fled abroad; 31 heretics were burned in London and 44 in the provinces. Archbishop Cranmer and Bishops Ridley and Latimer were executed (1555). To crown all, the queen married Philip II of Spain, arch-enemy of Protestantism. Only the most zealous Catholics could condone this surrender of England to subservience under the Spanish monarchy and certain embroilment in continental wars.

When Mary died in 1558, it was not only an English Protestant *Queen* demand, but it was an English national demand, that Princess Eliza- *Elizabeth* beth, Henry VIII's only surviving heir, be ruler. In Queen Elizabeth the English Reformation triumphed. Wholly indifferent to religion *as religion,* Elizabeth shrewdly steered a middle course throughout her reign. She detested the Calvinists and loved liturgical pomp. The Thirty-Nine Articles (1563) completed the establishment of the Church of England providing for Calvinist dogma with retention of the Catholic hierarchy (archbishops and bishops) and, partially, of the forms of worship. Since the house of Lords was mostly Catholic and the house of Commons mostly Calvinist, Elizabeth got along as much as possible without Parliament. As the Dissenters or Non-Conformists—Presbyterians, Puritans, Brownists, Separatists, etc.—grew in number, they were more and more sharply persecuted.

The Reformation in Scotland

The one important thing in Scottish history in the sixteenth *John Knox* century was the introduction of the Calvinistic religion, where, as elsewhere, it speedily became involved with politics. The Scottish

crown was one of the weakest in Europe. In 1542 King James V died leaving his infant daughter, Mary, under the guardianship of her mother, Mary of Guise, a sister of the powerful Duke of Guise in France. Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, in concert with the queen-mother cultivated the French alliance and married the infant Mary to the heir to the French crown, Francis II, who became king in 1559. The malcontent Scottish nobles rallied around John Knox, a fiery and fearless Calvinist preacher who had studied at Geneva. He was a rugged, harsh, unattractive but formidable figure. When it came to a matter of policy he could be as unjust as Thomas Cromwell, as brutal as Henry VIII, as false as Elizabeth. His ability to use abusive language amounted to a kind of genius. He loved to "gar the pulpit flee" with the vehemence of his denunciations of the "bloody idolaters," and the "rotten" and "stinking Mass," to call Queen Mary a Jezebel.

According to his doctrine the government was obliged by law to abolish "idolatry." By this term, Catholicism was meant, but Knox got the idea from the *Old Testament* and not from evangelical thought. His ideal was the prophet Samuel who "hewed Agat in pieces before the Lord." The rebels were united by a Covenant which Knox drew up. It was of the nature of a contract between the leaders who styled themselves "The Congregation of the Lord" and the "faithful" Scottish people, a contract to overthrow the government and destroy Catholicism. This Covenant was borrowed from the *Old Testament* and is the historical source of the concept of Social Contract. As Knox expounded it, Calvinism made a strong appeal to the cupidity of the Scottish nobles. The rebels made overtures to Queen Elizabeth of England. A civil war followed during which churches and monasteries were razed more furiously than had been the case in England. France was unable to give succor to the Scottish queen and the Catholic cause—Henry II of France had just been killed. Mary of Guise died of grief (the sole comfort of her last hours being that her daughter, Mary Queen of Scots, was safe in France) and Protestantism was victorious in Scotland. Parliament in 1561 set up a new form of Church polity on the Genevan model, confiscated what ecclesiastical property private rapacity had still spared, and commanded the entire destruction of abbey churches, hospitals, and other religious and charitable foundations, as a "most holy, just and necessary work."

In 1561, after her husband Francis II of France died, Queen Mary returned to Scotland, where John Knox and the Scottish Calvinists assailed her with vile and foul language in printed pamphlets. Unfortunately Mary Queen of Scots, the most beautiful and cultured

woman of the day through her compromising conduct as much as through her deep-seated Catholicism, soon got into difficulty with her half-rebellious subjects. She had married her cousin, Darnley. He grew jealous of her secretary, an Italian musician named Rizzio, and caused him to be murdered, whereupon Mary was involved in a successful plot against Darnley, and after his death she married her husband's murderer, a Scottish noble named Bothwell. The nobles rebelled under the leadership of Mary's natural brother, Murray, and imprisoned her in Lochleven Castle from which she escaped and fled to England, after abdicating in favor of her infant son, James VI (1568). Queen Elizabeth promptly imprisoned her as too dangerous a "guest" to be at large and finally sent her to the block.

Thus we terminate the history of the Reformation. In Germany it may be said to have ended in 1555; in France in 1559; in England in 1558; in Scotland in 1561. The period of the civil and international religious wars was about to begin. The Reformation movement crystallized in two new forms, a Lutheran one extending over all North Germany and considerable areas in the South and over the Scandinavian countries; and a Calvinist form, powerful but finally limited in France, triumphant in the Netherlands and Scotland, and partially so in England.

COLLATERAL READING

W. C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe,* 1924.
E. Armstrong, *Emperor Charles V,* 1902, 2 volumes.
F. Hackett, *Francis I, King of France,* 1937.
A. Lang, *John Knox and the Reformation,* 1905.
H. S. Lucas, *The Renaissance and the Reformation,* 1934.
J. Mackinnon, *Calvin and the Reformation,* 1936.
R. B. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New,* 1918–34, 4 volumes.
C. Oman, *History of the Art of Warfare in the Sixteenth Century,* 1937.
F. C. Palm, *Calvinism and the Religious Wars,* 1932.
C. Read, *The Tudors: Personalities and Practical Politics in the Sixteenth Century,* 1936.
P. Smith, *The Age of the Reformation,* 1920.
———, *Life and Letters of Martin Luther,* 1914.
R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism,* 1926.

The Bettmann Archive

THE GRAND INQUISITOR, DON FERNANDO
DE GUEVANA
(Painting by El Greco)

The Counter-Reformation
and Wars of Religion
(1560–1660)

THE idea of convoking a general council for Church reform had been floating in the air since the inception of the Reformation. Charles V had pointed out its necessity in 1522 to Adrian VI and renewed the suggestion to Clement VII in 1532. But the papacy shrank from the idea, for the quarrels and the failure of the councils of the fifteenth century were memories too vivid in the mind of Rome. Clement VII (a Medici) was as little interested in moral and religious reform as his uncle, Leo X, had been. In 1534, however, he was succeeded by Paul III, and papal policy changed sharply. As soon as he became pope Paul III named a commission to draw up a scheme of Church reform. Still he hesitated for many reasons to summon a council. Finally fearing lest the emperor would do so if he did not, he convened the Council of Trent. In 1542 he summoned the council to meet at Trent in the Austrian Tyrol, but another war between Charles V and Francis I deferred its meeting until 1545. The German Protestants were invited to participate, but they refused to come.

The first session was held on December 13, 1545, and a great program of successful reform was launched, the program of the Catholic Reformation or Counter-Reformation.

Three subjects of deliberation were submitted by Pope Paul III to the Council of Trent: (1) removal of religious dissension in the Church by clearer formulation of points of doctrine and dogma; (2) the abolition of ecclesiastical abuses; and (3) a crusade against

heretics. Between February 11, 1546, and March 11, 1547, important points of dogma were settled, but after that date the majority of the Council retired to Bologna. In 1549 Pope Paul III died. Under his successor Julius III (1550–1555) the Council again resumed its sessions, but only from May, 1551, to April, 1552, when it was again prorogued. The final sessions were held under Pius IV (January 18, 1562, to December 4, 1563) when, after holding twenty-five sessions in eighteen years, the findings of the Council were confirmed.[1]

Achieve-
ments of the
Council

The work of the Council of Trent may be considered under four heads: (1) doctrine, (2) worship, (3) organization, and (4) discipline. The Council defined the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church for all time to come; it condemned all the demands made by Lutheranism and Calvinism. The Nicene Creed was made the cornerstone of belief. Tradition and the Scriptures were the sources of authority. All the books of the Bible, and the *Apocrypha,* which. the Protestants rejected, were declared canonical; the printing of the Bible in any vernacular language was prohibited; only the Latin version, the Vulgate, was permitted. The ancient Catholic interpretation was adhered to with regard to original sin, justification, the sacraments, transubstantiation; the communion cup was refused to the laity; masses were to be celebrated in Latin; confession was sustained, and the doctrine of purgatory reaffirmed. In the matter of worship the Council maintained all the practices sustained by "tradition": masses for the dead, use of Latin in services, altar ornamentation, images, relics, pilgrimages, indulgence; but a caution was enjoined against "superstition."

As to ecclesiastical organization, the Council defined the rights and powers of the different classes of clergy in the hierarchy; the pope was the vicar of Christ and superior to the councils; the fiscal powers of the papacy were somewhat reduced, but the pope still preserved annates, the right of dispensing canon law, and the nomination of cardinals. Every bishop was absolute in his diocese; chapters were subject to bishops, who also had authority to discipline both secular and regular clergy within their dioceses except in the case of "exempted" monastic orders—an important provision, for

---

[1] The final acts were subscribed to by 255 delegates: four legates, two cardinals, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbishops, 168 bishops, thirty-nine proxies for absentees, seven abbots, seven generals of monastic orders. An analysis according to nations is equally interesting. There were present 189 Italians, twenty-seven French, six Germans, one Englishman (the exiled Cardinal Pole), three Irishmen, two Portuguese, two Poles, two Hungarians, four from various Austrian lands, and six Greeks.

the Jesuits were under the direct jurisdiction of the popes and the Franciscans and Dominicans immediately responsible to the generals of those two orders.

To prevent the unfortunate consequences of an ignorant priesthood the Council of Trent provided for the establishment of a theological seminary in every diocese. At the same time it determined upon the censorship of books so that heretical views would not corrupt the minds of the faithful. A commission was created to draw up a list or index of writings which ought not to be read. The publication of this list by the pope, in 1564, resulted in the formal acceptance of the Index of prohibited books as an important part of the machinery of the Church. To enforce the prohibition the Inquisition was revived, and it became very active in Italy and Spain.

An instrument more influential than either the Index or the Inquisition was the Society of Jesus, or the Jesuit Order. Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish Basque of noble birth, was a soldier until 1521 when he was seriously wounded at the siege of Pampeluna and lamed for the rest of his life. During his convalescence he read many lives of the saints, and he resolved to devote himself to the service of the Virgin. The practical purpose of his life now dawned upon him—he would be a soldier of the Church and create a standing army for the cross. The vow which he imposed upon his followers, to do whatever the Holy Father commanded, to go into whatever country he should send them, to the Turks, to India, to America, partakes largely of the spirit of medieval chivalry.

With his mind filled with dreams and visions, he visited Jerusalem as the crusaders had done centuries ago, returned to Spain, where he studied at two universities and began to preach until the Inquisition grew suspicious. Then he went to Paris where the university contained ten thousand students of all the nationalities of Europe and seethed with heretical ideas. Here he gathered the first scholarly and saintly members of his future Society, and in 1534 the little band took vows to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and, failing that, to offer their lives to the service of the pope. The Turkish war made pilgrimage impossible, and Ignatius and his seven companions were ordained priests by Paul III in 1537. Three years later the Society of Jesus was instituted and vowed to implicit obedience to the pope. Ignatius was made first general of the Society, with absolute powers except for the papal authority. For fifteen years Ignatius governed the widening operations of the Society with extraordinary ability and success. The design of the Jesuits was to combine the functions of preaching, education, confession, and the promotion of Catholicism in Catholic, heretic, and heathen lands. It was both a home and

foreign missionary society. Success was rapid, and by 1556 the Society had 2000 members.

From the very year of its establishment, the new order featured education, and its educational system became the best and most effective one of the age—and still is in many ways; for it is based upon the sound idea that education is fundamentally a mental discipline and not merely a means to impart information. Priests, confessors, and teachers, the Jesuits were welcomed into the high and aristocratic society of Catholic Europe, spoke fluently the language of the country in which they were, were masters of Latin, humanists and scientists, appreciated art and music—in short, the Jesuits mingled with the world, yet never lost sight of their purpose.

Jesuit education

For two centuries the place of the Jesuits in European education was supreme, to say nothing of their influence in India, Japan, China, and Latin America.[1] As early as the sixteenth century Protestant students were in their colleges because of the superiority of · their educational methods. Sir Francis Bacon praised them, and the great French philosopher, Descartes, was educated in them. Comenius, a Bohemian Protestant and one of the founders of modern education, adopted the linguistic method of the Jesuits in the teaching of Latin.

Their success as missionaries was even greater. They recovered Poland, when it threatened to become Lutheran, they maintained the Catholic faith in Bavaria, the southern Netherlands, and Ireland. As apostles of the faith in Asia—China and India—and in America —North and South—they achieved phenomenal results.

PHILIP II AND THE WARS OF RELIGION

The success of the Catholic Reformation by 1560 provoked general Protestant opposition. The wars of religion that raged all over Europe for a century followed. In these wars religion was only one issue; another was the balance of power, threatened by the Habsburgs, especially Philip II.

Philip II

Philip II of Spain (1556–1598) was the political instrument of the Counter-Reformation. He spent his life in the effort to crush Protestantism, particularly Calvinism, everywhere—in France, in the Low Countries, in England, and in Scotland. For this purpose he spent the blood and treasure of Spain and America and left his country at the end exhausted and impoverished. This morbidly religious, narrowly conscientious, hardworking sovereign who ruled Spain, Naples,

---

[1] In 1580 there were 2000 students in their college in Rome. In 1627 they had 13,195 students in the schools of the Paris province alone. In 1640 it had been estimated that the Jesuits had 150,000 pupils under their instruction.

Sicily, the Milanais, Franche-Comté, the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, and Spanish America from his somber palace, the Escorial, situated in a bleak plain in Castile, sat like a human spider in the center of his vast web with his fingers on every tentacle of government. Suspicious of his own ministers, incapable of delegating administrative responsibility, every minister, every council, and every bureau chief transacted business with Philip in writing only. He read every paper—hundreds of thousands of them—with minute care, corrected, made marginal comments, and criticized. Often he labored from twelve to sixteen hours a day at his desk, and his natural hesitation to make up his mind, together with his chronic procrastination, reduced officials to despair. Frequently six months would elapse before the king replied to a communication, even when marked "urgent."

Through the second half of the sixteenth century Philip II dominated Europe, and all the most significant political developments in whatever country were closely related to the successes and failures of his reign. In the course of his long reign Philip II won two great victories—Lepanto and Portugal—and met three even greater defeats—in the Netherlands, England, and France.

· In 1571 Philip II's half brother, Don John of Austria, sailed east in command of a great fleet furnished by Philip II, the pope, Genoa, and Venice, and won a crushing victory over the Turkish fleet at Lepanto. It was a splendid victory; Ottoman naval aggression was brought to an end, and Spain for nearly twenty years was mistress of the seas.

The second victory was in Portugal. In 1580 the king of Portugal died without leaving a direct heir, and Philip II made a formal claim to the succession. He bought off the Duke of Braganza (who had a better claim) and sent in an army to occupy the country. For sixty years the vast colonial empires of Portugal and Spain were under one rule. The annexation of Portugal offered enormous possibilities, but they were never realized by Spain. Portugal became independent again in 1640, under the House of Braganza, but only after the Dutch had acquired some of the choicest of Portuguese overseas possessions.

Much more significant than Philip II's victories were his defeats. The first was in the Low Countries, the favorite possession of his father, Charles V. Never popular in the Netherlands (which he never visited after 1559) Philip II met more and more opposition as his regents attempted to impose on the seventeen provinces a policy of centralization. The first opposition was directed against the Inquisition and the Spanish garrisons. The regent, Margaret of

THE NETHERLANDS
1559 - 1609

The United Netherlands after 1579

The Spanish Netherlands after 1579.

Boundary between the Spanish Netherlands and the United Netherlands following the Union of Utrecht in 1579 and the Twelve Years Truce in 1609.

Common Lands in 1609.

UTRECHT / Douai   Adhering provinces and cities to the Pacification of Ghent in 1576.

Bruges   Cities in the Spanish Netherlands which belonged briefly to the Union of Utrecht.

◎   Seat of a bishopric founded before 1559

◉   Seat of a bishopric erected 1559 to 1561.

●   Seat of an archbishopric erected 1559 to 1561

Scale of Miles
0   10   20   30   40

NORTH SEA

AMELAND
TERSCHELLING
VLIELAND
Emden
Dokkum
Leeuwarden
Harlingen
FRIESLAND (LORDSHIP)
Groningen
Borger
DRENTHE COUNTY
TEXEL
Helder
Kuinder
Koevorden
WEST FRIESLAND
Alkmaar
Hoorn
ZUIDER
Edam
ZEE
Kampen
Hasselt
Zwolle
OVERYSSEL (LORDSHIP)
Haarlem
Amsterdam
Naarden
Deventer
HOLLAND
Leyden
UTRECHT
Zutphen
The Hague
COUNTY
Utrecht
BISHOPRIC
Delft
Rotterdam
EAST VOORNE
Brill
Dordrecht
Nimwegen
CLEVES DUCHY
SCHOUWEN
Gertruydenberg
ZEELAND COUNTY
Hertogenbosch
I. OF WALCHEREN
Breda
UPPER GELDERLAND
Middelburg
Bergen of Zoom
Tilburg
Flushing
Eindhoven
Venlo
Düsseldorf
Ostend
Sluys
Antwerp
Dunkirk
Nieuport
Bruges
Lierre
Roermond
Axel
Heyst
COLOGNE ARCHBISHOPRIC
Gravelines
Ghent
Scheldt
JULICH
Nieuwstad
Julich
Ypres
Termonde
Mechlin
Maestricht
Cologne
Courtrai
Brussels
Louvain
DUCHY
Lille
Tournai
Landen
LIMBURG DUCHY
Aix-la-Chapelle
Orchies
Mons
Gembloux
Liège
Douai
Charleroi
Namur
Spримont
Arras
HAINAUT
Valenciennes
NAMUR COUNTY
Cambray
(COUNTY)
Sambre
Marche
CAMBRAY BISHOPRIC
Cateau-Cambrésis
Givet
ARTOIS COUNTY
FLANDERS
LIÈGE BISHOPRIC
ARCHBISHOPRIC
LUXEMBURG
Amiens
Somme
DUCHY
Chiny
Trèves
Noyon
Laon
Sedan
Luxemburg
FRANCE
Moselle
TRÈVES
Soissons
LORRAINE
DUCHY
Rheims

NORTH SEA

Parma, made some concessions. They were not enough, for Calvinism by now had become a symbol of administrative reform, of the traditional rights of the provinces, and of civil and religious liberty. All the elements of discontent rallied around it.

In 1566 three hundred nobles (called, in derision, the "Beggars") presented a petition to the regent; in the meantime popular insurrection broke out, and churches were invaded and sacked by furious mobs. The liberal nobles sent two of their number, Counts Egmont and Horn, to Spain to conciliate the king. Egmont had fought under Charles V in Algiers, Germany, and France; he had been appointed governor of Flanders and Artois by the emperor. Instead of receiving the two, Philip II threw them into prison and later (1568) executed them. The Low Countries were now in open insurrection and Philip II sent his ablest soldier, the Duke of Alva, to subjugate the provinces.

For six years (1567–1573) Alva maintained a reign of terror in the Low Countries. The Spanish troops were billeted on householders and spread all over the provinces; a Council of Blood was established and exorbitant taxes were imposed. But the insurrection continued under the leadership of William, Count of Nassau-Orange, whose estates had been confiscated and a price put upon his head, but who carried on the resistance from Nassau, his hereditary territory, which was a German principality. The estates of Holland elected William "stadtholder," or governor, of the rebellious province. At the same time the hardy sea-faring population of the coast of Frisia and Holland covered the Narrow Seas, captured Spanish shipping, and raided port towns in possession of the Spaniards. These "Beggars of the Sea" (*Gueux*), as Alva contemptuously called them, in 1572 captured Brielle at the mouth of the Meuse. It was a turning point in the history of the Netherlands.

Alva was recalled in 1573 and was replaced by a new governor, Requesens, who at once laid siege to Antwerp. The siege and surrender of Antwerp in 1574 determined in a general way the northern boundary of the Catholic Low Countries. The commercial importance of Antwerp and the large number of merchants of all nations who either resided or else had interests there made some measure of religious toleration desirable. But Philip II was obdurate and would allow no departure from the stipulation exacted in the surrender of the other cities. Those who refused to accept Catholicism were compelled to sell their property and leave the city by a specified date. Two years after the seizure, in 1576, the soldiery in the Spanish garrisons revolted because their pay was in arrears.

Antwerp, Ghent, Maastricht, and other towns were sacked in this "Spanish Fury."

This bloodshed resulted in the Pacification of Ghent, a treaty of union among all the provinces for the purpose of driving the Spaniards out of the country. In this crisis Philip II sent Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma (1578–1592), a shrewd diplomat, an able administrator, and one of the first generals of the age. Within a year he was so successful that he alienated the ten Catholic Walloon and Flemish provinces from the federation, on the promise of restoration of their former political liberties. Thereupon the seven northern Dutch-Calvinist provinces formed the Union of Utrecht (1579). These provinces—Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Gelderland, Groeningen, Friesland, and Overyssel (the present kingdom of the United Netherlands)—declared their independence of Spain and elected William of Orange commander-in-chief of their army.

It is not strictly accurate to say, as is often said, that the Union of · Utrecht in 1579 *created* modern Belgium and modern Holland. Actually it was but a separation between the provinces of the North and those of the South. There were simply two leagues organized against Spanish rule, one Catholic and one Protestant. It is certain that the ability of Alexander Farnese reconciled the southern provinces to Spanish rule whereas the Union of Utrecht marks the inchoate formation of the United Provinces of the Dutch Netherlands. But it really was Philip II himself who saved the Dutch provinces. Instead of letting the Duke of Parma terminate the conquest, the king interrupted Farnese's projected campaign against them and compelled him to waste time and resources in fruitless conflict with Henry of Navarre and against England in the year of the Armada. Such a fortunate opportunity never occurred again, and Spain ultimately lost the Dutch provinces which otherwise she might have subdued and retained, as she did the Belgian provinces.

When William of Orange was murdered by a hired agent of Philip II of Spain in 1584, William's son Maurice, then only seventeen years of age, carried on. He was to prove the most brilliant military commander of the period. Meanwhile England viewed the situation across the sea with increasing alarm and in the next year sent over English troops. With English aid the Dutch could hold their own even against the Duke of Parma. Their independence was assured; although Philip II would never recognize it, and it was not officially recognized until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

A second defeat of Philip II was in England. At the beginning of his reign England was his ally, and the Queen of England (Mary Tudor) was his wife. Queen Mary died in 1558, and Philip II even

offered to marry her successor, Queen Elizabeth (1558–1603), to continue the alliance. When the new queen refused and declared herself a Protestant, Philip began his plots against her throne and her life. If the Counter-Reformation, of which Philip II was the secular head, were to triumph, England must first be crushed. Then France and the Netherlands would fall of themselves, for England was the keystone of the Protestant arch.

For twenty years, the imprisoned Mary Queen of Scots was the center of a web of diplomacy spun by Spanish, papal, and Jesuit interests, the aim of which was to consummate the fall of Elizabeth —even by assassination— and to establish the Catholic succession on the throne of England. Only after Mary Queen of Scots was executed (1587) did Philip resort to open war. For years rumors had been afloat through Europe that an enormous fleet was secretly being fitted out in Spain with which English sea power was to be crushed, the kingdom conquered, Elizabeth deposed, and Mary Stuart made queen, after which Holland and Zealand were to be subdued, while, as for France, the Holy League then would triumph as a matter of course. The execution of Mary Stuart stung Philip II out of his chronic mood of procrastination. It was too late to save her life, but it was high time for action against England. In April, 1587, Drake had burned Cadiz and a squadron of ships of war in the harbor there, and during the summer he had destroyed over one hundred Spanish merchant ships and an immense quantity of naval stores intended for the invasion of England. He described this feat as "singeing the King of Spain's beard." The English government was well informed by its spies abroad and was making great preparation for the coming struggle. Every shire on the coast was garrisoned and munitioned, and a fleet of 140 ships was ready in the Channel ports.

The Spanish Armada sailed from Lisbon on June 1, 1588. There were 130 ships, many of them huge galleons far larger than any English vessels, manned by 11,000 seamen and galley slaves, with 22,000 troops aboard and 3000 pieces of cannon. The plan was to take on board additional French troops at Havre and Parma's veterans at Antwerp and to make three simultaneous attacks upon the English coast, one in the southwest (Devonshire), a second on Kent or Essex (London), and a third on the coast of Yorkshire, reputedly the most Catholic part of England. Queen Elizabeth in the face of the peril of her country rose to heroic stature. She rode along the coast haranguing the sailors and people of the port towns. At Tilbury she said: "I have come among you resolved in the midst of the heat and the battle, to live or die among you all; to lay down for my

Spanish Armada

God and for my kingdom and for my people my honour and my
blood even in the dust." The main body of the Armada was at-
tacked by Drake on July 29 in the narrows between Dover and
Calais. Many Spanish vessels were sunk, several went aground, others
were captured, and a great storm completed the work of destruction.
The remnants of the Armada limped home after many weeks of
privation; some of them had to run up and around Scotland and
Ireland in order to get home.

The Bettmann Archive

THE GREAT ARMADA

The destruction of the Spanish Armada saved the Calvinist re-
ligion in Europe; it also saved Elizabethan England and the Protes-
tant Netherlands. The degree of Philip II's failure in England is
measured by the significance in later centuries of British sea power
and empire. All through the reign of Elizabeth English seamen, like
Drake and Hawkins, attacked Spanish trade and commerce. As King
of Spain, as well as militant leader of the Catholic Reformation,
Philip II launched the Armada. Its defeat was crucial for both the
Spanish empire and for the Catholic recovery of the states of north-
ern Europe.

Wars of
Religion
The third and final defeat of Philip II was in France. Henry II
of France had made peace with Philip in 1559 so that he might be

free to suppress Calvinism, and French Protestantism might well have been crushed in the bud if the king had not been suddenly killed later in the same year. Henry II's four sons were all minors and none of them able. The queen-mother, Catherine de' Medici, was an Italian; moreover, the regency of a woman was difficult even under most favorable circumstances. Three groups were ambitious to control the government, and the competition between them saved Calvinism. The first was composed of the Bourbon princes of the blood, nearest relatives of the king, headed by Antoine de Bourbon, King of Navarre, and Louis, Prince of Condé. The second was the Guises, the Duke of Guise and his brother Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, who were uncles of Francis II's young queen (Mary of Scotland). The third party included the Constable Montmorency and his nephew, Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France. Guise influence was dominant in the brief reign of Francis II (1559– 1560); then with the accession of Charles IX (1560–1574) the queen-mother, Catherine de' Medici, vainly tried to steer a middle course between the factions, and the Edict of January (1562) gave slight toleration to the Calvinists. But both sides knew that open civil war would soon break out. It came within three months. The first three wars, 1562–1563, 1567–1568, and 1569–1570, were really a single conflict interrupted by truces.

The terms of the Peace of Amboise (1563) marked the ascendancy of the aristocratic element in the Huguenot party, whose interests were chiefly political, over the Genevan party, which was largely religious (Protestant). It provided that one place in every bailiwick should be specified where Calvinist service might be held, and that all Huguenot nobles might have preaching on their estates. The Peace of Longjumeau (1568) was a mere armistice compelled by lack of funds of both antagonists. The first substantial peace was that of St. Germain (1570); the government surrendered certain surety-towns to the Reformed—La Rochelle, Cognac, Montauban, and La Charité. It was soon upset by the Guises and Spanish intervention, but nevertheless became the basis on which the Edict of Nantes, twenty-eight years later, was erected.

Even as early as 1570, a substantial religious peace might have been established if Philip II had not been more and more actively supporting the Guise faction. In her fear of the Guises Catherine de' Medici arranged for the marriage of the Princess Marguerite, the king's sister, with the young Prince Henry of Navarre, titular leader of the Huguenot cause, to take place on August 24 (St. Bartholomew's Day). The Protestant Admiral Coligny persuaded the French king Charles IX that the moment was at hand for France in alliance with

England to intervene in the Netherlands. On April 19, 1572, a French-English alliance was signed for joint intervention in the Netherlands against Spain. But Alva intercepted a letter of King Charles IX which revealed the whole plan; Elizabeth became frightened and renounced the alliance with France. Fearing the vengeance of Philip II and believing that he could be placated only with the blood of the Huguenots, Catherine de' Medici and the weak French king planned and executed the terrible Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Admiral Coligny was the most prominent victim; there were more than two thousand others in Paris alone, and many in other cities, especially in Toulouse.

This precipitated the fifth civil war. Henry of Navarre reverted to Protestantism and took command of the Huguenot forces. Peace was concluded in 1576 after four years of strife on terms slightly more favorable to the Huguenots than before. This dissatisfied the Catholics. The Guises appealed to Philip II for support. Already a number of local leagues of Catholic gentry and nobles had been formed in the provinces. With the aid of Spanish gold and soldiery sent into France, these small leagues were combined into the formidable Holy League, with the avowed object of exterminating Protestantism and supplanting Henry III (1574–1589) by the Duke of Guise. Spanish intervention drove the moderate and liberal French Catholics (*politiques*) to alliance with the Huguenots. The civil war was now resolved into a long conflict between the Holy League made up of those who were willing to sell the independence of their country to Spain and moderate patriot Catholics united with the Huguenots. Year after year the conflict continued. Finally, in 1588, Paris, always Catholic, revolted against Henry III, drove him out (Day of the Barricades), and hailed the Duke of Guise as king. Henry III fled to Blois, where he plotted and consummated the assassination of Guise and his brother the Cardinal (December 23, 1588). Two weeks later the queen-mother died, deploring her son's folly. In desperation the wretched king threw himself into the arms of Henry of Navarre and recognized him as his legal heir. But this last Valois offspring was marked for assassination by the Guise party, the Leaguers, and Catholic irreconcilables. Henry III was murdered by a fanatical monk, on July 31, 1589.

As England before 1588 had been the pivotal country around which the Reformation had revolved, and the most formidable enemy to Spain, so now was France under Henry of Navarre after 1589. If Philip II could secure the triumph of the Holy League in France the Huguenots would be crushed and the collapse of the Protestant Netherlands would probably follow.

The Huguenots and the moderate Catholics (*politiques*) were now united against Catholic "die-hards" who would rather see France fall under the shadow of Spanish domination through a victorious Holy League than have Henry of Navarre as king. In the next year (1590), Philip II laid claim to the throne of France on behalf of his daughter by his third marriage with Elizabeth of Valois, sister of Henry III. But Henry IV defeated the League at Ivry and thereby further divided its partisans. Henry IV took advantage of the situation and made overtures to Rome. In 1593, with the pope's consent, Henry abjured the Calvinist faith and was crowned in Chartres cathedral, since Paris was still hostile. None but the most radical of the Huguenots resented the king's action. It was the one thing left to do in order to unite France. The Huguenots never had been more than a minority of the population. France was still basically Catholic. Events rapidly proved the wisdom of Henry IV's policy. In May, 1594, Paris capitulated, opened its gates, and the Holy League collapsed. The civil wars of religion were over.

Philip II now fought on the defensive. English corsairs, having tasted of conquest in 1588, harried the Spanish coast. Drake captured Coruna but failed before Lisbon; an English fleet assailed Seville. In the Netherlands the Dutch seized the provinces of Guelders and Brabant. Even the papacy deserted the Spanish king. When Sixtus V died, the conclave revolted against Spanish dictation and elected Clement VIII, the pope who granted absolution to Henry IV. Philip II was broken in health and spirit; his treasury was bankrupt. On May 2, 1598, Spain made peace with France at Vervins (a little town on the edge of the Spanish Netherlands), just seventeen days after Henry IV had promulgated the Edict of Nantes. Five months later Philip II died (September 13, 1598).

The Edict of Nantes did not grant individual religious toleration, but it none the less marked the failure of Philip II's policy in France. The Edict of Nantes was a treaty of peace rather than a general legalization of religious toleration between two powers. Its articles granted high Huguenot nobles the right of Calvinist worship in their châteaux, and the same religious freedom in certain specified localities, but forbade it at the court, in Paris or within a radius of twenty miles around the capital, or in an episcopal city. Public offices were to be open to Calvinists and four "mixed" chambers were established in four parliaments—Paris, Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Grenoble. Finally, La Rochelle, Montauban, Montpellier, and Saumur were granted as surety-places with complete Protestant administration for the enforcement of the Edict. The Huguenots, in a word, were recognized as an armed religious and political party,

a state within a state, in France. There was danger in such a compromise, as the future was to show. Yet all things considered it was the only feasible peace at the time and it did publicly recognize the fact that more than one form of religion could obtain in the same territory. This, in itself, was a real advance in the history of civilization, although it required the French Revolution to make the principle general in Europe.

Reconstruction of France

After 1598 Spain was no longer dominant in Europe. The exhaustion of Spain under Philip II and the termination of the civil wars in France changed the European balance of power. The ascendancy of France began in the reign of Henry IV (d. 1610), was continued by Richelieu and Mazarin (1624–1660), and culminated in the reign of Louis XIV (1642–1715). As soon as peace was made, Henry IV and his chief minister, the Huguenot Duke of Sully, embarked upon a great work of reconstruction of the ravaged kingdom. Sully introduced a new honesty and efficiency into the financial administration, sharply reduced the royal debt, and built up a large treasury surplus. Henry IV and Sully did everything they could to encourage agriculture, and the king was especially active in fostering commerce and industry and in beginning colonial expansion overseas in the St. Lawrence basin. Roads and inland waterways were improved. Mining was stimulated. Interprovincial tolls (*douanes*) were abolished on wheat and wine. The king was a great builder, and labor on these structures in Paris greatly relieved unemployment.[1]

Foreign policy of Henry IV

The assassination of the king on May 14, 1610, by Ravaillac, a fanatical monk, was a calamity to France and to Europe. Although France did not acquire her greatest ascendancy in Europe until the time of Richelieu, nevertheless Henry IV laid its foundation, and in his time are already seen all the essential features which characterized the later policy of France. The Habsburg-Valois rivalry, begun in the time of Charles V and Francis I, received a new expression, and the balance inclined in favor of France. Habsburg Spain was declining, but there remained Habsburg Austria, and in the last years of his reign Henry IV labored to form a coalition of all the enemies of the Habsburgs under the hegemony of France. Although he had become a Catholic, he preserved his former Protestant alliances. In violation of the Treaty of Vervins he retained 3000 French troops in the Spanish Netherlands and sent money to the aid of the Dutch. In 1606 he made an alliance with the Protestant

---

[1] Among them were the grand gallery of the Louvre, the completion of the Tuileries, which Catherine de' Medici had begun, the Pont-Neuf, and the Hôtel de Ville.

Union in Germany and might have come to blows with the emperor in defense of the claims of the heirs of the Duke of Cleves. In 1609 he compelled Spain reluctantly to make a truce with the Dutch. His death in 1610 deferred France's intervention in German politics until Cardinal Richelieu revived his policy.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR (1618–1648)

The death of Philip II in 1598 and the decline of the power of Spain shifted the field of Counter-Reformation activity to Germany, where the emperor became the chief political force behind its enforcement. The Counter-Reformation had wholly failed in England, Scotland, the United Netherlands, and partially failed in France. In the former countries Catholicism had been proscribed; in France Calvinism, although in the minority, was on a parity with Catholicism.

Protestant-ism in Germany

How had Protestantism fared in Germany since the Peace of Augsburg of 1555? At that time the Lutheran princes were conceded the right to adhere to their faith and to impose it upon their subjects. But the articles did not admit the principle that Catholic princes and Catholic subjects might *in future* become Lutherans. Legally no expansion of Lutheranism was permissible, and a clause —the *Reservatum*—forbade administrators of Catholic ecclesiastical property, who had turned Protestant, from carrying that property with them and delivering it to Lutheran churches. Here was fuel for fire, and there were still other grievances and recriminations. The Reformation continued to expand after the Peace of Augsburg in spite of what the law said. Every lay prince of Germany except the Duke of Bavaria had turned Protestant. To make matters worse those in western Germany instead of becoming Lutherans turned Calvinist, and Calvinism had not been legalized in the document of 1555. Finally the "reservation" was universally disregarded.

The Catholic princes were in a minority, but in the electoral college the three ecclesiastical electors, the Archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne, and the King of Bohemia (who was the emperor) gave the Catholics one more vote than the Protestants. Moreover, the number of small ecclesiastical princes outnumbered the number of small lay princes.

Protestant Union vs Catholic League

Under these conditions conflict was inevitable. The Protestants complained of the old medieval institutions which put them in the minority. The offensive was taken not by the Lutherans but by the Calvinists who legally had no religious status. An endeavor was made in 1591 and again in 1606 to form some sort of union between the Calvinists and the Lutherans. This initiative was taken by Frederick

RELIGIOUS SITUATION
IN EUROPE ABOUT 1618

Lutherans
Calvinists
Anglicans
Roman Catholics
Greek Orthodox
Mohammedans

HAGSTROM CO., N.Y.

IV, Elector Count Palatine of the Rhine. Finally, in 1608, the Protestant Union was concluded at Halle; this union was joined by Henry IV of France. In retaliation Maximilian, the Duke of Bavaria, formed a Catholic League—the Holy League once more, but on German soil now instead of French, of which the pope declared himself the protector. The battle-lines were drawn. The Emperor Mathias (1612–1619), alarmed for the unity of the empire, vainly ordered that the two leagues be dissolved. They refused, and proceeded to divide Germany between them. The struggle was also extended to Bohemia, Hungary, and Moravia, where ancient Hussitism, the Bohemian Brethren, and the Moravian Brethren were Protestant sects akin to Lutheranism.[1]

The failure of the diet to exercise any influence for peace was climaxed by the open breach between the two parties at the meetings in 1608 and 1613, and by the doctrine set up by the leading Calvinists that the decisions of the majority in matters relating to religion were not binding upon the minority. The rising of 1618 with which the Thirty Years' War began proceeded not from the Protestants generally but from the Calvinists alone; and the Calvinists in the eyes of Lutherans were more hateful than the Catholics. The idea of Protestant unity was inconceivable and impossible. In 1618 the Lutherans had extirpated Calvinism in North Germany, as the Calvinists had extirpated Arminianism in Holland. The practice of craft and terror which had served to establish both kinds of Protestantism in the sixteenth century served now in the seventeenth century to restore Catholicism.

The flame burst out in Prague in Bohemia when the ardent Catholic Ferdinand II (1619–1637) succeeded the mild and tolerant Emperor Matthias. The Bohemian diet (*Landtag*) refused to recognize the succession and declared that it would elect another king. There were three candidates in spite of the fact that acceptance of the Bohemian crown was fraught with peril. One was the Elector of Saxony, a Lutheran; the second was Frederick, the Elector Palatine, a Calvinist; the third was the Duke of Savoy, a Catholic. The majority elected Frederick, whose wife, Princess Elizabeth, was the daughter of James I of England. This election split the Protestant Union in Germany. The Elector of Saxony turned Catholic and went over to the imperial camp. In spite of the defection, the Protestant party still was hopeful, for it counted upon English interven-

Elector Frederick, King of Bohemia

---

[1] The Emperor Matthias, moderate and peace-loving, had been liberal towards all these sectaries; by royal charter (*Majestätsbrief*—1609) he had permitted free exercise of the Utraquist or Hussite faith among the three estates of nobles, knights, and royal cities, in the Habsburg lands and in Bohemia.

tion. But James I hesitated. He had a horror of anything like revolt of subjects against their ruler; moreover, he wanted to marry Prince Charles to a Spanish Infanta, in order to give prestige to the Stuart dynasty. Long and tedious negotiations with the Spanish court were under way at this juncture. When it became evident that the English would not intervene in Germany, the Lutheran princes declared their neutrality. Frederick, who already had made himself unpopular in Prague by bringing his Calvinist court chaplain with him and by throwing precious relics and even the cross into the Moldau river to "purify" the cathedral, found himself utterly isolated to face the wrath of the Catholic emperor.

Battle of White Mountain

However, the rash young palatine was not afraid. His troops forced the crossing of the Danube and threatened Vienna but soon retreated. The imperial army invaded Bohemia but accomplished nothing because the emperor had no money to pay them. Frederick again took the offensive and united with Bethlen Cabor, the rebel Prince of Transylvania, in a march on Vienna, but again the army retreated (December, 1619). Then the emperor received assistance from the Catholic League, the Archduke Albert of the Spanish Netherlands, and the King of Spain. The two branches of the Habsburg house were standing together. Bohemia was again invaded, this time by two armies. Frederick was beaten in the Battle of White Mountain and became a fugitive. The Protestant party was utterly defeated. Behind the Catholic emperor were now grouped the Catholic League, the Elector of Saxony, the Archduke Albert, and the King of Spain.

Catholic victory

The war now became general in Germany. Between 1619–1629 the Austro-Catholic cause was successful. Maximilian of Bavaria overran the Upper Palatinate and his general Tilly sacked Heidelberg and sent the great library of the university to the pope. In Italy the Spanish governor of Milan invaded the Grisons and occupied the Valteline, which was the connecting link between the Spanish-owned Milanais and the Austrian Tyrol. By 1623 Bohemia was reduced, and the Protestant population destroyed or driven out. The Calvinist population of the Palatinate was slaughtered or expelled, and the territory (and the electoral vote) was given to Maximilian of Bavaria, the commander of the Catholic League.

Meanwhile Frederick had found refuge in the Dutch Netherlands. The Dutch had no intention of getting into the war, but they were taking precautions against Catholic invasion. All Protestant eyes were turned on James I. The negotiation for the Spanish marriage of Charles I, in spite of the fact that the contract had been signed, was broken off. Prodded by the Duke of Buckingham, the royal

favorite, James I declared war against Spain. The destruction of the English fleet before Cadiz persuaded James I that he might be more successful on land than on sea and overtures were made to the Protestant Union—or what was left of it—for the recovery of the Palatinate.

Against the House of Austria stood England, Holland, and the disorganized Protestant German princes. Since neither England nor the Dutch Republic wanted to get into war, assistance was sought from Sweden and Denmark. Christian of Denmark offered to fight the Catholic League for 30,000 troops and an annual subsidy of 170,000 livres. James I accepted the Danish offer and a treaty was concluded at The Hague between England, Holland, and Denmark. No aid to the German Protestants could be looked for from France at this time (1625), for the Huguenots were in rebellion.

Against the King of Denmark were arrayed three Catholic armies —that of the Catholic League under Tilly, that of Spain, and that of the emperor under the greatest soldier of fortune of the age, Wallenstein, an army of mercenaries who were not paid but lived on pillage. Operations were begun by Tilly, and King Christian was beaten at Lutter near Brunswick (1626). Meanwhile Wallenstein advanced from Bohemia down the Elbe river, united with Tilly, and together they conquered Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Schleswig, and Jutland. All Protestant Germany, except Saxony and Brandenburg, was subjugated.

Then followed the Edict of Restitution, declared on May 22, *Edict of* 1629. All ecclesiastical states which had gone over to Protestantism *Restitution* since the settlement of Augsburg in 1555 were to be restored. This formidable decree affected two archbishoprics, twelve bishoprics, besides 120 monasteries. It was the darkest hour in all Protestant history. The conquered territories were terribly ravaged and pillaged by the victorious imperial armies, especially by that of Wallenstein, against whom a cry of indignation arose from all Germany, even from Tilly and the Catholic League. But the emperor did not dare to dismiss him. There was danger lest he turn his arms against the empire, for Wallenstein was darkly credited with ambition to overthrow the Habsburgs and make himself emperor.

Threatened with extermination, the Protestants in Germany were *Gustavus* rescued by Sweden and France. In 1628 Gustavus Adolphus wrote to *Adolphus* his Chancellor Oxenstierna, "all the wars that are on foot in Europe have been fused together and have become a single war." As far back as 1624 Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden had negotiated with England and Brandenburg in the hope of placing himself at the head of the Protestants in Germany. The scheme failed for the time

because Gustavus refused to take part in the war except under conditions which his own judgment assured him to be indispensable for success. Rather than recede from these terms Gustavus chose to turn aside to the Polish war leaving Christian of Denmark to deal as he could with the German difficulty. If anyone, he wrote to the English agent, thinks it an easy matter to overthrow the united strength of Catholic Europe, he is welcome to entertain that fantastic idea.

By 1630 the great minister of Louis XIII (1610–1642), Cardinal Richelieu, had crushed the Huguenots and the nobles at home and was free to oppose the Habsburgs abroad. He entered an alliance with Gustavus Adolphus and furnished him money and troops. Aided by this French subsidy, Gustavus landed on the coast of Pomerania in July, 1630. Unlike the motley and undisciplined hordes which followed Tilly and Wallenstein, the Swedish troops were a well-armed and well-paid army. Gustavus replaced the old unwieldy and heavy blunderbuss with the musket and increased the number of musketeers; his men were clothed in sheepskin jackets against the cold; he maintained strict discipline and excluded camp-followers. A physician and a chaplain were attached to every regiment.

The Swedish king's intervention, however, was not wholly in the interest of the Protestant religion. The deposed Duke of Mecklenburg was his relative; more than that, the imperial occupation of Pomerania offended him. At this time Sweden ruled Finland, Ingermannland, Estonia, and Livonia; the Baltic was almost a Swedish lake. Gustavus Adolphus still needed control of the southern coast, and this he might acquire through intervention in the civil war in Germany. He was an ardent Protestant, genuinely interested in rescuing his German co-religionists, but he was also an ambitious king of Sweden, equally interested in providing for the political and commercial expansion of his country. Both ends were achieved.

Sack of Magdeburg

Having cleared Pomerania of the imperial forces, Gustavus advanced up the Oder and took Frankfort, thus driving a Swedish wedge between Tilly and Wallenstein; then he fell back into Mecklenburg which he also cleared of the Catholic-imperial troops. Meanwhile Tilly had attacked Magdeburg, where the Edict of Restitution had failed of enforcement, for it was too strongly fortified a city to be taken. Gustavus did not dare advance deeper into Germany to the relief of Magdeburg until the rulers of Brandenburg and Saxony declared themselves since both were endeavoring to remain neutral. On May 20, after a fearful siege, Magdeburg was taken by the imperial general, Pappenheim, whose soldiery in spite

of Tilly's efforts to restrain them, massacred the population and sacked the city. Finally fire broke out, and the whole city was reduced to ashes. The only structure which survived the conflagration was the cathedral which was built of stone.

The fall of Magdeburg convinced the electors, George William of *Breitenfeld* Brandenburg and John George of Saxony, that they would have to side with Gustavus Adolphus. The Swedish king now began a most brilliant military campaign. At Breitenfeld near Leipzig in the heart of Saxony he won a smashing victory over Tilly on September 17, 1631; a joint Swedish-Saxon army invaded Bohemia and captured Prague, while Gustavus victoriously advanced through Thuringia and Franconia and went into winter quarters at Mainz. The Edict of Restitution was torn to shreds by these events; all North and Protestant Germany again breathed freely.

In the spring of 1632, Gustavus resolved to carry the war into *Lützen* Bavaria and Austria; he resumed the offensive and advanced to the Danube via Nuremberg. Tilly's army was annihilated, and Tilly himself was mortally wounded in an engagement near the confluence of the Lenz river with the Danube. Gustavus, after his victory, crossed the Danube and took Augsburg and Munich, the capital of Maximilian of Bavaria. The emperor was now with his back to the wall, and it seemed as though Vienna soon would fall. In this crisis Ferdinand II recalled Wallenstein, who returned on almost regal terms. The decisive battle between the two great generals was fought at Lützen, not far from Leipzig (November 1632). It was Gustavus Adolphus's last victory—he was killed in a cavalry charge.

Gustavus Adolphus saved German Protestantism from dire peril, if not from annihilation. Because of him, North Germany was spared the execution of the Edict of Restitution. He checkmated Spain's enmity of France, since the Spanish Habsburg ruler did not dare to attack France while the Austrian branch was so hard pressed. The Protestants continued the war, although they had no general to replace the Swedish king. Soon Wallenstein came to be suspected of treason, of planning to seize the crown of Bohemia for himself. In 1634 he was assassinated by devoted adherents of the emperor. The defeat, in the spring, of the Swedish army at Nordlingen by the imperialists ruined the Protestant coalition. Lutheran Germany (Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony) made peace with the emperor at Prague (May 30, 1635). The German Calvinists and the Swedes continued the war alone.

Now Richelieu openly intervened. French generals with French *French in-* troops were thrown into Germany. The French period of the war *tervention* began very badly, and the Spanish threatened to take Paris. But

GENEALOGICAL CHART OF THE FRENCH KINGS AFTER 1610

Henry IV, *m.* Marie de' Medici
(1589–1610)

Henrietta Maria,
m. Charles I of England

Louis XIII (1610–43)

Elizabeth,
m. Philip IV of Spain

Louis XIV, *m.* Maria Theresa
(1643–1715)

Louis, Dauphin of France
(*d.* 1711)

Philip, Duke of Orleans (*d.* 1701)

Philip, Duke of Orleans (*d.* 1723)

Louis, Duke of Orleans (*d.* 1752)

Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans (*d.* 1785)

Philippe, Duke of Orleans,
"Philippe Égalité" (guillotined 1793)

Louis, Duke of Burgundy (*d.* 1712)

Louis XV (1715–74)

Louis, Dauphin of France (*d.* 1765)

Philip, Duke of Anjou,
King of Spain as Philip V
(1700–46)
Whence the Spanish Bourbons
are descended

Louis XVI, *m.* Marie Antoinette
(1774–92)
Louis XVII, the
Dauphin who died
in prison, 1795

Louis XVIII
(1814–1824)

Charles X (1824–30)
dethroned 1830
Whence the Legitimist
Pretenders are
descended

Charles, Duc de Berri
(*d.* 1820)

Henry, Comte de
Chambord
(*d.* 1883)

Marie Therese = Louis, Duc d'Angoulême
(*d.* 1844)

Louis' Philippe, King of the French
(1830–48), dethroned in 1848
Whence the Orleanist Pretenders
are descended

Louis Dauphin

Ferdinand, Duc d'Orleans
(*d.* 1842)

Louis Philippe, Comte de Paris
(*d.* 1894)

Louis Philippe Robert,
Duc d'Orleans
(*d.* 1926)

Robert, Duc de
Chartres
(*d.* 1910)

Jean, Duc de Guise
present pretender

Henry, Comte de Paris

Richelieu was indefatigable in raising and drilling troops and organizing victory. He died in 1642 before the victory was won, but his successor, Cardinal Mazarin, continued his policy. He was successful, as Richelieu had not been, in finding two young and brilliant generals, the Prince of Condé and Turenne. The military supremacy which the prince of Condé won for France at Rocroi (1643) lasted for a century; Turenne's victories over Maximilian of Bavaria brought the long war to a close.

France coveted possession of Alsace, Lorraine, the Rhinelands, Franche-Comté, and the Spanish Netherlands (Belgium); Sweden was out to dominate the Baltic. Acting in concert the two powers had destroyed Austrian dominance in Germany and paralyzed Spain by fomenting rebellions in Portugal (1640), Catalonia, Naples, and Sicily. The peace settlement was made at the expense of the Austrian House of Habsburg in 1648.

The Congress of Westphalia was the first great diplomatic conference in European history. Hitherto the only institution analogous to a great political congress was a great Church council. Modern diplomatic methods, which originated in the Italian Renaissance, crystallized at Westphalia, and the practices have been preserved ever since, except in one particular, that is, the use of Latin instead of French in conduct and record of the proceedings.

Preliminary negotiations for peace dated as far back as 1640 but were delayed by hostile interests and quarrels over precedence and diplomatic forms. Finally, in 1648, the delegates met at Münster and Osnabrück, the Catholics in the former place, the Protestants in the latter.[1] The victors—France and Sweden—made substantial territorial gains. France was confirmed in the possession of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and received most of Alsace, but not Strasbourg. Sweden received the western half of Pomerania, and the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, thus controlling the mouths of the Oder, the Elbe, and the Weser. Both France and Sweden were given votes in the imperial diet. The religious settlement gave Calvinism the same privileges as Lutheranism, and all seizures of Church property since 1624 were declared illegal.

Peace of Westphalia

---

[1] This division was required because the papal nuncio could not appear in a Protestant assembly. The first difficulty arose over the question as to who should be the negotiators. There was no doubt as to the emperor, Spain, France, Sweden, and the United Netherlands or Dutch Republic. But the imperial ambassadors claimed the right to represent all Germany which angered the Protestant princes, and France and Sweden demanded that the German electors be separately represented. The design was obvious—to keep Germany as it was in 1618, a loose agglomeration of jarring states. After protracted argument the individual electoral representatives were admitted.

Most significant of all were the political and territorial changes within Germany, since they completed a long process of disintegration and gave France a great advantage on the Rhine. All the princes were given new sovereign rights, including the right to enter alliances and to make peace or war without consulting the emperor. Brandenburg gained eastern Pomerania and several bishoprics (including Magdeburg) and replaced Saxony as the strongest Protestant state. The Palatinate was divided between Maximilian of Bavaria and the son of the ex-king of Bohemia, each with an electoral vote. Finally Switzerland and Holland were recognized as independent.

The human misery and the material destruction caused by the Thirty Years' War were appalling. Germany lost at least half her population, and her whole civilization was retarded for at least a century. Many districts reverted to barbarism where a generation had grown up without schools or churches.

The atrocities and the wanton destruction for which these troops were responsible more than equalled even the worst achievements of the twentieth century. Many villages disappeared entirely. In Württemberg there were for instance in 1654 eight towns, 45 villages and over 30,000 buildings in ashes. Great stretches of cultivated land were nothing but desolate moorland after the war; in Saxony in the years following the war the country was so wild that wolves would attack the villages. . . . Comprehensive and reliable statistics are not available, but even allowing for great exaggerations in the local estimates, historians agree that the population of towns and villages was frequently reduced to a third, a quarter, even a tenth of its former number. That of Württemberg was reduced from 313,000 to 65,000 between 1634 and 1645, that of Bohemia from four millions to 800,000, that of Augsburg from 80,000 to 18,000 and so forth. It is generally agreed that Germany did not recover the population lost in the war till well in the eighteenth century.[1]

Peace of the Pyrenees

The war between France and Spain did not end at Westphalia, but was vigorously prosecuted by Cardinal Mazarin. He shrewdly made an alliance with England (1657), then under Cromwell, who lent the English fleet and 8000 troops to Turenne; the latter crushed Spain's army in the Battle of the Dunes (1658) and captured Dunkirk, which Mazarin gave to England as the price of her assistance.

Philip IV finally made peace with France in the Treaty of the Pyrenees (November 7, 1659) on Mazarin's own terms. France acquired several towns, some of them fortresses, in the Belgium provinces, and Roussillon on the French-Spanish frontier. The treaty

[1] W. H. Bruford, *Germany in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1935), 151–153.

also provided that Louis XIV should marry the Infanta Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of Philip IV, who renounced her claims upon the Spanish throne for herself and any children she might have in consideration of the payment of a dowry of 500,000 crowns by Spain.

Thus Cardinal Mazarin successfully carried out the policies of Richelieu, and the young king of France held first place in Europe. More significant than any of the terms of the treaties of Westphalia is the fact that they created a state-system to replace the universal empire of the Middle Ages. The first systematic treatise on international law was Hugo Grotius's (1583–1645), *On the Law of War and Peace,* published in 1625.

COLLATERAL READING

P. R. Doolin, *The Fronde,* 1935.

F. Harrison, *William the Silent,* 1924.

B. J. Kidd, *Counter-Reformation 1550–1600,* 1933.

R. Lodge, *Richelieu,* 1935.

G. F. McMunn, *Gustavus Adolphus, the Northern Hurricane,* 1930.

R. B. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New,* 1934, Volume IV.

J. E. Neale, *Elizabeth,* 1934.

F. C. Palm, *Calvinism and the Religious Wars,* 1932.

———, *The Economic Policies of Richelieu,* 1922.

———, *Politics and Religion in Sixteenth Century France,* 1927.

E. Sichel, *Catherine de' Medici,* 1911.

P. Smith, *History of Modern Culture,* 1930, Volume I.

P. Van Dyke, *Ignatius Loyola, the Founder of the Jesuits,* 1926.

C. V. Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years War,* 1939.

Index